

BALA'IZAH

COPTIC TEXTS FROM DEIR EL-BALA'IZAH IN UPPER EGYPT

EDITED BY

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To

MY FATHER

FOREWORD

The collection of Coptic texts from Deir el-Bala'izah which Dr. Kahle here edits for the Griffith Institute was discovered by Sir Flinders Petrie as long ago as 1907, and soon afterwards became the property of the Bodleian Library. That it has had to wait so long for an editor is due, not to any failure of scholars to realize the inherent value of the collection, but rather to the magnitude of the task.

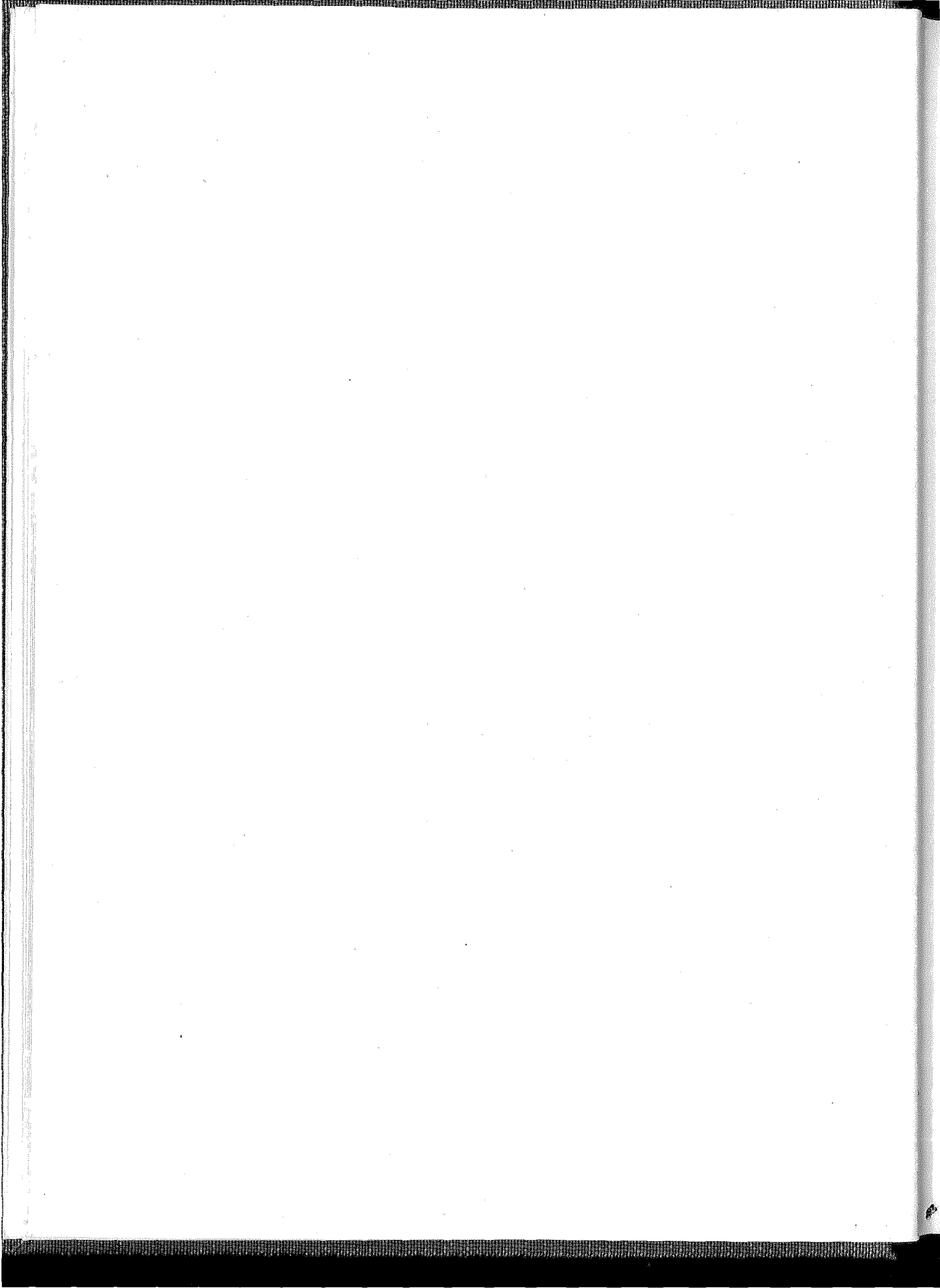
That task Dr. Kahle has now brought to a successful conclusion after six years of unremitting labour, and it is a particular pleasure to the Griffith Institute to be able, with the aid of substantial grants from the General Board of the Faculties, the Denyer and Johnson Theological Scholarship Fund, and the Revision Surplus Fund, to accept this work as one of its occasional publications.

The Committee of Management desires to acknowledge its indebtedness to the General Board of the Faculties, the Board of the Faculty of Theology, and the Trustees of the Revision Surplus Fund respectively, for this most generous financial aid, without which this book would have had to be delayed and might not have been published at all.

D. B. HARDEN

*Secretary to the Committee
of Management*

January 1954



PREFACE

The present edition of the important collection of Coptic texts from Bala'izah that is now the property of the Bodleian Library has been my main object of study for most of the past six years. For a number of reasons a photographic reproduction has been necessary, a long and tedious process, since all the typing and copying have had to be done by myself. There are some obvious disadvantages; for one thing the typing has taken well over two years and it has not been possible to exclude some inconsistencies. Furthermore, during this time a number of books have appeared of which I could only take note in the introduction, after the texts had been completed. On the other hand, it has not been entirely a disadvantage, as will be obvious from the edition of the texts, in which I have been able to indicate the length and position of superlinear strokes, punctuation and much else which could not have been noted in a printed edition. It has been possible to insert most of the corrections in the pages themselves, but a few *addenda* have been inevitable; these will be found on pp. 888 ff. below.

I am deeply indebted to a number of scholars whose advice has been invaluable to me. First I would mention the late Professor Battiscombe G. Gunn, who not only introduced me to the study of the Coptic language, but was always ready to help with his advice and criticism. Dr. J. W. B. Barns has taken great pains in working through the original D.Phil. thesis which formed the basis of the present work; he has made innumerable suggestions and corrections, many of which will be found acknowledged below. A like debt of gratitude I owe to Mr. James Drescher, sometime professor at Cairo, who read through most of the work in its earlier stages. For the past year I have had the advantage of the help of Professor J. Černý, whose criticisms have been particularly valuable on the text of chapters VIII and IX. To Mr. C. H. Roberts I am much indebted for constant advice on palaeography and Greek papyrology, and on questions of superlineation and grammar I have had the valuable advice of Professor H. J. Polotsky. I must thank also Sir Alan Gardiner, Professor G. R. Driver, and the Rev. Professor G. D. Kilpatrick for suggestions and help from time to time.

My thanks are due to the authorities of the Bodleian Library, especially to Dr. A. F. L. Beeston, for permission to edit the texts and for special facilities when copying and collating the manuscripts. Leave to publish certain texts from the British Museum was obtained from the Keeper of the Department of Oriental Printed Books and Manuscripts.

I am extremely grateful to the Committee of Management of the Griffith Institute, particularly to its secretary Mr. D. B. Harden, both for accepting the present work for publication in their series, and for generous financial assistance. My special thanks are due to the same committee for freely putting at my disposal the complete manuscript material of W. E. Crum, which I have rearranged and catalogued. In the present book, my indebtedness to the Crum material has been far greater than could be indicated, although direct use of it has always been noted. In addition, many important unpublished

PREFACE

manuscripts have been available to me from his own copies and photographs. Nor must I fail to mention the help received from Mr. O. H. Lehmann of the Bodleian Library, Mrs. J. V. H. Eames (formerly Miss Penelope Fox) and Miss Barbara Sewell of the Griffith Institute.

In dedicating this work to my father I should like to acknowledge in particular the benefit which I have derived from his experience in the field of biblical and oriental studies.

P. E. KAHLE

WORCESTER COLLEGE, OXFORD

Michaelmas 1953

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Abbreviations and Bibliography

The abbreviations used throughout the present edition are the same as those used in W.E.Crum, A Coptic Dictionary and for the Greek papyri those used in F.Preisigke, Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden. There are, however, a few inconsistencies which have accidentally been overlooked, as J.Krall, Koptische Texte which is sometimes cited as Kr. (as in Crum's Dictionary) and sometimes as Krall. In addition the following abbreviations have been used:

Bal. for Bala'izah; this refers to the texts in the present edition.
Crum, Dictionary or Crum, Dict. for W.E.Crum, A Coptic Dictionary.

BSAC for Bulletin de la Societe d'Archeologie Copte.

JHS for Journal of Hellenic Studies.

MH for Stephanski-Lichtheim, Coptic Ostraca from Medinet Habu. This book appeared when the present volume was almost complete and it is rarely cited. On reflection it would have been better to cite these texts as OMH (suggested by Till) since MH in Crum, Dictionary refers to the inventory numbers of these ostraca.

V.C. or VC for W.E.Crum, Varia Coptica.

The correct description of the Coptic texts in the present edition is e.g. (Oxford, Bodleian) Ms.Copt.b 10(p), but I have consistently omitted Ms.Copt. and (p) when referring to the manuscripts; thus, e.g. d 55 represents Ms.Copt.d 55(p). The Greek and Arabic papyri from this collection have always been cited in full, e.g. Ms.Greek Class.d 87(p).

For a bibliography of the subjects covered in this book I would refer to W.Kammerer, A Coptic Bibliography, supplemented by the admirable Bibliographie Copte by Father J.Simon in Orientalia 1950-1953. To both these works I am very heavily indebted for numerous references which otherwise I should certainly have overlooked. Having had the advantage of the use of Mrs.Kammerer's bibliography for the past few years, I feel

that my review of this work in JEA XXXVII, 120f. hardly does justice to its importance for Coptic scholars.

Chapter I: The Bala'izah Collection

The material which forms the subject of this book was excavated early in 1907 at Deir el-Bala'izah دير البلايزة. Deir el-Bala'izah is situated some 12 miles south of Assyut on the west bank of the Nile on the edge of the desert. The most important neighbouring sites at which Coptic material has been found are Wadi Sarga near Deir el-Ganadlah, some 5 miles to the south, and Aphrodito, some 20 miles to the south. Deir el-Bala'izah was excavated by the British School of Archaeology in Egypt under Sir W.M.Flinders Petrie; the following is the account in Petrie, Gizeh and Rifeh, p.1:

" Mr.Rhoades left Gizeh, and began work at Deir Balyzeh January 18, and was joined there at the end of the month by Mr.Mackay, who had finished packing at Gizeh. At the end of February Messrs. Mackay and Gregg went to Deir el-Ganadlah and Mr.Rhoades joined us at Rifeh."

A short account of the finds made at Bala'izah was given in Egypt Exploration Fund, Archaeological Report 1906 - 1907 on p.29 and especially on p.75 which may be quoted in full:

" In the past season Petrie explored the ruins of two Coptic monasteries at Balaizah and Ganadlah S.W. of Abutig. There are, he says, many such ruined sites in that district, each consisting of an ancient cave (the chapel) with partition walls while additional buildings protrude outside. At the former site, a find of Coptic MSS was made whereof a description by Crum may have appeared (in Petrie's 2nd volume) before this report is published. From these and from incidental coins it seems that the monastery, which was that of Apa Apollo flourished till the 8th century; but many of the MSS are far older. From them it has further been possible to identify the town Sbeht(now Kom Esfat) with one of the ancient lower (or Lesser) Apollinopolis. The plates of Petrie's first

volume produce some interesting fragments of sculpture, a remarkable engraved (liturgical ?) knife, a bronze hanging lamp identical with those in enamelled glass of the 14th century and 7 Coptic stelae, some showing some rare place-names."

The stelae and graffiti were published in Petrie's Gizeh and Rifeh and Memphis I¹⁾. I have seen a photograph of one of these stelae, and the corrections to be made are so numerous that I do not consider myself justified in reprinting these texts in the present volume. The Archaeological report cited above is the only reference to the presence of coins at Bala'izah; nothing appears to have been published indicating where these coins are kept at present.

Unfortunately no account has been published of the general outlay of the buildings of the monastery, nor any description of them; all we have are the three photographs published in Petrie, Gizeh and Rifeh, pl. XXXVIII A. In the papyri several places are mentioned which might have been identified.

The collection eventually presented to the Bodleian Library consisted of the whole manuscript find made at Bala'izah, but included also a few pieces found at Deir el-Ganadlah. Unfortunately no attempt was made to keep the two finds separate; from Crum's notebook 82²⁾ it appears that number 11 here definitely came from Ganadlah. The excavation of a site at Wadi Sarga near Ganadlah was undertaken by the Byzantine Research Account, and the manuscripts found there were eventually published by Crum and Bell³⁾. It is not clear, however, whether the site at Ganadlah which Petrie excavated was actually at Wadi Sarga; at any rate, none of

1) Gizeh and Rifeh, pl. XXXIX, Memphis I, pl. LIII, LIV. For the museums to which these stelae were assigned see Memphis I p.15(par.45) and the relevant paragraphs describing the plates in Memphis I.

2) Now in the Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

3) W.E.Crum and H.I.Bell, Wadi Sarga (Hauniae 1922).

the numerous fragments of literary manuscripts found at Wadi Sarga¹⁾ are part of any of the manuscripts now kept in the Bodleian Library as part of the Bala'izah find. Furthermore, no records appear to have been kept indicating whether the manuscripts were all found in one place only, or whether they were scattered about or found on rubbish-heaps²⁾.

The whole manuscript material was brought to this country in 1907 and was handed to Dr.W.E.Crum for investigation. Crum copied some 200 fragments and published a short account of them in Petrie, Gizeh and Rifeh (the double volume)³⁾. The whole material was then assigned to the Bodleian Library, Oxford where it arrived in 1908⁴⁾. Of all the texts copied by Crum I have failed to find only Crum's 63,1; I am certain that it is not in the Bala'izah Collection and it must have been lost somewhere on the way. I have included it in Number 38 here from Crum's copy. The whole collection was put under glass by Mr.E.O.Winstedt⁵⁾.

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- 1) These MSS are now in the British Museum(Or.9035; Pap.2240,2241).
 - 2) Crum, indeed, in Petrie, Gizeh and Rifeh, par.97 notes: "The manuscripts are clearly the debris of the monastic library and charter-room: there are but few private documents which might not have been preserved in the latter."
 - 3) Crum's two notebooks dealing with this collection(82 and 99) are now kept in the Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford with the rest of his material as part of the Crum Bequest.
 - 4) It may be noted that Ms.Copt.g93(p) was sent by Crum to the Bodleian Library in 1915 with a letter stating that this was part of the Bala'izah find.
 - 5) The texts were classified according to language and size and were eventually numbered: Ms.Copt.b 2 - 10; d 11 - 202; e 12 - 78, 83 - 86; f 4 - 102, 106 - 108; g 4 - 86, 91 - 93; Ms.Greek Bibl.g 2; Ms. Greek Theol.f 12; Ms.Greek Liturg.d 2 - 4; e 3; f 1,3; g 1,2; Ms. Greek Class d 77, 87 - 89; e 91,92; f 77,82 - 87; g 52,53,56,57; Ms.

When the collection was handed to Dr.Crum, it was "in more than the usually dilapidated condition"¹⁾. Crum was able to piece together a number of fragments, but even so there was hardly a single complete document. Mr.Winstedt whom I consulted informed me that he "had to piece many fragments together before putting them under glass". Moreover, hardly any scraps were thrown away, but these were put mainly in the plates Ms.Copt.d 59 - 202. This was done so conscientiously that even a great number of fragments without writing were kept in plates Ms.Copt.d 194 - 202. Crum numbered some of the fragments and stuck a small white label on them with his number; these are still to be seen. When I began working on this collection with the help of Crum's notebooks, I was surprised to find that in quite a few cases fragments had been added to those copied by Crum, making many documents more complete²⁾. When, however, I had seen a few of the plates Ms.Copt.d 59ff., it was obvious that many fragments were yet to be joined. I approached Dr.A.F.L.Beeston, keeper of the Oriental MSS in the Bodleian Library, and the Bodleian authorities very kindly granted me facilities in 1947 and 1949 to see together the whole material, consisting of more than 450 separate plates of glass between which the fragments were mounted. In all I have been able to make over 375 'joins'. In some cases I was able to complete documents (e.g.102,103), in others I could add very substantially to the sense (e.g.100,188,287). I was particularly fortunate in piecing together the papyrus manuscript of I Kings (Samuel) (number 4). I feel that no useful purpose could be served by indicating in the present edition the extent of the newly joined fragments, but I am presenting to the Bodleian Library a copy of this book in which I shall show in each case how the various

Arab.c 58; d 90, 92 - 94, 96, 99, 100 - 102; e 70 - 72, 74, 75, 78;
f 29; g 15 - 17.

1) Petrie, Gizeh and Rifeh p.39.

2) Presumably these are the fragments added by Mr.Winstedt.

fragments are to be joined. There may be more fragments to be joined, but I have attempted to find all fragments belonging to texts which I have included in the present edition.

The fragments in plates d 59 - 194, numbering between 10 - 50 or more fragments per plate, were not numbered separately, but to make it easier when referring to these I have assigned to those included in this edition the letters 'a,b,c,' etc.; the same letters are mentioned in the copy which I am presenting to the Bodleian Library.

I may add a note of appreciation of the work of Dr. Crum on this collection. His two notebooks, 82 and 99, were of considerable value to me as they contained his reading of many difficult passages; he had already identified many of the literary fragments and had collected some valuable notes on certain texts. Moreover, in his Dictionary he had cited many passages from these texts, often with full explanation and references. I have indicated in each case if I have incorporated Crum's suggestions or emendations. On the whole, however, Crum had only copied the more important part of the collection, and in the case of the literary manuscripts only the more legible part. Crum's copies were not always accurate, especially as he recollated only a few of the texts, but in the present edition I have only indicated disagreements from Crum where the manuscript was doubtful or if the text had been cited incorrectly in the Dictionary.

The whole material is very extensive and there are fragments of some 3000 texts. Out of these I have selected about 370 which seemed worth publishing. I have included all complete pieces, all biblical fragments and any other texts which had a few lines of continuous text. In addition I have also included a large number of smaller fragments which seemed interesting for grammatical, dialectical or other reasons¹⁾

1) Numbers 358 - 394 have been included mainly because they contain interesting names which are rarely found in Coptic texts.

I have given the size of all complete texts and of most of the fragmentary ones which seemed of special importance. In mentioning the size I have always given the height first. In the case of the legal documents I have made use of Roman numerals (e.g. I, II, III etc.) to indicate the first, second, etc., hands. I have numbered the literary fragments 1 - 64 and commenced the non-literary texts with the number 100, to distinguish the two types of text in this collection which have little in common. I felt that this course was more advisable than to use, for instance, Roman numerals for the literary texts and ordinary numerals for the others. All superlineations have been reproduced whenever they occur in the texts, and I have attempted in most of the manuscripts to indicate the exact length and position of the strokes. I have generally supplied lacunae if the text was otherwise known or if the restoration seemed obvious. In difficult cases, especially in the non-literary texts, I have usually stated reasons why a particular lacuna had been supplied thus.

I am publishing a full index for the non-literary texts and only common particles like $\lambda\upsilon\omega$, $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$, $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$, $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\epsilon$ have been omitted. I have found it very tiresome when using other published editions not to have a reasonable index, and often the most common words like $\sigma\tau\alpha$ etc., not included in the indices of those works, are precisely those which are most interesting for the study of dialects.

Chapter II: The Manuscripts.

Of all the manuscripts found at Deir el-Bala'izah only four have so far been published. One is the famous liturgical text which has recently been re-edited by C.H.Roberts and Dom B.Capelle¹⁾. Number 188 was published by Till, Koptische Schutzbriefe number 84; I have been able to add another five lines to that document by piecing 13 fragments together. The very interesting early Gnostic fragment(52) was published by Crum in JTS XLIV, 176ff., but I have been able to add a few lines to Crum's text. A fourth manuscript(19) was published by myself in Le Muséon LXIII, 147ff. I have reprinted the text with a number of corrections and a full discussion of its dialect and importance will be found in chapter IX below²⁾. All the other manuscripts are published here for the first time, though some of the New Testament fragments were used by Horner for his edition of the Sahidic New Testament.

The literary manuscripts are mostly of great interest and several of them must rank among the earliest manuscripts known in Coptic³⁾. Among the ten Old Testament manuscripts is one of the fourth century(7) being written in a hand very like the second hand of the Pistis Sophia. For part of the text, especially in III(I) and IV(II) Kings, these manuscripts are the only evidence we have for the Sahidic Version. Some of the New Testament manuscripts are also unusually early and we have several manuscripts from the fourth and fifth centuries. For an estimate of the importance of these manuscripts for the Sahidic Version of the Bible see the Appendix to the present chapter.

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- 1) An Early Euchologion, The Der-Balizeh Papyrus enlarged and re-edited, (Bibliothèque du Muséon XXIII) Louvain 1949. See also the introduction to numbers 28 and 180 below.
 - 2) For the dialect see pages 231ff.
 - 3) Cf. Chapter IX, Appendix I.

Among the non-biblical literary manuscripts are also a number of great interest. Here again it is often the early date of the fragments which gives them special importance. A small fragment from the Liturgy of St.Basil in Coptic(28) is written in a hand extraordinarily like that of the famous Greek liturgical text also found at Bala'izah. There are three pages from a papyrus manuscript of the Canons of St.Basil(31), often illuminating obscure passages in the Arabic Version published by Riedel. The Apophthegmata are represented by a few pages and a number of unidentified fragments, probably of the seventh century, and presumably this is the earliest manuscript of these stories(32). Among the other literary fragments I may mention an apocryphal gospel(27), an unidentified sermon of St.Athanasius(44), and various sermons, homilies and a martyrdom, mostly not otherwise known.

The main part of the present book is the edition of over 300 non-literary documents. The great importance of these texts is the fact that, unlike the majority of Coptic texts found in Egypt, these manuscripts have been found by a scientific excavation and their provenance is absolutely assured. All of them seem to fall within the fairly narrow limits of about 100 years from A.D.675 - 775 and they provide us with considerable material for the conditions of the time and the difficulties with which the monastery was faced.

The language of the texts is of some interest. Most of the manuscripts are, of course, written in Coptic, but there are a few Greek and Arabic fragments. The relative proportion is about 85% Coptic, 9% Greek and 6% Arabic. There are four Greek literary texts: A fragment of Exodus(2), the liturgical text¹⁾, a fragment of prayers(29) and a literary work containing some curious aphorisms²⁾. Among the non-literary

1) See p.7 note 1.

2) See Crum's note in Petrie, Gizeh and Rifeh(double volume), p.41. On the advice of Mr.C.H.Roberts I have not attempted to publish the text

Greek texts there is a very interesting notification of a tax assessment (130), also a tax-receipt(148), two letters by the Arab governor Kurrāh b. Sharīk(181-2), a receipt(123) and a number of accounts relating to taxation(esp.286,287,297-300); apart from the receipt(123) only one other Greek legal document has come to light in the present collection¹⁾. There is also a fragmentary private letter addressed to the monastery(204). A comparison with the texts from the neighbouring Wadi Sarga which was probably earlier, reveals a yet further decline in the use of the Greek language²⁾.

There are some Arabic documents, mainly dealing with matters of taxation and administration; they are of great interest for the date of the settlement at Bala'izah³⁾.

The presence of one Fayyumic literary text(38) and one Fayyumic letter(258) is not unduly surprising; similar finds were made at Wadi Sarga⁴⁾ and elsewhere in the Thebaid⁵⁾. Very remarkable, however, is the presence of some Bohairic texts. Of unusual interest is a fragment

here; it is now numbered Ms.Greek Class.d 77(p).

- 1) Ms.Greek Class.d 89(p), a small fragment. It was too fragmentary to be included in the present edition.
- 2) See Bell in WS pp.17ff., Crum in Ep.I,pp.254ff..
- 3) See pp.16f. below. It is a pity that these texts could not be included in the present edition.
- 4) W.S.15; see also chapter IX pp.220ff. on Middle Egyptian texts found at Wadi Sarga.
- 5) An ostrakon with marked Fayyumic forms was found at Deir el-Matmar on the east bank of the Nile opposite Bala'izah, cf. below p.224 and note 2 there. Fayyumic manuscripts formed part of the library of the White Monastery(Muséon XXXV,3ff.), Fayyumic Ostraca were found at Thebes(CO 500-510,cf.p.39 and ST 135,440), and many Fayyumic inscriptions are known from Baouit(MIF LIX,142,196,228,261,262,263,319,al.).

of Philippians in Semi-Bohairic(19); there is also a fragment which may be from a horoscope, probably of the sixth or seventh centuries(60) and a fragmentary Bohairic legal document from Busiris in the Delta(151)¹⁾.

The dialect of the non-literary texts on the whole bears out the estimate of Crum:²⁾ '...at Deir Ganadlah and Deir Balaizah, the finding-places of much material, the idiom common to all is the purest Sa'idic, less tainted there, it seems, than at any other point in the upper valley.' A full discussion will be found in chapters VIII and IX below.

Appendix: A note on the Sahidic Version of the Bible.

I had hoped to include in the present book a detailed study of the Sahidic Versions of the Old and New Testaments with special reference to the texts found at Bala'izah, but for a number of reasons this has not been possible. A few remarks may however be useful.

Some important discoveries during the past 40 years, in particular the find of the Pierpont Morgan manuscripts at Hamouli in the Fayyum³⁾, have made it possible to revise our estimate of the Sahidic Versions. In the Old Testament it is interesting to note that the Bala'izah fragments like many other early manuscripts⁴⁾ agree on the whole closely with the Pierpont Morgan manuscripts against those of the White Monastery⁵⁾ where both are extant for comparison. The estimate of the Sahidic Version which we find, for instance in A.E.Brooke and N.McLean, The Old Testament in Greek⁶⁾ is only true of the manuscripts of the White Monastery: 'It

1) For the significance of these texts see below chapter IX pp.231ff,250.

2) Ep.I,p.233.

3) I have made use of the photographic edition by Hyvernat.

4) In particular the British Museum manuscript of Deuteronomy and Jonah ed.Budge, Biblical Texts; cf. the texts from Saqqara, see W.H.Worrell, Coptic Texts pp.25ff., which present a similar picture.

5) Principally edited by Ciasca and Maspero.

6) Volume II,part II,I and II Kings(1930), prefatory note.

may however be worth while to emphasize again the need of caution in the use of Egyptian versions as evidence for the Greek text, especially in the case of the Sahidic. It is often loose and paraphrastic, and cannot be safely used except ...'. On the other hand, the Pierpont Morgan manuscripts like many earlier manuscripts have preserved a much better and earlier form of the Sahidic Version which on manuscript evidence must be dated not later than the late third century. Indeed, the earliest witness of the standard version of any part of the Bible is the Achmimic Psalm-fragment edited by Crum¹⁾ which can be dated in the second half of the third century. Sahidic manuscripts of the Old Testament which show a version different from the normal 'textus receptus' are extremely rare and only two manuscripts, both of the fourth century, are known to me²⁾. The Achmimic manuscripts of the Old Testament (Genesis, Exodus, Proverbs and Minor Prophets)³⁾ invariably have the Sahidic 'textus receptus', though often with considerable variants; on the other hand, the two fragments in Middle Egyptian (Genesis and Job) like the glossary to Amos and Hosea in the same dialect⁴⁾ show a version independent of both the Sahidic and Bohairic Versions.

In the New Testament the position is somewhat different. There

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- 1) See below p.237 and n.3. For the earliest Sahidic texts see Chapter IX Appendix I. Till in Aegyptus VIII, 254ff. attempted to show that the manuscript of the Achmimic Minor Prophets was based on a previous Achmimic text which in turn had been translated from a Sahidic original. See also J. Ziegler in Biblica XXV (1944) pp. 105ff..
 - 2) BM 932 (Genesis) and Lefort, Les Manuscrits Coptes ... Louvain, number 9 (Ecclesiastes) and note. Cf. also the Pistis Sophia where some of the Psalms quoted show the standard Sahidic Version, others an independent Version, see Schmidt in ZNTW XXIV (1925) pp. 233f. and refs..
 - 3) For a bibliography see Simon in Mémoires Lagrange, pp. 197ff..
 - 4) For these manuscripts see chapter IX, pp. 220ff. below.

can be no question that a standard version was fixed at an unusually early period.¹⁾ On the other hand, the translations of the Sahidic Version which we find in Achmimic(Matthew, Luke, John, James, Jude)³⁾, Subachmimic (John)⁴⁾ and Middle Egyptian(Romans)⁵⁾ manuscripts show considerable variants from the standard Sahidic text which we find in manuscripts of the sixth century and later⁶⁾. In this connection it is of some inter-

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- 1) See chapter IX pp.260ff. and elsewhere.
 - 2) The Sahidic Version was clearly earlier, against Thompson, The Gospel of St. John p.XXIII and others; see chapter IX pp.260ff.
 - 3) Matthew in Symbolae Osloenses XXIV, 121ff., Luke in Le Muséeon LXII, 199ff., John in Rössch, Bruchstücke des ersten Clemensbriefes, James and Jude in CMSS II and Le Muséeon LI, 69ff.. Cf. also Worrell, Coptic Texts p.8 (Galatians, unpublished).
 - 4) Sir Herbert Thompson, The Gospel of St. John. It is interesting to note that for several of the readings where this manuscript differs from the Sahidic Version (listed on pp. XXIIff.) support can now be cited from the two Chester Beatty manuscripts of which a collation was published by Thompson, The Coptic Version of the Acts of the Apostles, pp. 251ff.; e.g. IX, 28 'my hands' is also found in Ch. Beatty AB; XII, 9 γκουσεν with Ch. Beatty AB and D, OLa, b, c, e, ff, against εγρω read by the other Sahidic manuscripts, the Achmimic manuscript and the rest of the Greek manuscripts and versions.
 - 5) See chapter IX p. 220 note 2.
 - 6) We now have an almost complete text of the Gospels in the Pierpont Morgan manuscript IV, and a complete text of the Acts and the Pauline Epistles in the Chester Beatty manuscripts, the latter also in the Morgan Collection, see Thompson, The Coptic Version of the Acts etc.. These manuscripts represent more or less the final form of the Sahidic 'textus receptus' and provide us with a definite text with which we can compare other Sahidic manuscripts.

est to note that the text we find in the Subachmimic St. John is based on a different Sahidic original from that of the Achmimic St. John and that of the Sahidic fragment with Subachmimic influence in the Bodleian¹⁾, though all represent basically the same Sahidic version. Similarly, Sahidic manuscripts earlier than the sixth century, like numbers 15, 17, 18, 21, 22, 25 in the present collection, almost invariably show variants from the later 'textus receptus' based on underlying Greek originals. Sahidic manuscripts of the New Testament showing a version independent of the normal Sahidic Version are extremely rare, and as in the case of the Old Testament only two manuscripts are known to me: BM 509 (James)²⁾ and in particular I John in the fourth century Berlin-London manuscript of the Apocalypse, I John and Philemon³⁾. Unfortunately, Horner attempted to combine both types of text in his edition of I John⁴⁾ and prints a text which certainly never existed.

It is clear from all the evidence that at an early period not only two or more Sahidic versions, but even several types of the standard version which later became the official 'textus receptus' were current. Whether these early variants are due to the influence of Greek manuscripts which were collated with the existing version, or due to the independent versions, it is difficult to state at present. I hope to return to this subject elsewhere.

1) See Chapter IX p. 241.

2) It is not easy to understand why this was listed with the Middle Egyptian texts in Crum's Catalogue. It is clearly Sahidic with some dialectical forms. In James II, 3 read $\epsilon\mu\omicron\omicron\epsilon$ for $\epsilon\mu\omicron\omicron\tau$ (collated).

3) Berlin Ms. Or. 408 and BM Or. 3518. The text of the Apocalypse was edited by Goussens, Studia Theologica I, and Delaporte, Fragments Sahidiques du N.T. (1906); Delaporte also published the text of I John and Philemon from this manuscript in Rev. Biblique, 1905, pp. 377ff..

4) The manuscript is Horner's number 7.

A note may be added on Horner's edition of the Sahidic Version of the New Testament¹⁾. His work was a great achievement in its time, but during the course of my work on manuscripts from Bala'izah and elsewhere a number of defects in his edition have become apparent. Nearly all of the New Testament manuscripts in the present collection were used by Horner, but his citations of not only the variant readings²⁾ but also the manuscripts themselves³⁾ are so inaccurate and incomplete, that it has been necessary to publish all the manuscripts in full. Also in the case of fragmentary manuscripts Horner only attempted to read the more legible parts, and often very much more is extant than is indicated by him⁴⁾. I have found the same deficiencies in Horner's edition when collating manuscripts in the British Museum. In publishing the New Testament manuscripts I have not attempted to correct Horner's citations for obvious reasons. A new edition of the Sahidic New Testament on the basis of the Pierpont Morgan and the Chester Beatty manuscripts is evidently desirable.

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- 1) The Coptic Version of the New Testament in the Southern Dialect volumes I - VII, Oxford, 1911 - 1924.
 - 2) A collation of a few lines of any of the manuscripts with the citations in Horner's 'apparatus criticus' will suffice to show the defects of his work. For example, Bala'izah 15 (Horner's 26) in John III,5 reads ἰδεῖν τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ with N^oM 1093,1241,z against 10 other Sahidic manuscripts and the majority of the Greek manuscripts and Versions, not noted by Horner.
 - 3) Thus, part of Horner's number 11 of the Pauline Epistles (Bal.20) is actually part of Horner's number 10 (Bal.21), a manuscript at least two centuries earlier than Horner's number 11.
 - 4) Compare, for instance, the extent of Horner's number 4 of the Pauline Epistles with the text actually published here from that manuscript (Bal.17).

Chapter III: The Monastery of Apa Apollo

No less than 26 documents in the present collection mention the monastery of Apa Apollo and Crum, no doubt rightly, concluded that the monastery at Deir el-Bala'izah was called by this name¹⁾. The presence, however, of five documents relating to a monastery of Apa(or Abba) Pouli makes it probable that the monastery was known by more than one name²⁾. In a number of legal documents³⁾ the monastery is officially described as ΜΟΝΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ (ΕΤΟΥΔΑΒ) ΝΑΜΑ ΑΠΟΛΛΩ ΖΑΗΠΝΟΜΟΣ ΝΟΒΕΣΤ ΤΠΟΛΙC 'The (holy) monastery of Apa Apollo in the nome of the town Sbeht'. Sbeht has been identified with Apollonopolis Parva, the modern Kom Esfaht, about six miles south of Bala'izah.⁴⁾ The name of the present monastery occurs in only two documents outside the Bala'izah Collection, both in a group of papyri recently acquired by Mr.E.von Scherling of Leiden⁵⁾.

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- 1) See Petrie, Gizeh and Rifeh, the double volume, p.41.
 - 2) For a full discussion see p.25 below.
 - 3) E.g.100,102,103, etc..
 - 4) First by Amélineau, Géographie (1883) p.463; see also C.Schmidt, A.Z. LXVIII (1932), pp.66f.. On the history of the nome Sbeht-Apollonopolis Parva see the survey by Bell in Sir Alan Gardiner, Ancient Egyptian Onomastica vol.II, pp.56ff..
 - 5) E.von Scherling of Oegstgeest, Leiden informed me by letter that he bought these papyri in the Fayyum in 1935/6. Crum copied a number of these documents when they were submitted to him for examination and his copies are in Notebook 109 of the Crum Collection, Griffith Institute, Oxford; in the Dictionary Crum cited them a few times as papyri penes Maggs Bros.. Crum pointed out on the basis of place-names that these papyri must have come from the immediate neighbourhood of Bala'izah. Unfortunately, Mr.von Scherling was unable to sell the collection as a whole and most of it has been sold separately. Some of the papyri are still in his possession, others are in

Crum already mentioned most of the historical names occurring in the present collection which help us to date the settlement at Bala'izah.¹⁾ There is a protocol(400) by Abd'el-Aziz b.Marwan, governor A.D.685 - 705, another(401) can be dated A.D.705 - 714, a third is by 'Ubaid Allāh b.el-Habhab, treasurer A.D.724 - 730²⁾. There are three letters by(?) Qurrah b.Sharīk(180-182), governor A.D.709 - 714, and two letters by El-Ḳāsim b.'Ubaid Allāh, treasurer ca.A.D.739 - 740³⁾. In addition there is one document(287) which is dated exactly A.H.106 = A.D.725. This evidence would indicate a period from the late seventh century until the middle of the eighth century as the time of the settlement at Bala'izah. The non-literary texts would seem to confirm that dating and there are no documents which could confidently be put outside that period, though a few might be earlier. The use of Arabic words in Coptic documents, in particular the remarkable ΔΥΝ for دين in 102¹⁴, would also indicate a rather late date. Two Arabic fragments on paper were found at the site and if the monastery still existed at the time when these fragments were written we would have to put the date of the settlement much later than A.D.750⁴⁾. It seems, however, probable that these fragments were deposited on the site of the monastery long after this had been deserted⁵⁾. As regards the literary fragments found at Bala'izah, the majority are certainly

the Leiden Museum of Antiquities. Two documents from this collection were published by H.de Nie in Jaarbericht no.8(Ex Oriente Lux), Leiden 1942, pp.615ff..

- 1) In Petrie, Gizeh and Rifeh, the double volume, p.41.
- 2) This is Ms.Arab.d 92(p), not published here.
- 3) Both in Arabic, Ms.Copt.b 7(p) and d 29(p), not published here.
- 4) The earliest documents written on paper appear in Egypt early in the ninth century, cf.Grohmann, From the World of Arabic Papyri(1952), 49f..
- 5) At Wadi Sarga, too, an Arabic fragment on paper was found, though not mentioned in the publication; it is now numbered BMor.9035¹⁴⁵.

earlier than A.D.685. Some of them can be dated as early as the fourth or fifth centuries, others are from the sixth and seventh centuries and comparatively few from the eighth century. But here too there is no manuscript which could confidently be dated later than the middle of the eighth century. Manuscripts written in the late Coptic rounded uncials, so common in the ninth century and later¹⁾, are rare and the script is still in the earlier stages in the few cases where it occurs²⁾. On the other hand, it is not surprising to find early manuscripts in a collection like this and other instances can be cited³⁾.

At the neighbouring Wadi Sarga a considerable number of ostraca was found, but most, if not all, of them seem to have been written about A.D. 600⁴⁾; yet the settlement there was still inhabited in the early eighth century as is evident from the presence of a letter by the Arab governor Kurrah b.Sharīk. Crum already pointed out⁵⁾ that it was remarkable that at neither of the neighbouring sites, Bala'izah and Aphrodito, any ostraca were found; and this might be cited as some evidence that the settlement at Bala'izah was later than the middle of the seventh century. On the other hand Aphrodito is known to have been an important centre and even a nome-capital centuries before the Arab conquest; in any case ostraca found outside the Theban region are extremely rare, though a few

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- 1) All the Pierpont Morgan manuscripts from Hamouli of the ninth century are in this script.
 - 2) Numbers 28,35,39,41,49, also in the Greek liturgical papyrus from Bala'izah, probably of the seventh century, see above p.7 note 1.
 - 3) Early manuscripts were also found at Wadi Sarga where there was probably a settlement from the sixth to eighth centuries and Crum notes (p.9): 'But the books brought together in a library may well have been written long before that library was formed'.
 - 4) See Bell's note, W.S.p.16.
 - 5) W.S.p.12.

particularly from the neighbourhood of Bala'izah, are known¹⁾ Even at Thebes ostraca from the eighth century are comparatively rare, a notable exception being the tax-receipts and the documents giving a 'promise by God' (λοφος μνηοYTE)²⁾, and only very few Arabic ostraca have been found³⁾ Papyrus evidently became much more easily accessible after the Arab conquest in A.D.641, presumably due to the fact that with the fall of Alexandria the export of papyrus from Egypt must have dropped sharply.

Of the Apa Apollo from whom the monastery took its name nothing is known; whether there is any connection between him and the founder of the famous monastery of Apa Apollo at Bawit⁴⁾ seems very doubtful. We hear of another Apa Apollo who was expelled from the Pachomian monastery

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- 1) From the neighbourhood of Bala'izah: an ostrakon from Deir el-Matmar, see p.224 and note 2; an ostrakon from the monastery of Apa Mena, see p.25 below; G.Brunton, Qau and Badari III p.38 mentions three ostraca; P.Lond.IV 1573^{5,6} mentions tax-receipts on ostraca at Aphrodito; M.A. Murray, The Osireion pl.XXXVII published an ostrakon from Abydos; one from Assiut was edited in BIFA0 III, pp.119ff.. One might also mention the εταμογλον-ostraca which are reputed to have come from the Fayyum or Assiut, see Worrell, Coptic Texts pp.255ff. and references there; Assiut seems more probable, since an ostrakon from Manqabad near Assiut is certainly of this type, found and edited by Kamal in Ann.Serv.XV, p.179. A few sherds were also found at Bawit.
 - 2) Cf. Till, Koptische Schutzbriefe and references there, ÄZ LXXVI, 74ff..
 - 3) A. Grohmann, From the World of Arabic Papyri, p.61.
 - 4) This monastery, some 50 miles north of Bala'izah and about 15 miles south of Hermopolis, was excavated by Clédat early this century on behalf of the Service des Antiquités; cf. also Crum, ÄZ XL(1902), pp. 60ff., and P. van Cauwenbergh, Étude sur les Moines d'Égypte, pp.17, 57, 130, 133. I am hoping to publish a considerable number of documents in the British Museum from that monastery in the near future.

of Pboou¹⁾ in the time of Justinian²⁾; it is reported that he founded two monasteries³⁾, one of these being on the mount of Titkooh(†τκooε) where Apa Phib became a monk under his direction⁴⁾. That monastery is mentioned in a recently published Greek papyrus of the sixth century which notes that Titkooh, there spelt ττκωic was situated in the nome of Hermopolis⁵⁾. We do not hear where the other monastery was which Apa Apollo founded, but if this was the monastery at Bala'izah, we would have a definite date in the sixth century when the monastery was founded. Number 36 in the present collection might be cited in evidence that the monastery at Bala'izah was based on a Pachomian system, but in that case we should have expected Pachomius to have been invoked on the stelae found at Bala'izah⁶⁾.

Summing up the evidence for the date of the settlement at Bala'izah there seems little doubt that the monastery was either deserted or destroyed shortly after A.D.750, a time when most of the lesser Coptic

1) For Pboou see Lefort in Le Muséon LII(1939) pp.387ff..

2) His life is found in Morgan XXXVII, cf. Cauwenbergh, Étude pp.158f..

3) Morgan XXXVII p.297: περὶ τῆς ἀμoνaστηρίου.

4) Morgan LVI p.52.

5) Ed. M.Hombert and C.Preaux in Chronique d'Égypte XLI(1946)pp.121ff. number XI. The editors also compare P.Lond.1899. Both papyri are apparently from the sixth century and were presumably written either in the life-time or shortly after the death of Apa Apollo. Two persons from †τκooε^(sic!) are mentioned in two unpublished graffiti in the Theban hills, kindly communicated to me by Professor J.Černý.

6) See above p.2 note 1. The names invoked are: (1) Apa Apollō, Apa Anoup, Apa Pğōsh(Gizeh and Rifeh pl.XXXIX); (2) Apa Apollō, Apa Petre, Apa Jōhannēs, Apa Pğōl(Memphis I pl.LIII); (3) Apa Apollō, [Apa Petre](sic!), Apa Jōhannēs, Apa Pğōl(Memphis I pl.LIV); (4) Apa Apollō, Apa Petre, Apa Jōhannēs(Memphis I pl.LIV).

monasteries disappeared¹⁾. It is difficult to ascertain whether the monastery was founded as late as the end of the seventh century, as seems indicated by the non-literary documents. Most finds of papyrus from Egypt relate only to certain specific periods, localities and sometimes even persons, and the absence of documents from any site during any particular period is not sufficient reason to assume that the locality did not exist then²⁾. The rather considerable number of early literary texts found at Bala'izah makes it probable that the settlement existed long before the eighth century, but there is no evidence for the actual time when it was founded.

In P.Cairo Masp.67096 we hear of a monastery of Apa Apollo, being described as situated (line 10): ἐν τ[ῷ] ὄρει Ἀφροδίτης τοῦ Ἀνταιοπολίτου νομοῦ, which must have been within a few miles of Bala'izah³⁾. It was

- 1) This was the beginning of the 'Abbasid Caliphate; it seems inevitable to conclude that the change of government was in some way responsible for the disappearance of these monasteries, though the early Arab historians do not indicate any change of policy under the 'Abbasids, cf. G. Wiet in Encyclopedia of Islam s.v. Kibt.
- 2) Cf. H. I. Bell, Egypt from Alexander the Great to the Arab Conquest.
- 3) At first sight it might seem probable that this referred to the settlement at Bala'izah, but this would hardly be described as being 'on the mount of Aphrodito', Aphrodito being some twenty miles to the south; also it is certain that during the sixth century Apollonopolis Parva (Sbeht-Kom Isfaht) existed as a nome separate from that of Antaiopolis which included Aphrodito then, see Sir Alan Gardiner, Ancient Egyptian Onomastica vol. II, pp. 55ff.. Bala'izah is only a few miles from Kom Isfaht, and as in the eighth century would have been in that nome; cf. PSI 933, dated A.D. 538, also from Aphrodito, where a monastery of Apa Agenios is actually described as being in the nome of Apollonopolis. Cf. also BSAC IX p. 235 note 1.

founded by Apa Apollo, who later became Flavius Apollo, the son of Psimanob¹⁾et and the father of the poet Dioskouros who figures largely in the find of sixth century papyri from Aphrodito. In the Crum Material²⁾ there is a photo of a Coptic papyrus from that monastery; the first two lines read: ⲡ ⲡⲁⲡⲁ ⲫⲟⲓⲃⲁⲙⲙⲱⲛ ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲁⲡⲧⲟⲟⲩ [Ⲛ]ⲁⲡⲁ ⲁⲡⲟⲗⲗⲱ [ⲁⲓⲓⲓⲓⲓ] ⲙⲁⲛ ⲡⲗⲁⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲱ
 ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙⲡⲛⲉⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲛⲕⲉ... 'ⲡ Papa Phoibammōn the father of the mount [of] Apa Apollo [.....] and the whole people of God and the poor brethren [.....].
 We hear no more of that monastery; it is not mentioned in the papyri of the eighth century from Aphrodito.

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 p. 189

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- 1) In this connection it seems remarkable that in the monastery of Apa Apollo at Bawit we find an inscription (MIF LIX, 128): ⲫⲓⲙⲁⲛⲱⲃⲉⲧ ⲡⲣⲙⲭⲏⲕⲟⲟⲩ 'Psimanōbet from Jkoou (Aphrodito)', Psimanōbet was certainly not a common name.
 - 2) Griffith Institute, Oxford, C/Group V.4. This photo was taken by E. Brugsch for Maspero who sent it on to Crum. Presumably it is now in the Cairo Museum with other Coptic papyri from that find.

Chapter IV: Other monasteries mentioned in the
Bala'izah Collection.

A number of monasteries are mentioned in the present collection, and some of these are known from other collections; a summary of the evidence may be useful here:

The Monastery of Apa Jeremias

This monastery is mentioned in three documents: 137⁸, 214^{1,9,18} and 312²². Number 214 is of special interest as it appears to be a letter written jointly by the monks of the two monasteries of Apa Apollo and Apa Jeremias, and presumably the monastery of Apa Jeremias must have been in the immediate vicinity of Bala'izah. Probably the same monastery is mentioned in W.S.193 $\epsilon\rho\eta\mu\iota/\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon\tau\eta$ ¹⁾ and perhaps in P.Mich.1524 $\epsilon\rho\eta\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon\tau\eta\omicron\nu\alpha(\sigma\tau\epsilon\tau\eta\omicron\nu)$ ($\eta\alpha\alpha\delta$) $\epsilon\rho\epsilon\mu\iota\alpha\varsigma\ \eta\alpha\alpha\mu\alpha\eta\beta\eta\tau\epsilon$ if this can be established to have come from Wadi Sarga²⁾.

Near Antaiopolis on the east bank of the Nile was also a monastery of Apa Jeremias. This must have existed already in early times and was famous through a saint Apa Pshoi who had lived in this monastery. In the life of Paul of Tammah we hear of this person as $\alpha\eta\alpha\ \eta\gamma\alpha\iota\ \eta\tau\epsilon\ \epsilon\rho\epsilon\mu\iota\alpha\varsigma$

1) Cf. W.S. p.151 note 4.

2) This with two other, obviously related, documents from Michigan was recently published by E.M. Husselman in Aegyptus XXXI, 1951, pp. 332f.. One of them had previously been published by Crum as W.S.174 as he assumed on internal grounds that it had come from Wadi Sarga. It is difficult, however, to understand what internal grounds would justify such an assumption. The opening phrase $\eta\epsilon\eta\epsilon\omega\tau\ \eta\epsilon\tau\epsilon\alpha\iota$ (et sim.) indeed occurs several times at Wadi Sarga, but it is also found quite commonly on unpublished financial documents in the British Museum of undoubted Ashmunein provenance. For the curious use of η in these three texts see chapter VIII par. 27b below.

εγχορον εμπτοου κνωου αναλειβειτ μιερρο 'Apa Pshoi of (the monastery of) Jeremias, he being in the mount of Kooou(Antaiopolis) on the east (bank) of the river(Nile),¹⁾. This same saint also occurs as πγοι νιερμιας in inscriptions at Deir el-Gebrawi²⁾ and Bawit³⁾. Presumably this monastery is referred to in P.Lond.IV 1594, P.Masp.67007 and 67151, the last being a deed of donation to the monastery⁴⁾.

Another monastery of Apa Jeremias was south of Antinoopolis, also on the east bank of the Nile. This is mentioned in Kr.86 which is a deed issued by the monastery ΠΑΙΚΑΙΩΝ ΝΗΜΟΝΑΣΤΗΡΙΩΝ [εἶς] ἀπὸ ἀπὸ ἱερῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς ΝΤΠΟΛΙΣ ΑΝΤΙΝ 'The δῖκλιον of the holy monastery of Apa Jeremias in the south of the town Antinoou'. This monastery is mentioned in the life of Apa Daniel of Sketis⁵⁾ and on three inscriptions from Bawit⁶⁾.

Another monastery of Apa Jeremias was the great monastery at Saqqara which was excavated early this century by Quibell⁷⁾. This monastery was well known in ancient times and was probably founded by Apa Jeremias

- 1) Zoega p.370 = Miss.IV p.768.
- 2) N.de G.Davies, Deir el-Gebrawi vol.II pl.XXIX,3.
- 3) MIF LIX,452^{8f.}; these two inscriptions have many names in common.
- 4) There is, however, no certainty whether these refer to this particular monastery or any of the other monasteries of Apa Jeremias in the neighbourhood. There might well have been further monasteries named after this saint of which nothing is known.
- 5) See ROC V,1900,p.67 and P.van Cauwenbergh, Étude sur les moines d'Égypte p.17.
- 6) BIFAO V,1907,p.13 Δαουιδ ψωγραφος ιππια παπα ιερημιας, and on two stelae, said to be from Bawit, in Berlin, published by O.Wulff, Altchristliche Bildwerke, part.I of vol.III of Koenigliche Museen zu Berlin(1909) number 253(pp.83ff.) ανα ιακωβ πειωτ ιπποτος (N) ανα ιερημιας, 258(pp.85f.) ανα zacharias πειωτ ιπποτος (N) ανα ιερημιας.
- 7) Excavations at Saqqara, volumes III - V.

sometime in the fifth century¹⁾.

Near Manquabad, a few miles north of Assiout on the west bank of the Nile, a number of stelae, graffiti and ostraca were found and published by A.Kamal²⁾. Apa Jeremias is mentioned prominently on nearly all the invocations and presumably this was a monastery known by his name. Whether it is identical with any of the monasteries mentioned above would be difficult to establish. Perhaps yet another monastery of Apa Jeremias in the Thinite pagarchy is mentioned in P.Lond.IV 1640¹⁹⁾.

The Monastery of Apa Johannes

This monastery was situated in the desert above Assiout and was known as either the monastery of Apa Johannes or the rock(or mount) of Assiout; an inscription from Bawit(Baouit p.43) describes it as "MONA(CTH-PION) NANA IΩΓΑΝΝΗΣ ΝΤΗΕΤΡΑ ΝCΙCΟΥΤ 'The monastery of Apa Johannes of the rock of Assiout'. In the present collection it occurs once as the rock of Apa Johannes(312²¹⁾ and once as the mount of Assiout(155¹⁾). It must have existed already in early times and is mentioned in the life of Paul of Tammah as the rock(Z.370) or mount(Z.366) of Assiout. For the life of this Apa Johannes and his identity see Crum,Der Papyruscodex p.XVII number 8 and note³⁾. Another monastery of Apa Johannes was found at Antinoe⁴⁾ and another is known to have existed in Scetis⁵⁾.

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- 1) See P.van Cauwenbergh,Étude sur les moines d'Égypte pp.130f. and references there.
 - 2) Ann.Serv.XV,1915,pp.179ff..
 - 3) Cf.also DeVis,Homélies Coptes vol.II p.124 and note, and Butler,The Lausiac History of Palladius vol.I p.186. A monastery of St.John the Dwarf, also called the monastery of the Seven Mountains, near Assiut is mentioned in Abû Şalih(ed.Evetts) p.251(fol.90a) and Makrizi reports that it was destroyed by a mob in A.H.821(ib.p.315).
 - 4) Cabrol,Dictionnaire d'Archéologie chrétienne s.v.Antinoe.
 - 5) Cauwenbergh,Étude etc.pp.122ff..

The monastery of Apa Mena

This monastery is mentioned twice in the present collection: 119⁹ $\pi\mu\omicron\nu\alpha\sigma\tau(\eta\rho\iota\omicron\nu)\epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\alpha\alpha\beta(\eta)\alpha\alpha\mu\eta\eta\alpha$ 'The holy monastery of Apa Mena' and 140² $\pi\tau\omicron\omicron\gamma[\gamma]\eta\alpha\mu\alpha\mu\eta\eta\alpha$ 'The mount of Apa Mena',¹⁾ Two documents from this monastery were published by C.Schmidt in $\dot{A}Z$ LXVII,102ff. $\pi\mu\omicron\nu\alpha\sigma\tau\eta\rho\iota\omicron\nu\epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\alpha\alpha\beta$ $\eta\tau\eta\tau\rho\epsilon$ ^(ω) $\eta\alpha\mu\alpha\mu\eta\eta\alpha$ 'The holy monastery of the rock of Apa Mena', and $\dot{A}Z$ LXVIII,60ff. $\tau\eta\tau\rho\alpha\epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\alpha\alpha\beta\eta\alpha\mu\alpha\mu\eta\eta\alpha$ 'The holy rock of Apa Mena'; this last document was signed by the notary ($\gamma\omicron\mu\iota\kappa\acute{o}\varsigma$) of Sbeht²⁾ and the monastery was presumably in the hills above the town. It is also mentioned in the E.von Scherling papyri³⁾. It may be noted that there was a church of $\alpha\pi\alpha\mu\eta\eta\alpha\mu\alpha\rho\upsilon\tau\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ at Aphrodito⁴⁾.

The monastery of Abba Poulos

This monastery occurs as 'the rock of Abba Pouli' in five financial documents of the present collection: 113³ and note, 130², 288¹², 298¹. Nothing else appears to be known about this monastery, but the presence of documents like 130 and 298 at Bala'izah is not easy to explain; these two documents would be of no interest to any other monastery. It may be noted, however, that this monastery occurs only on Greek documents or Greek dockets and perhaps in the government treasury $\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha\eta\alpha\lambda\lambda\omega$ was confused with $\alpha\alpha\alpha\eta\alpha\lambda\lambda\epsilon\iota$, or the monastery was also known as the monastery of Apa Pouli(=Paulos)⁵⁾ Alternatively, perhaps these documents were found

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- 1) Perhaps a further reference to this monastery is 132⁸ $\alpha\alpha\tau\alpha\mu\eta\eta\alpha$ 'for her of Mena', but the exact interpretation of this is doubtful. If a monastery is meant, it would indicate the presence of nuns there.
 - 2) See above p.15 and note 4 there.
 - 3) See above p.15 note 5.
 - 4) P.Masp.III,67283 II,7. Cf. also BSAC IX p.235 note 1.
 - 5) P.van Cauwenbergh, Étude sur les moines d'Égypte p.169 cites an instance where a monastery of Apa Apollo (presumably the one at Titkooh, see above p.19) was also known as the monastery of Apa Isaac.

at Deir el-Ganadlah¹⁾.

The monastery of Apa Thomas

This is the monastery which was excavated for the Byzantine Research Fund at Wadi Sarga about five miles to the south of Bala'izah.²⁾ It seems remarkable that this monastery is only mentioned once in the present collection in a doubtful reference(288⁷⁾, but, similarly, the monastery of Apa Apollo is never mentioned at Wadi Sarga. Two documents from the E. von Scherling papyri³⁾ mentioning this monastery were published by H.de Nie⁴⁾. The monastery of Apa Thomas is called ΠΜΟΝΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΝΑΠΑ ΘΩΜΑΣ(WS 164,344, Ryl.124, E.von Scherling papyri), ΠΜΟΝΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΕΤΟΥΔΑΒ [ΝΤΠΕΤΡΑ] ΝΑΠΑ ΘΩΜΑΣ(WS 375),⁵⁾ ΤΠΕΤΡΑ ΝΑΠΑ ΘΩΜΑΣ(Ryl.289,294) and ΠΤΟΟΥ ΕΤΟΥΔΑΒ(WS 96).

The convent of Ama Sophia

In 288¹⁷ we hear of a nun(?) from this convent which is also mentioned once at Wadi Sarga(Ryl.124). The Coptic Synaxary, Paoni 4, commemorates the martyrdom under Diocletian of a certain Ama Sophia with Ammon⁶⁾; Ama Sophia is also included in a list of martyrs from Teshta⁷⁾.

Other monasteries

A number of other monasteries are mentioned in the present collection, but little appears to be known of them; for a list of these see below index B.

1) See above p.2.

2) See Crum and Bell, Wadi Sarga, especially pp.6ff..

3) See above p.15 note 5.

4) Ben Koptisch-Christlijke Orakelvraag, in Jaarbericht no.8 van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Gezelschap, Ex Oriente Lux, 1942, pp.615ff..

5) For the lacuna cf. ÄZ LXVIII(1932) pp.60ff., line 24.

6) Delehayé, Les Martyrs d'Égypte, p.105.

7) See Ep.I p.7 and note 3 there; Apa Ammon also occurs in this list and perhaps these are the same as those in the Coptic Synaxary.

Appendix: A note on τοοϋ and πετρα.

The description of monasteries in the neighbourhood of Bala'izah varied between μοναστηριον, πετρα, τοοϋ, and (rarely) τοπος. The monastery of Apa Apollo itself is usually called μοναστηριον, but occurs twice as πετρα (205⁷, 211⁵) and twice as τοπος¹). The two words τοοϋ and πετρα are of some interest in their specific monastic sense and a brief discussion may be useful here:

τοοϋ

This word, corresponding to the Greek ὄρεσ, refers to the mountains or hills above the Nile valley and thus indicates also the desert generally. In its specific monastic sense it had four principal meanings:²)

1) It could be used of a hill or mount near some locality on which there were several monastic establishments. Perhaps the best known of these hills was the 'Hill of Jeme' πτοοϋ ΝΧημε (= ὄρεσ μεμνόνιον P.Lond.I, 77⁷⁶) on which there was among others the famous monastery of Apa Phoibammon³). This meaning of τοοϋ seems to have been common throughout Egypt and we find it at Edfu⁴) and as far north as Saqqara⁵), Shiet and Nitria⁶).

1) In the E.von Scherling papyri, cf. above p.15 note 5.

2) Cf. Ep.I p.107 note 12 and Crum, Dict.p.441; I have also made use of the Dictionary-slips in the Crum Material, Griffith Institute, Oxford.

3) Cf. Ep.I pp.107ff..

4) Lant.LIX¹¹ π μοναστηριον ἡ φαρσιος μερ(κουριος) ἡ πτοοϋ ΝΤΒΩ.

5) πτοοϋ ἡ μεβε 'The mount of Memphis', see Revillout, Actes etc., papyrus du Louvre 5 and 6; in both cases the facsimiles should be consulted; cf. also Krall, Rec.Tr. VI, pp.63ff., no.3.

6) See Crum, Dict.p.441b; cf. also B.Mar.210 ονσοονεσ ἡ μοναχος εὔπτοοϋ ΝΧημουν; two monasteries ἐν τῷ ὄρει κώμης Ἀφροδῖτης are known from the sixth-century Aphrodito find: P.Masp.67096¹⁰ and P.Flor.285⁴.

2) It could also be used in the same way as referring to one monastery only. This is certainly the meaning of $\pi\tau\omicron\omicron\upsilon \bar{\alpha}\varsigma\iota\omicron\omicron\upsilon\tau$ 'the mount of Assiout',¹⁾. An early example of this is Ryl.268 where we have 'Apa Pshoi, the priest of the mount($\tau\omicron\omicron\upsilon$) of Pnomt. The White Monastery is frequently called 'the mount($\tau\omicron\omicron\upsilon$) of Atripe',²⁾.

3) It was used in the particular sense of 'monastery' and was combined with the personal name by which this was known. Thus we have 'the mount($\tau\omicron\omicron\upsilon$) of Apa Mena',³⁾; cf. Baouit I 78 'Papa Timotheos the father of the mount($\tau\omicron\omicron\upsilon$) of Apa Bane', CO 371⁶ 'The mount($\tau\omicron\omicron\upsilon$) of Apa Pesynthius' and Z.314 'The mount of Apa Antonius' (= P.G.65,397 ὁ ἄγιος, Crum). The Greek ὁ ἄγιος was also used like this, e.g. P.Masp.67096⁴ τὸ ὁ ἄγιος ἀπὸ Ἀγερίου and P.Masp.67141 τὸ ὁ ἄγιος ἄμμ μαρεῦς.

4) It was simply used in the phrase $\pi\tau\omicron\omicron\upsilon \epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\alpha\alpha\delta$ 'Holy mount' or just $\tau\omicron\omicron\upsilon$ 'mount' referring to a monastery, e.g. WS 96 $\pi\tau\omicron\omicron\upsilon \epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\alpha\alpha\delta$ and CO 407 'We the whole community of the mount($\tau\omicron\omicron\upsilon$)'; cf. VC 47⁸ $\gamma\alpha\pi\omicron\omicron\mu \mu\pi\tau\omicron\omicron\upsilon$ 'By the power of the mount',⁴⁾.

πετρα

Closely allied to $\tau\omicron\omicron\upsilon$ and often replacing it is $\pi\epsilon\tau\omicron\alpha$. Not content with having withdrawn from the world and living in the desert, the ideal of many of the early Egyptian monks was to withdraw even further to isolated caves in rocks ($\pi\epsilon\tau\omicron\alpha$) which could be reached only with the greatest difficulty⁵⁾. In time communities were grouped round these caves

1) See above p.24.

2) E.g. Till, Heil. und Maert.-legenden II, p.22, Lant. LI, LII, LIII, LIV, LV, al.; this description is still found in the History of the Patriarchs ed. Evetts, vol. III p.5 جبل ادريبا من اعمال الخميم 'The mount of Adriba in the province of Achmim'.

3) See above p.25.

4) For further references see Crum, Dictionary p.441a.

5) Cf. J. Muyser in BSAC IX, 1943, p.214 note 1.

and we find $\pi\epsilon\rho\alpha$ indicating a monastery and used like $\tau\omicron\omicron\upsilon$, except that obviously it could only refer to one monastery:

1) I have been able to find only one example of $\pi\epsilon\rho\alpha$ combined with a place-name referring to a monastery: The rock($\pi\epsilon\rho\alpha$) of Assiout¹⁾.

2) Like $\tau\omicron\omicron\upsilon$ it is frequently found combined with the personal name by which a monastery was known. This appears to have been particularly common in the neighbourhood of Bala'izah. In the present collection three monasteries are called $\pi\epsilon\rho\alpha$: Those of Apa Apollo, Apa Johannes and Apa Pouli²⁾. The monastery of Apa Thomas at Wadi Sarga is also called 'the rock($\pi\epsilon\rho\alpha$) of Apa Thomas'³⁾, and 'the rock of Apa Mena'⁴⁾ is yet another example from this region. In Ryl.139 we hear of 'the rock of Apa Victor', cf. Mus. Guimet XXV p.186 'the rock of Saint Makarius'.

3) It also, like $\tau\omicron\omicron\upsilon$, occurs frequently as $\tau\pi\epsilon\rho\alpha$ $\epsilon\tau\omicron\gamma\alpha\alpha\delta$ 'holy rock' or $\pi\epsilon\rho\alpha$ 'rock'⁵⁾. At Bala'izah we have two examples of this (212, 213), presumably referring to the monastery of Apa Apollo there⁶⁾. Cf. also the frequent use of $\pi\epsilon\rho\alpha$ in this sense in Mus. Guimet XXV pp.56,76, 208,291,292.⁷⁾

1) See above p.24.

2) See above pp.27,24,25.

3) See Ryl.124,289,294, also WS pp.6f. and notes.

4) See above p.25.

5) Cf. Ep.I p.113 and references there; also p.134 note 1.

6) Against Crum in WS pp.6f..

7) Cf. also Miss.IV 768 $\alpha\eta\upsilon\omicron\omicron\gamma\epsilon$ $\epsilon\mu\pi\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\alpha\eta\gamma\iota\epsilon$ $\nu\omicron\gamma\pi\epsilon\rho\alpha$ 'We walked in the desert($\tau\omicron\omicron\upsilon$) and found a rock($\pi\epsilon\rho\alpha$).

Chapter V: The Organisation of the Monastery

We have no certain evidence, internal or external, whether the monastery of Apa Apollo at Bala'izah was based on any particular monastic system such as that of Pachomius or Shenoute. I have drawn attention above(pp.18f.) to the very slight evidence that perhaps the monastery was founded by the Apa Apollo who was expelled from the famous Pachomian monastery of Pboou in the time of Justinian. But even if this Apa Apollo was the founder of the monastery at Bala'izah there is still no certainty that it was based on the Pachomian system of Pboou. The monastery is nowhere in the present collection called a κoινωβιον and indeed it seems more likely that it was of the type usually associated with the Sarabites which was common throughout Egypt during this period¹⁾. In the present collection we may point to a certain Apa Amnone, presumably a monk in the monastery of Apa Apollo, who on one occasion lends his monastery some money to pay its taxes(103) and in other documents appears as superior²⁾. This evidence, combined with the fact that the neighbouring monastery of Apa Mena was certainly of this type³⁾, is perhaps conclusive

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- 1) For a full discussion of this type of monastery see the interesting study by W.Hengstenberg, Bemerkungen zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des ägyptischen Mönchtums, Extrait des Actes du IVE Congrès international des études byzantines(Bulletin de l'Institut archéologique bulgare, tome IX,1935) pp.355 - 362, and references there.
 - 2) 100,159,190,302, cf.188 introduction. 100 is a most interesting document demonstrating that a superior could be appointed for only a few days. Presumably this document was drawn up to make Apa Amnone superior permanently; cf. also the deed appointing a superior published by C.Schmidt in ÄZ LXVIII(1932) pp.60ff..
 - 3) Cf.Hengstenberg l.c. p.359 and the document published by C.Schmidt mentioned in the last note.

that the monastery at Bala'izah followed this same system.

A number of titles and technical terms concerned with the organisation of the monastery occur in the present collection and a summary of the evidence may be useful here:

δίκτωρ

Professor A.Steinwenter fully dealt with this technical term and its legal aspect¹⁾; he pointed out that δίκτωρ does not indicate the 'council' or 'Körperschaft' of a monastery, as had been assumed previously, but simply the jurisdiction of a church or monastery represented by its superior²⁾. C.Schmidt³⁾ collected all instances so far known, where δίκτωρ occurs in Coptic texts; the present collection adds six examples and in the British Museum there are many more among the Ashmunein papyri which I am hoping to edit in the near future. On the evidence now available from Greek and Coptic texts it may be noted that δίκτωρ is usually found in texts from the neighbourhood of Aphrodito, Bala'izah and, to a less extent, Ashmunein. In the south it occurs as far as Dendera in a Greek papyrus of the sixth century (P.Masp.67298), but it is remarkable that at Thebes it is not found before the eighth century. Perhaps the earliest examples from there are two documents from the Bucheum⁴⁾; it also occurs in two late texts from Medinet Habu⁵⁾ and it is notable that in the Jeme Corpus it is only found in texts from the second half of the eighth century⁶⁾. It occurs however in P.Lond.II 483, dated A.D.616, which may have come from Edfu. This with three others was brought to

1) Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung, Kan.Abt.vol.XIX, 1930, pp.31ff., par.IX.

2) Cf.also A.A.Schiller, Koptisches Recht I (Kritische Vierteljahresschrift vol.XXV) pp.264ff. and references there.

3) ÄZ LXVIII, 1932, pp.60ff..

4) Sir Robert Mond and O.H.Myers, The Bucheum vol.II, p.78.

5) Stephansky and Lichtheim, Coptic Ostraca from Medinet Habu, 81, 174

6) Cf.J.index p.404.

the British Museum in 1890 by the Rev.A.C.Headlam; they were all stated to have been bought at Esne and were presumed to have come from Edfu (Apollonopolis magna)¹⁾. In P.Lond.II 483 a village Tanyaithis is mentioned which is otherwise only known from the neighbourhood of Kom Isfaht (Apollonopolis parva) and J.Maspero²⁾ argued that this papyrus in fact came from Apollonopolis parva. Bell, however, replied to this³⁾: '... but P.Lond.483 seems to form part of the same find as the papyri edited by Grenfell Journ.Phil. XXII,268ff. which certainly come from Edfu and I am not aware that any papyri from Heptakomia had been discovered so early as 1895⁴⁾.

πρoεστως

The superior of the monastery at Bala'izah is usually called by this title(17 times). It also occurs in the two documents from the neighbouring monastery of Apa Mena⁵⁾, at Wadi Sarga⁶⁾ and at Aphrodito⁷⁾. The title is used frequently at Thebes⁸⁾ and further south⁹⁾, but it is

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- 1) P.Lond.II 483 was published by Kenyon, the other three by Grenfell in the Journal of Philology XXIV,1894,pp.268ff..
 - 2) Revue des Études Grecques XXV p.219.
 - 3) Byzantinische Zeitschrift XXII p.397 note 2.
 - 4) Few monastic deeds are known from the far south and the absence of ὁκκλoν there may be accidental. The fact, however, that it does not occur at Oxyrhynchus and in the Fayyum, and at Thebes only in the eighth century, is more difficult to explain.
 - 5) See above p.25.
 - 6) WS 375, also 164 and 344 where πρ^o is clearly πρoεστως as in the present collection.
 - 7) Grohmann,Ar.Pap.Eg.Lib.,III 167^{15,21}; P.Lond.IV, Index 3.
 - 8) Cf.A.A.Schiller,Koptisches Recht II(Kritische Vierteljahresschrift XXVII) p.44 and Ep.I pp.130f..
 - 9) E.g.Lant.LIX¹³, CVIII¹², CXVIII,2⁵, CXIX^{vo.4}, CXX,2¹³.

extraordinarily rare in non-literary texts north of Assiout¹⁾. On the other hand the title seems to have been current in the Fayyum in the ninth century, as it occurs a number of times in colophons of the Pierpont Morgan manuscripts from Hamouli²⁾ and Cauwenbergh³⁾ cites an example from Ennaton near Alexandria.

ἡγεμὸν δέκτης

The superior of the monastery at Bala'izah is called by this title three times (210⁹ and note, 395⁴). On this title see especially Ep.I p. 130: 'The title was proper, in Egypt as elsewhere, to the abbots of only the larger coenobitic communities: in the neighbourhood of Thebes conspicuously to the successor of Pachomius ...⁴).

ΝΟΒ ΝΡΩΜΕ

The superior of the monastery at Bala'izah is also called by this title which occurs seven times. It was common throughout Egypt⁵⁾.

ΕΙΩΤ

Often the superior is simply called ΕΙΩΤ 'father' or with the addition 'father of the monastery', cf. the index. This practice was common throughout Egypt, but, of course, the title only rarely refers to the superior of a monastery.

ἡγούμενος

This title frequently indicates the superior of a church or monastery at Thebes and Aphrodito, but it is extremely rare further north

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- 1) I can only cite five examples from Ashmunein: Kr.101, BM 1077, BMOr. 6201A67, B183, 268. Ryl.201 probably is from Wadi Sarga.
 - 2) Lant.VII, 1³, XIII⁷, XIV⁶⁰, XXIV²⁰, XLI³, XLVI¹⁴, XLVII¹³, XLVIII¹⁶.
 - 3) Étude sur les moines d'Égypte p.67, cf. p.72.
 - 4) Cf. also Schiller, Koptisches Recht II (as p.32 note 8) p.44, WS p.10, Lant.vol.II index p.118.
 - 5) Cf. Ep.I p.131 and references there; also Steinwenter, Studien p.43 esp. note 7, Schmidt in ÄZ LXVIII, p.60 note 2 and Crum, Dict. p.250.

at Ashmunein¹⁾. On the other hand, it is again frequent in the texts from the monastery of Apa Jeremias at Saqqara²⁾. In the present collection it occurs twice(205⁷, 235¹⁰).

οἰκόνομος

This title occurs five times at Bala'izah(cf.index); the οἰκόνομος ought to indicate the steward of a church or monastery who was responsible for all business transactions³⁾, but in fact the title in non-literary texts usually indicates the superior⁴⁾.

πλαος τηρῷ

C.Schmidt, when publishing one of the documents from the neighbouring monastery of Apa Mena⁵⁾ drew attention to πλαος τηρῷ 'the whole people' occurring there and pointed out that this evidently referred to the monastic congregation; he was unable, however, to find any parallels. At Bala'izah it occurs four times as πλαος τηρῷ(188¹¹, 230⁷, 244⁶, 249¹⁰) and once as πλαος τηρῷ ἁπνοϋτε 'the whole people of God'(192¹³). It also occurs in the papyrus cited on p.21 above. More examples could be mentioned, but it is often not easy to decide whether a monastic congregation is indicated⁶⁾. The expression is presumably taken from the Bible, e.g. Hebrews IX, 19 al..

ἡ-νοβ ἡ-κνη

This title 'the senior brethren' evidently refers to monks who are senior in the monastery and it occurs twice at Bala'izah(102⁴, 108²)⁷⁾.

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- 1) I can only find Ryl.290, a 11th-12th century text.
 - 2) RAC pap. du Louvre 2, 4, 5, 8; Krall, Rec. Tr. VI pp. 63ff., pap. I, II.
 - 3) Cf. Schiller(as. p. 32 note 8) and references there.
 - 4) Especially in the later legal documents from Thebes, cf. J. index p. 416; cf. also Lant. XXIII⁴, XLV¹⁵, XLVII¹³, XLVIII¹⁵, al..
 - 5) Cf. p. 25 above; A. Z. LXVIII, 1932, p. 60 note 1.
 - 6) Cf. Bal. 30²⁶, BSAC X(1944)p. 91 ετηρακαλει ἁπνοϋτε ραπλαος τηρῷ, al..
 - 7) Cf. also Crum, Dictionary p. 250b.

Outside the present collection I can find only one other example, VC 6^{vo.6}, from Thebes. It was probably equivalent to $\bar{\alpha}\bar{\nu}\bar{\alpha}\bar{o}\bar{o}\ \bar{\alpha}\bar{\nu}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\nu}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\nu}\bar{\alpha}$ 1), see below.

$\bar{\alpha}\bar{\nu}\bar{\alpha}\bar{o}\bar{o}\ \bar{\alpha}\bar{\nu}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\nu}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\nu}\bar{\alpha}$

This description of senior monks, lit.: 'senior sons', occurs once in the present collection (130³⁻⁴) and was probably equivalent to $\bar{\alpha}\bar{\nu}\bar{\alpha}\bar{o}\bar{o}\ \bar{\alpha}\bar{\nu}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\nu}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\nu}\bar{\alpha}$, see above. It is also found in a document from the neighbouring monastery of Apa Mena²⁾ and in BP.11937³⁾; it also occurs three times at Thebes (J.39²¹, 40¹⁵, 52¹⁰)⁴⁾.

$\beta\omicron\eta\theta\acute{o}\varsigma$

Officials bearing this title occur eleven times at Bala'izah in connection with the payment of taxes. The $\beta\omicron\eta\theta\acute{o}\varsigma$ at this period was an intermediary between the pagarch and the tax-payer, who on the one hand collected the taxes, and on the other was responsible to the pagarch for paying over the amount received from a tax-paying district⁵⁾.

Appendix: A note on $\delta\iota\alpha\kappa\omicron\upsilon\tau\iota\varsigma$ 6)

The word in Greek originally meant 'service' in a general sense without any particular significance⁷⁾. Later, but before the New Testament period it had also acquired the particular meaning of service at table. At the time of the New Testament four distinct meanings appear:

- 1) Compare 102⁴ with 103³.
- 2) ÄZ LXVIII, 1932, pp. 60ff. line 28; cf. p. 25 above.
- 3) Cited in Crum, Dictionary p. 250b; see also the other references mentioned by Crum and cf. here 36³ and 58⁷.
- 4) Cf. Steinwenter, Studien p. 43, especially note 7, and J^{Sch.} 13, 14 and note by Schiller there.
- 5) Cf. especially P. Lond. V p. 22 (1660) where two tax-receipts are signed by a $\beta\omicron\eta\theta\acute{o}\varsigma$ for the pagarch; cf. also Preisigke, Wörterbuch.
- 6) I am particularly indebted to Professor James Drescher for many valuable references.
- 7) Cf. the Greek dictionaries, e.g. Liddell and Scott, Sophocles, etc..

- 1) The old meaning of 'service' in a general sense.
- 2) The use of the word in the sense of 'service to God'.
- 3) The special sense of service necessary for preparing food at meals.
- 4) Closely related to the last: the 'service' to the poor and needy and alms in general.

The meaning of the word in Coptic texts is principally based on these four uses of the word, and while it is still found with those meanings, in most cases it has acquired new meanings derived from these.

1) In the meaning of 'service' without a particular significance it is found a few times in the New Testament, e.g. II Cor. III, 9, but during the Coptic period it is difficult to find a clear instance where the word is used without some divine significance; cf. Hyvernât, AM I, p. 22 line 17: '...he (Apa Lakaron) turned to the executioners and said to them: Come, complete your service (ⲭⲱⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲁⲕⲟⲛⲓⲁ). Immediately the executioners came, and the blessed Apa Lakaron stretched out his neck and his holy head was cut off ...'. Cf. also DeV II p. 196¹⁵, C 99, 193¹¹, C 89, 85¹⁹, 125².

2) Frequently in the New Testament some service to God is implied in the use of the word, though it is unlikely that it had already acquired that particular significance then. In Coptic the word has generally a more specialised significance, but instances where it implies some service to God in general can still be cited: C 42, 220²³ (Shenoute) '...for it is necessary that we should see each other, each one according to his rank, firstly the bishops, likewise the priests and the deacons who are in this same clergy, they seeing those who have completed their service well and all their other works which are fitting for them to do ...'. Cf. also DeV. I, 15, LMär. 37¹², Tri. 642², BM p. 411, al..

In the New Testament we already find the word describing the office of an apostle, e.g. I. Tim. I, 12, which is common in the early church¹⁾ and

1) Cf. Bauer, Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament.

we find it also in Coptic, e.g. Pcod.33: '...Cyril is he who makes remembrance of those who have need among the people of the bishop without ceasing; for he shall be asked about this (at the last judgement) more than (about) his whole service', (here applied to the bishop).

In the Pistis Sophia the word occurs several times describing the particular mission for which Christ came down to earth, e.g.⁹¹² '...when I knew that the order of the service for which I came was complete ...', similarly 8¹⁹, 9¹⁰, 20⁴, 32¹², 37¹⁴, etc..

Twice the word is used of the particular service of angels: BHom. 109: '...Oh! This great grief and all the sufferings of this great time (the end of the world) which is the administration and service of the angels ...', cf. C 73, 33¹⁸ (Shenoute).

The word is also found to describe the particular mission for which a man is sent in the service of God: Shenoute C 73, 28⁵: '...because of this it is folly and blindness to us, if some among us deal treacherously by strife and disobedience as against some works, of which they are able to take care, whether it is men to whom things have been entrusted, or some services, or some other good work ...'. In DeV II, 39⁸, 42¹² the service is the particular mission on which the prophet Jonah was sent, and ib. 147² the mission of John, archimandrite of Assiout.

Closely allied to these meanings are two instances where the special service consisted in martyrdom, e.g.: Till, Heil.-u. Märtyrerleg. I, 101⁷ '... and grant healing to Dionysius the brother of Julius thy servant who is performing this great service with thy servants the martyrs ...', similarly Togo Mina, Le Martyre d'Apa Epima p. 30¹¹.

3) Once in the New Testament we find the word denoting the service necessary for preparing a meal (Lk. X, 40), and in this sense it is also found once in Shenoute and several times in the life of Pachomius: C 73, 136¹⁴ (Shenoute): '... then let each one of us manage well with care the thing which has been entrusted to him in fear of God; the stewards, let them take care of everything in their service, so that none may perish

among them, or that they should not overlook some loaves ...'. Cf.C 99, 236²⁹(= C 89,71¹⁸), also 174¹⁵,193¹⁶,261³, al..

Evidently derived from this and the use of the word in the meaning of 'alms'(see below) is a new meaning indicating food or things in general given as alms, e.g.Till,Heil.u.Märt.-leg.I p.28²⁴:'...There was a daughter of the magistrate of the city in whose dwelling-place the monks were living for a long time, and he was doing good to them, taking their $\delta\alpha\kappa\nu\acute{\iota}\alpha$ to them to the mount and receiving their blessing ...'; similarly ib.28^{14f.}, 29².

4) Perhaps derived from the vague sense of service to God is the meaning, already found in the New Testament, in the particular sense of service to the poor and needy and administration of alms in general, often food. Thus it occurs as $\delta\iota\alpha\kappa\nu\acute{\iota}\alpha \nu\eta\epsilon\eta\kappa\epsilon$ 'service of the poor' in Shenoute, e.g.C 73,122¹⁵, Leyd.320, and elsewhere, e.g.BM p.169, Drescher, Three Coptic Legends p.6⁵, etc.. It also occurs as $\delta\iota\alpha\kappa\nu\acute{\iota}\alpha \mu\eta\rho\omicron$ 'service of the gate', e.g.Till,Heil.u.Märt.-leg.II,22²²:'... the service of the gate which is alms($\delta\gamma\acute{\alpha}\pi\eta$)...'.

5) From Shenoute onwards we can trace two separate developments of the word to denote a definite place. One is from its sense of a particular service to God, hence the monastic service, hence the community or monastery; the other from the principal meaning of service necessary to prepare a meal, hence the food given as alms, hence the place in the monastery where food was prepared, i.e.the kitchen. Unfortunately, it is often extremely difficult to decide from the context which of the two is meant; moreover, sometimes the same writer makes use of the word in both meanings, the most obvious example being Shenoute by whom the word is used in almost every sense.

5a) In Shenoute we frequently find the word used in the meaning of the monastic service, but it does not indicate the monastery itself in his time. Of particular interest is C 73,179⁸ where Shenoute quotes the word from St.Paul(II Cor.VI,3) and takes this to refer to the monastic

service: '... we are not afraid, nor are we ashamed of those who condemn us, as it has been said: we do not give any scandal in anything, so that no one may despise our service; for many have despised us and our service and even our ordinances and habit ...'; similarly Leyd.p.376, cf.C 42, 159⁶, C 73,42⁹. In other passages in Shenoute it almost comes to mean the monastery itself, e.g.C 42,198¹⁶: '... woe unto him ... who shall steal in any manner and him who shall remove some articles from the service of God and shall sell them outside stealthily for the brethren; he is estranged to the community(κοινωνία) of the holy heavenly dwelling-place ...'; cf.C 73,71³, 105¹⁰, Z.CCXXXIII p.247(of the manuscript).

In Greek papyri of the sixth century from Aphrodito the word occurs frequently in the sense of community¹⁾ and J.Maspero²⁾ published a special discussion of the word and its meaning at this period: 'Le mot δακονία dans la langue de l'époque a une signification bien précise; c'est un ensemble de biens, mobiliers ou immobiliers, appartenant à un monastère ou à un église, et gérés par un fonctionnaire décoré du titre général de δακονίτης'. In this meaning it is often found in Coptic documents, e.g. BMOr.6204^{54f.} (ca.A.D.850): '... and after your going out of the body(i.e. after your death),you Paulos the priest and my brother Petros, the δακονία of the monastery(μοναστηρίου) shall become lord over this cell ...'; BM Or.6201^{69f.}: '... and the work-place south of this which can be made into a bakery is not yours, but that of the δακονία and all the brethren shall bake in it ...'; similarly KKS XLVII no.3, BMOr.6201B219,270, Ep.178⁸, BM 548 and probably here 164¹.

5b) The other meaning of the word denoting the place where food was prepared, hence the kitchen, is also found already in Shenoute. In C 73, 98^{10,16-17}, also ib.45³,46^{1,9},al., we find ΠΑΤΔΙΑΚΟΝΙΑ or ΝΑΤΔΙΑΚΟΝΙΑ 'he(or: those) of the δακονία' occurring side by side with 'those of the herb-

1) For references see Preisigke, Wörterbuch.

2) Ann.Serv. X p.174.

garden', 'those of the fruits of the trees', 'those of the place of the gate' and 'the men of the house (ⲡⲓⲛⲏ)'; in C 73,44²⁴ 'those of the δακονία' occur with 'those of the sick' and 'those of the refectory (μαναστωμα)' showing that the δακονία in this sense was distinct from the refectory (μαναστωμα) which is borne out also by other evidence. That this δακονία was closely connected with a place of food in Shenoute is further shown by BM p.84a: '... he who shall receive it (the food) for them, it shall be given to him (lit.: them) by those who are in the δακονία and they shall ask for them from the father of these monasteries ...', similarly C 73,173¹².

This meaning of δακονία is often found in later Coptic texts. In two instances it is clearly distinguished from the refectory (μαναστωμα), but evidently connected with it: Z.365: '... he dismissed the brethren to the refectory, but us he took to the δακονία and he caused people to make ready for us that we should eat ...', cf. Le Muséeon XXXVIII, 1925, p. 271 where in procession round the monastery appropriate texts were read at different places, so at the refectory and the δακονία they read the passage of the five loaves and the two fishes. The same meaning of δακονία connected with a place where food was kept occurs in the life of Samuel of Kalamon¹), Z.538, and probably here 312, cf. BM.463, WS 175, J.108²⁵, etc.. An interesting passage is Till, Heil.u.Märt.-leg. II, 12¹¹ '... our father went on the roof of the δακονία ...', here obviously a place within the monastery.

1) Cf. P. van Cauvenbergh, Étude sur les moines d'Égypte p.115, esp. note 1: 'Ici la diaconie désigne la partie du monastère servant de magasin de cuisine et d'atelier. ...'; cf. ib. p.119.

Chapter VI: Taxation at Bala'izah

A considerable number of texts in the present collection, in Greek, Coptic (and also Arabic) relate to various taxes and afford some interesting information supplementing our existing evidence for taxation during the early Arab period. Invaluable for the study of these documents is the monumental work of H.I.Bell on the Aphrodito papyri in P.Lond.IV and I have had to refer to this work constantly¹⁾. Recently D.C.Dennet, Conversion and the Poll Tax in early Islam has re-investigated the question of taxation at this period. His book raises highly controversial issues but it is beyond the purpose of the present volume to deal with these here. It seems a pity that so much Coptic material for taxation during the early Arab period is still unpublished and that hardly any of the published material in Coptic has been utilised by Dennet for his study. It may, however, be pointed out that his conclusion²⁾ that the Coptic clergy and monks did not pay the poll tax, or did so only for a short period, is directly contradicted by the evidence of Coptic texts in the present collection as elsewhere. If Coptic priests, deacons and monks do not appear in the documents from Aphrodito, this is, in the opinion of the present writer, merely due to the fact that the Arabs did not recognise such titles and referred to the Copts irrespective of their ecclesiastical dignities merely by their names together with those of their fathers. In number 149 here a certain Apa Ammone, well-known in the collection and at one time the superior of the monastery³⁾ pays $\dot{\alpha}\nu\delta\epsilon\iota\sigma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$, and in number 290 the $\delta\iota\acute{\alpha}\chi\epsilon\kappa\phi\omicron\nu(1)$ of the monks is the most prominent item among the taxes which the monastery had to pay.

In fact, the taxes must have been extremely heavy on the monastery and it frequently had to borrow money, sometimes from its own members, to

1) Cf. also G.Wiet in Encyclopedia of Islam s.v. Kibt and references.

2) P.108.

3) Cf. above p.30.

pay its taxes(102,103,108,111). From the neighbouring monastery of Apa Mena we have a most interesting document relating to the appointment of a superior¹⁾; a person who wished to become the superior of a monastery at this period had to make himself responsible for the payment of its taxes which clearly had to be paid from his own resources to a considerable extent. At Bala'izah the position must have been much the same and presumably this was the main reason for the appointment of Apa Ammone, a wealthy monk²⁾, as superior of the monastery there. Perhaps no other collection demonstrates so clearly that the disappearance of many monasteries during the middle of the eighth century was directly due to heavy taxation³⁾; I need only mention number 290 here which shows that the monastery had to pay in one single year more than 88 solidi in taxes alone. This is an extraordinarily high figure for an establishment which had to pay its expenses mostly from handiwork or capital brought in by some of its wealthier members⁴⁾. A short summary of the taxes mentioned in the present collection may be useful here:

The principal taxes demanded by the Arabs at this period were the land-tax(δημόσιον), the poll-tax(διάγραφον, ἀνδρευσμός), and the expenses-tax(δαπάνη) which were generally paid in money, and the corn-tax(ἐμβολή) which was usually paid in kind. In addition, the Arabs demanded also a number of special taxes and personal service⁵⁾.

The δημόσιον is frequently mentioned(cf.index) but it is often not clear whether this refers to the land-tax, or stands for χερσικὰ δημόσια i.e.public taxes in general, paid in money⁶⁾; the latter seems more

1) Published by Schmidt in ÄZ LXVIII,60ff., cf.above p.25.

2) Cf.above p.30; cf.also the index.

3) Cf.also above pp.19f. and p.20 note 1.

4) Cf. the article by Hengstenberg cited above p.30 note 1.

5) For a full discussion see P.Lond.IV pp.xxv ff..

6) See P.Lond.IV p.xxv and elsewhere.

more probable in most cases.

The poll tax is denoted by δάρεαρον or ἀνδρεισμός and it seems that there was no difference between the two terms¹⁾. It is important, when dealing with this tax, to bear in mind that the taxes were levied in the first instance on the communities who in turn demanded payment from the individual in proportion to what each person could pay²⁾. Thus it is not surprising to find this tax varying in amount in the tax-receipts from this period in the present collection and elsewhere³⁾. As pointed out above, the superior was apparently responsible for the whole amount due from the monastery and presumably he collected at least some of this from the various monks. The poll tax was clearly the most substantial item in taxation as is demonstrated by number 290 here.

A remarkable tax called δάρεα κλη^ν occurs in 287; this ought to stand for δάρεαρον ἀρμουμένιν, cf. ἀπανη νάλμομενιν which occurs in 290. It can hardly indicate 'poll tax of the faithful (ἀρμουμένιν = المؤمنين, i.e. the Muslims)' since the Muslims did not pay the poll-tax. I am unable to offer any satisfactory explanation for this tax which, apparently, does not occur elsewhere.

The expenses tax, δαπάνη, is found several times in the present

1) Cf. here 130 Appendix note 6 and P.Lond.IV p.168.

2) Cf. P.Lond.IV pp.xxvff. and 167ff..

3) From Thebes over 360 tax-receipts, mostly for poll tax, are now known. About 180 of these have been published recently by Stephansky-Lichtheim, Coptic Ostraca from Medinet Habu; most of the others were published by Crum in CO,ST,VC, by Hall, Coptic and Greek Texts and by Till in Orientalia XVI, 1947, pp.525ff., and another 40, unpublished, have been copied by myself. I have found definite evidence which enables us to date most of these ostraca within the short period of A.D.710 - 730. I cannot deal with the full evidence here, but I am hoping to return to this subject elsewhere.

collection, cf. index. This tax was levied to cover the expenses of the administration in Egypt and these fall into four main groups:

1) The expenses of the local officials in general, usually referred to simply by $\delta\epsilon\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta$. For this tax see 130⁴ note and references there. It is interesting to note that in 130, 130 Appendix and Ryl.120 the poll tax is paid for the current year whereas the $\delta\epsilon\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta$ had to be paid one year in advance, cf.130³ note.

2) The expenses of the Muslim army and officials. Presumably this is the tax mentioned in 290 as $\Delta\alpha\mu\alpha\lambda\eta\ \eta\lambda\lambda\alpha\mu\omicron\upsilon\mu\epsilon\eta\iota\upsilon\iota$ 'expenses of the faithful(i.e.the Muslims)', cf. also P.Lond.IV 1447, p.360. The expenses of the soldiers form an item in 291²⁷, and the army ($\alpha\lambda\kappa\alpha\omega = \text{الجيش}$) is mentioned in 338⁴.

3) The expenses of the governor. This is mentioned once in 301, see note 4 there. In 294 we apparently have the expenses of the 'dux' as a separate item.

4) The expenses of the caliph. This tax does not occur in the present collection, but we find it in 130 Appendix(a document from Thebes).

The corn tax, $\epsilon\mu\beta\alpha\lambda\acute{\eta}$, is mentioned in five documents, cf. index. Presumably the entry in many accounts, usually relating to taxation, of $\epsilon\alpha\sigma\omicron\upsilon\sigma$ 'for wheat', e.g.290¹⁸, refers to this tax.¹⁾

Three unusual tax-receipts for weaving-garments-tax(132,133) and weaving-tax(134) have already been mentioned by Crum²⁾. Artisans and others who held no land were exempt from the land tax, but generally had to pay some special taxes³⁾. It is of some interest to note that one of these was written after A.D.740(132). Apparently, no other tax-receipts of this type have come to light elsewhere.

Apart from the general taxes, the Arabs also demanded personal

1) For this tax see P.Lond.IV p.xxvi and references there.

2) See W.F.M.Petrie, Gizeh and Rifeh, double vol.p.42 and Ep.I p.157.

3) See especially P.Lond.IV p.xxv and 1419¹²¹⁵ note.

service and the communities were responsible for the wages of these persons while engaged on such service. An order for sailors, similar to those from Aphrodito is number 181 here. Dyke-service and sailor-service are mentioned in number 138, see note 3 there. Three letters in the present collection are from persons on government service, see 186 introduction. An item in a tax-account(290⁵) mentions the wages of the craftsmen who are on the sea, and the expenses of persons away from home, presumably on government service, occur twice, see 130⁴ note.

Of some interest are numbers 296 - 300, all in Greek, relating to various taxes, in particular number 298 with some information on the ἐπιγυτούμενα.

The fact that at least two tax-receipts, one in Sahidic(132) and one in Bohairic(151), were issued from the nome of Busiris in the Delta is of unusual interest. The Sahidic document was written after A.D.740 and perhaps the taxes or certain special taxes were collected from Busiris during the middle of the eighth century¹).

1) Another tax-receipt, perhaps also from Busiris, is 146 which was written on a leaf from a semi-Bohairic biblical text(19). These texts are of considerable interest from a linguistic point of view, see below chapter IX pp. 231f., 241, 248, 250, 252.

Chapter VII: An unusual oath-formula at Bala'izah.

E.Seidl made a detailed study and analysis of oath-formulae in Coptic documents¹⁾ and the texts from Bala'izah generally follow the same pattern as those cited by him. An interesting variation in the usual formula, mostly in texts from Aphrodito, by the insertion of $\bar{\alpha}\pi\pi\alpha\bar{\alpha}\bar{\nu}$ $\bar{\alpha}$ - before $\pi\pi\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$, 'swearing by the name of almighty God', is found again in two documents from the present collection (103¹⁰ and note 10); it also occurs in three texts from Thebes²⁾.

There are, however, five texts from Bala'izah in which we find the unusual practice of 'swearing by almighty God and the prayers of NN the bishop' and in another document it is 'the prayers of our father':

167¹⁻³ εἰωρκ μῆνοῦ[τε πᾶντοκρά[τ]ωρ μὴ ἡ[γ]λῆ ν.....πε[ρ]ηίκυ, ἐτῶ πᾶνε ἄμωκ...
'I(?) swearing by] almighty God and the[prayers of ... the] bishop, not to lead you astray[...].

165^{12f.} εἰωρκ ^(sic) μὴ πῆνοῦ[τε πᾶν]τοκράτωρ ἀννεωλῆ[λ] ἀπα[ύ]θεοςωρος ἡ[ε]ρῆικ[υ] [...]
'I swearing by Almighty God and the prayers [of Apa]Theodoros the [bishop ...].

Also in three fragments: 111, 116⁴, 168. In 111 and 116 the oath appears to be not only by 'almighty God' and 'the prayers of NN the bishop' but also by 'the health[of ...](?)', cf. the two parallel documents below.

169 ...] ἡλῆ[λ] μὴ πένειωτ[....] ἡ[ε]κωρξ οὐν ἀ[ν]δρῶν.....

'I swearing by almighty God and the]prayers [of] our father [.....].

I have been able to find only two parallels to this unusual formula³⁾: Revillout, Actes et Contrats, papyrus du Louvre II (corrected

1) Der Eid im Römisch-Ägyptischen Provincialrecht; it seems a pity that Seidl made no attempt to differentiate between texts from different regions, such as Thebes and Ashmunein, which differ considerably in the oath-formulae as also in other respects.

2) Seidl l.c., p.140 note 1.

3) Both not in Seidl; one (VC 8) was published after Seidl's study.

from Crum's copy in the Griffith Institute Library, Oxford):

- 4 ΕΙΩΡΚ ΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ
 5 ΠΑΝΤΩΚΡΑΤΩΡ ΜΝΝΕΩΛΗΛ ΝΤΚΑΘΟΛΙΚΗ ΝΕΚΛΗΕ[ιδ]
 6 ΜΝΠΟΥΧΑΙ ΝΕΝΙΟΤΕ ΕΤΑΡΧΙ ΕΧΩΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΚΕΕΡΟΣ ΝΙΜ
 7 ΕΤΡΑΕΑΡΕΖ ΤΑΕΙΡΕ ΝΠΡΟΘΕ ΕΤΕΗΖ ΕΠΙΧΑΡΤΕΝ

'I swearing by almighty God and the prayers of the Catholic Church¹⁾ and the health of our fathers who rule over us at any time, that I shall act according as it is written on this document ...'.

Crum, Varia Coptica 8¹³⁻¹⁵ ΕΝ]ΩΡΚ [ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ Π]ΠΑ[ΝΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ] ΜΝ ΠΟΥΧΑΙ ΜΝΕΝ-
 ΧΙΟΟΥΕ ΜΝΝΕΙΩΛΗΛ ΜΝΕΝΕΙΟΤΕ ΕΤΟΥΑΔΒ ΑΝΣΩΝ ΝΕΙΛΟ⁵

'We]swearing [by] almighty [God] and the health of our lords and the prayers of our holy fathers; we have drawn up this promise ...'

It is to be noted that in each case it is a monk who swears; for this compare Seidl, l.c., pp.38ff..

Attention may also be drawn here to chapter VIII par.159 below which deals with variations in the sentences which follow the oath-formulae.

1) The 'Catholic Church' presumably indicates, as elsewhere in texts from this period, the principal church, cf. Ep.I p.116 and PSBA vol. XXVII, 1905, p.171.

Chapter VIII: Dialectical Variations in
Sahidic non-literary texts

Soon after I had copied a few documents from the present collection it became obvious to me that some special study of the dialect was essential for a proper understanding of the texts. At first I intended to deal only with the dialect of texts from Bala'izah and its immediate neighbourhood, but in time I extended the collection of slips on dialectical material to include texts from Ashmunein and elsewhere. Crum had already made a detailed study of the dialect of texts from Thebes, though much material could be added to Crum's lists¹⁾; he had also published some notes on the dialect of texts from Aphrodito²⁾, Wadi Sarga³⁾ and the present collection⁴⁾, but nothing appears to have been done so far on the dialect of texts from Ashmunein and further north.

My principal aim in collecting slips on dialectical material has been twofold: 1) to discover to what extent the dialect in non-literary texts differed from locality to locality in the Nile Valley; 2) how far the dialect of non-literary texts was influenced by earlier literary dialects and to what extent these texts help us to localise such dialects. During the past few years I extended the collection of slips to include also dialectical misspellings in literary texts from the fourth and fifth centuries which often reveal remarkable affinities to the dialect found in non-literary texts of a much later period. The conclusions which I was able to draw from the material included in the present chapter led to some remarkable results and a full discussion will be found in chapter IX below.

It ought to be made quite clear, however, that there has been no

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- 1) Winlock and Crum, The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes, chapter X.
 - 2) In Aegyptus vol. VI, pp. 181ff..
 - 3) Crum and Bell, Wadi Sarga pp. 12f..
 - 4) W.F.M. Petrie, Gizeh and Rifeh, double volume, pp. 42ff..

attempt to aim at completeness. The only texts which have been dealt with more or less fully and systematically in this chapter are those from the present collection¹⁾, from Wadi Sarga²⁾, Aphrodito³⁾, and a few others from the neighbourhood of Bala'izah⁴⁾. For the texts from the Theban area I have mainly relied on Crum's great work⁵⁾, but I have supplemented

- 1) Including the inscriptions, cf. above p.2 and note 1 there.
- 2) Crum and Bell, Wadi Sarga, including also Ryl.124,289,294.
- 3) From the sixth century find only two Coptic texts have so far been published: P.Lond.V 1709 and the Greek-Coptic glossary in Aegyptus VI,181ff.. I have also occasionally made use of unpublished papyri from that find at Cairo (cited as P.Jkow) from copies in the Crum Material, Griffith Institute, Oxford. Coptic papyri from the eighth century find were mostly published in P.Lond.IV. Further papyri were edited in Grohmann, Arabic Papyri in the Egyptian Library, vol.III numbers 164-167. Jernstedt in the introduction of P.Ross.Georg.IV mentioned further Coptic papyri from this find at Leningrad, but none of these appear to have been published so far.
- 4) The more important texts from this neighbourhood are two papyri from the monastery of Apa Mena, see above p.25; the E.von Scherling papyri, see above p.15 note 6, but I have not made use of these; various inscriptions, especially Brunton, Qau and Badari III plates LII - LV; Brunton, Matmar, paragraphs 172ff.; M.A.Murray, The Osireion at Abydos and Bouriant in Miss.I, pp.382ff.; Peet and Loat, Cemetries at Abydos part III, pp.38ff. (one was republished by Engelbach, Ann.Serv.XXXIX, p.314); also BIFAO III,126-128; Ann.Serv.X,51,55-56, XI,7,242-4, XV, 179-181, XVI,65-6,97-99, XXII,50-59; also a number of texts which may be presumed to have come from this neighbourhood: ST 265,329, 330, Kr.120, Worrell, Coptic Texts III,8, perhaps BM 1160, also a few unpublished texts in the British Museum.
- 5) Winlock and Crum, The monastery of Epiphanius vol.I chapter X.

this to some extent where necessary for comparison. For texts from Ashmunein I have collected most of the material from the two catalogues of Coptic manuscripts in the British Museum and the John Rylands Library published by Crum; I have also made use of Krall, Koptische Texte and Coptic inscriptions from Bawit¹⁾; some unusual spellings in the unpublished British Museum collections, especially BMO.6201A&B, have been cited from my own copies. I have not attempted to deal with Fayyumic and semi-Fayyumic texts here, as this would have held up the publication of the present volume even further. I hope to be able to discuss these dialects later in connection with unpublished material.

On the whole I have confined myself to texts earlier than the ninth century, though a few examples from later texts have been listed occasionally for comparison. Some interesting parallels to the peculiarities cited in this chapter are found in certain poetical texts of the tenth century²⁾. Some of the more interesting features have been noted in the paragraphs below, cf. especially par.143.

I have not attempted to deal with misspellings of Greek words except those in the present collection and a few unusual examples from elsewhere. The principals on which misspellings in Greek words are based are usually different from those which have occasioned dialectical variations in Coptic words.

In general the examples listed below will speak for themselves. As might have been expected, the dialect of texts from the neighbourhood of Bala'izah agrees sometimes with the dialect of texts from Thebes, sometimes with that of texts from Ashmunein, though agreements with the

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- 1) Especially those published by J.Maspero in MIF LIX; those published by Cledat in MIF XII seemed too unreliable to be cited with safety.
 - 2) See Erman, Bruchstücke Koptischer Volksliteratur in Abh.k.Ak.d.Wiss. Berlin 1897, pp.53-64; and H.Junker, Koptische Poesie des 10.Jahrhunderts (1908) pp.85 - 93, and a full discussion of the dialect there.

latter are far more marked. In a few cases we can note a difference in dialect between the texts of Bala'izah-Wadi Sarga and those of Aphrodito (21,43,157). On the whole, however, it ought to be borne in mind that the great majority of the texts from the neighbourhood of Bala'izah are written in pure Sahidic with few, or no dialectical spellings, and as Crum already pointed out¹⁾: '... at Deir Ganadlah and Deir Balaizah, the finding-places of much material, the idiom common to all is the purest Sa'idic, less tainted here, it seems, than at any other point in the upper valley'. At Thebes, too, the majority of the texts are in pure Sahidic,²⁾ though the dialectical element in some of the texts, even of a late period, is much stronger than elsewhere in Upper Egypt with the possible exception of some texts from the Fayyum. On the other hand, it would be difficult to cite any considerable number of texts from the Ashmunein collections which do not at least show some traces of dialect such as ε for Ν (82), Ν omitted (80), etc..

To make it easier to distinguish texts from different regions in the Nile Valley I have made use of capital letters to denote these regions when citing the examples:

- A for texts from Cairo to the Fayyum, in particular the texts from Saqqara.
- B for Sahidic texts from the Fayyum and the neighbourhood of Heracleopolis, sometimes including Fayyumic texts.
- C for texts from Oxyrhynchus to Bawit, in particular the Ashmunein collections.
- D for texts from Assiut to Abydos, in particular those from Bala'izah, Wadi Sarga and Aphrodito.
- E for texts from Coptos to Armant, in particular the Theban area.
- F for texts from Esna to Assuan.

1) Ep.I p.233.

2) Ep.I pp.233ff..

in manuscripts prior to the fifth century we never find the particle \bar{N} -written ϵN ; this is of some significance for the history and development of the superlinear stroke.

It is rare to find manuscripts earlier than the end of the fourth century which are always correct in the writing of the \bar{e} . Thus, $\bar{e}N$ and $e\epsilon N$ are confused in the Paris Magical Papyrus, the Turin Wisdoms (ed. Lagarde), the Berlin Gnostic (cf. Schmidt, Die alten Petrusakten), the Berlin-London Apocalypse (see p. 13 n. 3), the Subachmimic Acta Pauli and the Manichaeic texts, also rarely in Acts (Budge), e.g. 2⁴; yet $\bar{e}N$ and $e\epsilon N$ are not confused in the Berlin Psalter (ed. Rahlfs), Pistis Sophia, Deuteronomy (Budge), Subachmimic St. John and Achmimic manuscripts generally. $\bar{N}\tau\alpha$ - and $\epsilon N\tau\alpha$ - are confused in the Turin Wisdoms, Pistis Sophia, Bal. 18 and others. Texts which correctly spell $\bar{e}N$, $e\epsilon N$, $\bar{N}\tau\alpha$ -, $\epsilon N\tau\alpha$ -, $\bar{N}q$ -, etc., nevertheless frequently have, often side by side with the correct forms, $\tau\eta\rho\epsilon\kappa$, $\tau\eta\rho\epsilon\gamma$ (Subachmimic St. John, Budge, Biblical Texts), $\omega\eta\epsilon\zeta$, $\sigma\gamma\omega\eta\epsilon\zeta$, $\mu\omicron\gamma\lambda\epsilon\zeta$, $\zeta\omega\beta\epsilon\epsilon$ (Berlin Psalter), etc..

It seems probable that, apart from the particle \bar{N} -, the distinction was to a large extent artificial and only worked out in the course of time. It is only towards the end of the fourth century that we have manuscripts which are consistent throughout. Such manuscripts, as numbers 7, 17, 21, 22 in the present collection, exhibit the Sahidic dialect in a remarkable purity. After the fifth century the confusion becomes more and more marked, especially in manuscripts from Ashmunein and the Fayyum.

In non-literary texts the confusion is common at Ashmunein and further north, but it is comparatively rare in the south, particularly at Thebes. A number of examples may be cited from the present collection, but most of these are confined to particular texts, e.g. $\zeta\epsilon N\pi\omicron\gamma\omega\gamma\epsilon N\eta\bar{N}\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon$, $\mu\epsilon\rho\iota\tau\epsilon N\iota\omega\tau$, $\mu\epsilon\rho\iota\tau\epsilon N\epsilon\sigma\iota\omega\tau$ 161;

λααυ ηζωϥ εναφορμη 154¹⁴; ητε ηϥζητ εϣτον 226³; etc..

2) ē expressed by η; cf. η = ε (22).

This is not found in early literary manuscripts, an exception being P.S.140¹⁰ ηηδε for ητε. It occurs rarely in some early documents usually before η, μ, also ρ, ς and ζ:

P.Aberdeen(Rec.Champ.p.539) ηητω (also ητω = ητε), τημ and ζην (also ζη); Lemm, Misc.L ουηη; P.Gol.47 σηητε, ηρ- (6 times); B.M.1223 μηηςωνη; B.M.1224 τηητονου (also τητονου), ηετουηηη; Ryl.270 εαροτηη.

In non-literary texts it is extremely rare at Thebes, but common before η, μ and ρ north of the Theban region, particularly at Ashmunein. In the ninth and tenth centuries it becomes very common even in literary manuscripts from the same region, cf. Junker, Koptische Poesie p.91, but only before η, ρ and ω.

a) ηβ = β.

C only. τηηβ BM 1119²; τηβτ Ryl.308, also Matth.XVII,27(Horner's 119)

b) ηκ = κ.

C ωρηκ Ryl.284,409, Kr.127²⁴ al.; πωρηκ (πωρβ) Ryl.284; cf. Χηκοου M.I.F.LIX,128.

D ωρηκ Bal.157¹⁴.

c) ηλ = λ.

D βηλξε WS 101, P.Lond.IV,1573.

E βηλξε ST 42,53,54, TurO 17⁸, Worrell, Coptic Texts IV,13, MH 50⁶.

d) ημ = μ.

D ρμη WS 30¹⁷, P.Lond.IV 1553¹¹, Grohmann, Ar.Pap.in the Eg.Lib. III 167³⁹,61,75.

C ηταβηητον AnnServ. XV p.125; ηητον, σωτημ Worrell, Coptic Texts III,5(early).

e) ηη = η.

B e.g. ηη- BM 529⁴; σμηη- BM 529⁷,544¹⁷; σηητε BM 594¹⁰; etc.; cf.

BM 503 Lk.XIV,10(Fayyumic) $\overline{\pi\eta\eta\tau\alpha\chi\tau\alpha\zeta\mu\epsilon\kappa}$.

C $\overline{\eta\eta\tau\eta\eta}$ Ryl.284(ter); $\tau\eta\eta$ - (1st.pres.) Ryl.320; $\overline{\eta\eta\tau\alpha\chi\eta\omega\tau}$ Ryl.277;
 $\overline{\eta\eta\tau\omega\sigma\tau}$ Ryl.339; $-\tau\eta\theta\gamma\tau\eta\eta$ Worrell, Cop.Texts III,5(4 times),6(both
 early); $\eta\eta$ - and $\eta\eta\tau$ = ($\epsilon\iota\eta\epsilon$) Ryl.282,284,Kr.52⁴,113⁴,Jern.8⁷,al.;
 $\overline{\eta\eta\kappa\omega\tau\kappa}$ Baouit(Inst.XII)p.25 IV³; $\overline{\sigma\mu\eta\eta}$ -, $\overline{\sigma\mu\eta\eta\tau}$ = Ryl.139,BM 1044⁶,
 1056⁷,1063,1112¹,al.; $\overline{\sigma\eta\eta\tau\epsilon}$ Ryl.388,P.Černý(ined.)lines 9,15;
 $\overline{\sigma\gamma\eta\eta\tau\epsilon}$ BM Or.6201A179; $\tau\omega\tau\eta\eta$ Worrell, Cop.Texts III,6; $\overline{\zeta\iota\tau\eta\eta}$ -, $\overline{\zeta\eta\eta}$ -
 ib.III,5; $\overline{\gamma\omega\mu\eta\eta\tau}$ Kr.113; al..

D $\overline{\eta\eta\tau\eta\eta\beta\iota\chi}$ Bal.216¹⁶; $\overline{\pi\eta\eta\tau\alpha\chi\gamma\omega\mu\epsilon}$ Bal.51¹³; $\overline{\eta\eta\tau\text{-}\sigma\gamma}$ Bal.259¹⁰; $\overline{\mu\eta\eta\tau\eta}$
 P.Lond.IV 1554¹⁰,1561^{7,17}; $\overline{\sigma\mu\eta\eta}$ - Bal.114⁹; $\overline{\zeta\iota\tau\eta\eta}$ - Bal.280⁵,WS 181;
 $\overline{\zeta\eta\eta}$ - Bal.339⁵,WS 29¹⁶, Petrie, Memphis I pl.LIII; $\overline{\beta\eta\eta}$ - ($\beta\iota\eta\epsilon$) Bal.216⁸.

E $\overline{\eta\eta\tau\text{-}\gamma}$ MH 99⁶; $\overline{\sigma\eta\eta\tau\epsilon}$ MH 64⁶; $\overline{\eta\eta\eta\beta\omega\lambda}$ J.79⁵¹; $\overline{\sigma\gamma\eta\eta\tau\gamma}$ Bku 289; $\tau\eta\eta\eta\lambda\gamma$
 Ep.280⁶; $\overline{\zeta\alpha\zeta\tau\eta\eta}$ J.79⁵⁹.

f) $\overline{\eta\pi} = \overline{\pi}$.

C $\overline{\eta\pi\eta\eta}$ Ryl.352(early), BM 461³; $\overline{\sigma\omega\lambda\eta\eta}$ BM 1146⁴; $\overline{\gamma\omega\rho\eta\eta}$ BM 461^{4,9}.

D $\overline{\eta\pi\eta\eta}$ Bal.316¹.

g) $\overline{\eta\rho} = \overline{\rho}$.

C $\overline{\eta\rho}$ - ($\epsilon\iota\rho\epsilon$) Worrell, Cop.Texts III,5(early), Ryl.369,385,"AZ LXXVII
 p.106 no.3(10th century); $\overline{\mu\eta\eta\rho}$ - Worrell, Cop.Texts III,5; $\overline{\gamma\eta\eta\rho}$ -Kropp
 D⁷⁶, Ryl.131,136,144,162,167,185,319,BM 1013¹⁴,1017⁹,1018⁶,1035¹¹,
 1059²⁵,1044⁷,1060⁹,1064²⁵,1065³⁰, al.pl..

D $\overline{\eta\rho}$ -P.Jkow(Cairo); $\overline{\gamma\eta\eta\rho}$ - Bal.116¹⁸,165¹⁷,P.Lond.IV 1494²⁰,1498⁹,
 1509²⁰,1511⁹,1518¹⁸,1519¹⁵,1559¹¹,1565⁷,etc.,1566⁷,1584⁷,1587⁹,
 1591,1599^{7,11},1610^{34,35},1683³.

E Cf. $\overline{\mu\eta\eta\rho\epsilon}$ Bku 126.

h) $\overline{\eta\varsigma} = \overline{\varsigma}$.

C $\overline{\kappa\omega\rho\eta\varsigma}$ ($\kappa\omega\rho\gamma$) BMO.6201A79b; $\overline{\lambda\omega\mu\eta\varsigma}$ Ryl.206; $\overline{\tau\eta\rho\eta\varsigma}$ BM 1031^{vo8},
 Kr.114⁸.

D $\overline{\tau\eta\rho\eta\varsigma}$ Bal.156¹.

i) $\overline{\eta\omega} = \overline{\omega}$.

C $\overline{\kappa\omega\rho\eta\omega\tau}$ BM 1044¹¹; $\overline{\epsilon\gamma\tau\omega\sigma\rho\eta\omega}$ BM 1127¹⁰.

j) $\eta\gamma = \bar{\eta}$.

C $\tau\alpha\psi\omicron\pi\eta\gamma$ BM 1103²⁹; $\mu\omicron\tau\eta\eta\gamma$ Worrell, Coptic Texts III, 6 (early).

D $\tau\eta\rho\eta\gamma$ Bal. 62⁶.

k) $\eta\chi = \bar{\chi}$.

C $\omega\rho\eta\chi$ Ry1.205, BM 1063.

3) ě expressed by i ; cf. $i = e$ (23).

I can cite two early examples: Lemm, Misc. L line 19 $\epsilon i\eta-$ ($\epsilon i\eta\epsilon$);

BM 1224 $\epsilon i\rho-$ (twice). It seems to occur in all regions before N.

a) $i\eta = \bar{\eta}$.

A $\epsilon i\eta\eta-$ Kr. 104.

B $\epsilon i\eta-$, $i\eta\tau=$ Kr. 3; $\epsilon i\eta\eta-$ Sphinx X number V; $\epsilon i\eta\tau\epsilon$ BM 530; $\epsilon\chi i\eta-$ Kr. 3⁹

C $\epsilon i\eta\eta-$ Kr. 105, BM Or. 6201 A 31a.

D $i\eta-$ ($\epsilon i\eta\epsilon$) P. Lond. IV 1500³; $\epsilon i\eta\eta-$, $\epsilon i\eta\eta\tau=$ WS p. 198 note 3, P. Lond. IV 1495⁴, 1497¹⁶, 1509¹⁷, 1518¹⁵, 1519¹¹, 1521¹⁸, 1531⁹, 1565²⁵, 1573, 1586, 1587, 1596¹², 1610²¹, 1633; $\delta i\eta-$ P. Lond. IV 1611^{4,5}.

E $\epsilon i\eta-$ ($\epsilon i\eta\epsilon$) see Ep. I p. 239 (5 exx.); $\epsilon i\eta\eta-$ J. 105²⁰; $\delta i\eta-$ see Ep. I p. 239, add J. 65⁹², 122²⁹.

b) Before other consonants:

A $\epsilon i\rho-$ ($\epsilon i\rho\epsilon$) Kr. 228³.

D $\epsilon i\rho-$ P. Lond. IV 1639 (twice); $\epsilon\omicron\tau i\eta$ P. Lond. IV 1494³⁸.

? $\epsilon\omega\lambda i\eta$ TurM 9¹⁷.

4) ě expressed by o ; cf. $o = e$ (24).

Hamburg Old Fayyumic text $\kappa\omega\lambda\omicron\mu$, $\epsilon\omega\rho\omicron\mu$, $\epsilon\omega\tau\omicron\mu$ cited Crum, Dict. p. 253a

and Worrell, Coptic Sounds p. 120; Achm. II Macc. VI, 7 $\epsilon\omicron\eta\omicron\gamma\alpha\eta\alpha\gamma\kappa\eta$;

Achm. Asc. Is. (Museon LIX, 454) A, 2 $\rho\omicron\rho\omicron$; Luke (BIFAO VIII, 76ff.)

V, 36 $\mu\omicron\eta\tau\epsilon\lambda\lambda\omega$; ib. V, 49 $\mu\omicron\eta\tau\eta\omicron\delta$.

C $\mu\alpha\rho\gamma$ -V. C. 48⁶; $\mu\omicron\eta\tau\gamma$ BMO. 6201B141⁵; $\eta\mu\epsilon\epsilon\omicron\pi\omicron\eta\eta\gamma$ BMO. 6201A175;

$\lambda\eta\delta\eta\tau\omicron\gamma$ BMO. 6201A28a; cf. $\tau\omicron\lambda\delta\omicron\kappa$ BIFAO III, 208 (provenance ?).

E See Ep. I p. 240 lines 8ff.; $\psi\omicron\rho\eta-\epsilon\epsilon\lambda i$ MH 58, 59.

5) ě expressed by y ; cf. $y = e$ (25).

a) $y\eta = \bar{\eta}$.

B CYNTE BM 531.

C YN- (EINE) BM 1117³; CYYN Kr. 114⁸, Jern. 8³; CYN- (CINE) Ryl. 327;
CYNTE BM 1041, 1103¹², BMOcr. 6201A64a, B13¹⁰.

D YN- (EINE) Bal. 276¹⁵ (?); CYNTE Bal. 303B⁴⁸, 305⁴, 342⁵, P. Lond. IV
1512⁷, 1589, 1631 (passim), BMOcr. 6230, 45 (cited Crum, Dict. p. 668a).

E CYNTE BKU 292, CO 100⁴, 235¹¹ (CYNTE in same text).

b) Before other consonants.

C CYVPN- BMOcr. 6201A74; CYVPN Ryl. 353 (9th-10th cent.).

D CYVPN- Bal. 152¹¹.

6A) α expressed by ϵ ; cf. $\epsilon = \alpha$ (7).

I can cite three examples from early literary texts: $\tau\lambda\kappa\omicron\omicron\upsilon$ Sah.

Elias 5¹² (= Achm. El. $\tau\lambda\sigma\alpha\upsilon$); $\tau\lambda\sigma\alpha\upsilon$ Hos. 11⁴ (Achmimic); $\lambda\alpha\omega\chi\epsilon$
Pro. 24⁶⁹ (Worrell). A few Theban examples in Ep. I p. 237.

6B) ϵ expressed by ϵ . See above par. 1A.

6C) η expressed by ϵ ; cf. $\epsilon = \eta$ (34).

C $\tau\eta$ ($\tau\eta\mu^+$), $\bar{\chi}\rho$ ($\chi\eta\rho^+$) Kropp D⁵⁸; $\epsilon\alpha\tau\tau\kappa$ Jern. 5²; $\mu\tau\chi\mu$ Ryl. 161;
Cramer, Totenklage 6⁸ $\eta\mu$ ($\eta\mu$).

D $\omega\bar{\chi}$ Bal. 223¹¹, 227¹¹; this is often found in literary manuscripts,
cf. Crum, Dict. p. 559a.

6D) ι expressed by ϵ ; cf. $\epsilon = \iota$ (39), ι omitted (38B).

a) In a number of early Sahidic texts we find the Achmimic form $\bar{\chi}\bar{\eta}$
for the normal Sahidic $\chi\eta\iota$: Wessely, Sah. gr. Ps. Fr. p. 72 (Old Vienna
Psalter) three times, Berlin Psalter (ed. Rahlfs) once (32¹¹), Budge,
Biblical Texts once (Acts III, 2, elsewhere $\chi\eta\iota$). In the Sub-Ach-
mimic texts we find the Manichaean texts writing $\bar{\chi}\bar{\eta}$ or $\bar{\chi}\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}$, Jo.
and A.P. writing $\chi\eta\iota$. For the Fayyumic evidence see Crum, Dict.
p. 772b. From non-literary texts a number of examples can be
cited from Thebes, but it is rare elsewhere.

C Ryl. 277⁸ (but $\chi\eta\iota$ in same text); cf. $\chi\epsilon\eta$ Krall, Mitt. P. E. R. V p. 32.

D cf. $\chi\epsilon\eta$ P. Lond. IV 1565³⁴.

E see Ep. I p. 238.

b) The verbal prefix $\delta\iota\bar{\nu}$ - is sometimes found written as $\delta\bar{\nu}$ -, e.g. Wisdom(Thompson) VII, 6 $\delta\bar{\nu}\epsilon\iota$, $\delta\bar{\nu}\&\omega\kappa$, VIII, 16 $\delta\bar{\nu}\omega\bar{\nu}2$, as it is usually spelt in Achmimic texts, but even in Achmimic texts we sometimes find $\delta\iota\bar{\nu}$ -, e.g. Till, Osterbrief A68, 69, 71; Sub-Achmimic texts seem to write always $\delta\iota\bar{\nu}$ -. For the Fayyumic evidence see Crum, Dict. p. 819a. Crum, Ep. I p. 238 cites one example of $\delta\bar{\nu}$ - from a Theban text.

c) Other instances, rare; cf. ! omitted (38A).

D $\epsilon\chi\bar{\nu}$ Bal. 192¹⁴, cf. $\epsilon\bar{\rho}\bar{\nu}$ (= $\epsilon\iota\bar{\rho}\bar{\nu}$) Berlin Psalter (ed. Rahlfs) p. 39; cf. $\mu\alpha\lambda\lambda\bar{\nu}$ Bal. 323¹ ($\mu\alpha\lambda\lambda\bar{\iota}\nu$ ib.).

6E) o expressed by ě.

C $\omega\mu\tau\epsilon$ $\kappa\epsilon\bar{\rho}$ Kr. 125.

? $\epsilon\bar{\nu}\tau\epsilon\rho\bar{\nu}\eta\epsilon$ VC 10⁶.

6F) y expressed by ě.

Cf. $\eta\kappa\gamma\bar{\rho}$ BHom. 1.

D Cf. $\epsilon\bar{\nu}\gamma\chi\omega\bar{\rho}\epsilon\iota$ Bal. 301².

7) ε = α; cf. ě = α (6A), α = ε (21).

The Sahidic Elias, well-known for its Achmimicisms, shows this peculiarity to a considerable extent: $\epsilon\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}$ 13^{2,3}; $\epsilon\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}$ 3³⁰, 12²⁰; $\epsilon\mu\alpha\bar{\nu}\tau\epsilon$ 14²⁴; $\rho\epsilon\bar{\nu}$ 6¹⁰, 11¹⁶; $\rho\epsilon\tau\gamma$ 5²⁸; $\tau\epsilon\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}$ 13⁷; $\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}$ 1²⁹, 9²²; $\omega\epsilon\chi\epsilon$ 5⁸; $\epsilon\alpha\bar{\nu}\tau\epsilon$ 12¹⁵; $\epsilon\bar{\nu}$ (neg.) 7^{10,21,36}; $\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}$ 8²⁶; $\eta\epsilon\tau\gamma\bar{\nu}\eta\epsilon$ 8¹¹; $\eta\eta\mu\epsilon\gamma$ 7²⁶; $\eta\epsilon\bar{\nu}$ 5²⁰, 6⁶; $\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}$ 7³ (but $\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}$ 6²⁸). All these are due to Achmimic or Sub-Achm. influence except $\epsilon\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}$ and $\eta\epsilon\tau\gamma\bar{\nu}\eta\epsilon$, although the latter is also found in the parallel Achmimic passage. The fragment of St. Luke in semi-Achmimic (ed. Lacau BIFA VIII pp. 36ff.) has $\eta\epsilon\bar{\nu}$ 1³⁰; $\omega\epsilon\chi\epsilon$ 1³⁷. The Bruce Codex has $\eta\alpha\chi\epsilon\gamma$, $\eta\alpha\chi\epsilon\gamma$ 40⁷, 43⁸ and $\eta\epsilon\iota$ 139^{9,12,15}, 141²⁰. The Berlin Psalter (ed. Rahlfs) shows three instances, though all three were later corrected: $\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}$ 20²; $\alpha\bar{\nu}\epsilon\iota$ 30²⁰; $\eta\epsilon\iota$ 145³. The Berlin Gnostic, also well-known for its Achmimicisms, shows $\epsilon\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}$ for $\epsilon\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}$ 139⁹ in the published part (Schmidt, Die alten Petrusakten) and many more could

be cited from the unpublished part. It is remarkable that the first two of these manuscripts were found together with Achmimic manuscripts and the other three were found at Thebes, whereas this peculiarity is conspicuously absent in early Sahidic texts found further north, e.g. Budge, Biblical Texts. In non-literary texts this phenomenon is common only in the Theban area and in a few texts, mostly early, from further north. It should also be noted that in the examples cited from regions C and D the change of vowels could be due to Fayyumic as well as Achmimic or Sub-Achmimic influence, a remarkable exception being $\epsilon\lambda\omega$. Only at Thebes we find examples which are not Fayyumic, e.g. $\tau\epsilon\lambda\omega$, $\tau\epsilon\lambda\omega$.

a) Due to Achmimic, Sub-Achmimic (or Fayyumic) influence.

C $\mu\epsilon\kappa$, $\epsilon\epsilon\chi\epsilon$ JEA XIII, 19f. (Melitian)^{7,8}; $\mu(\mu)\mu\epsilon\kappa$ Ryl. 269, 270; $\mu\epsilon\chi\epsilon\gamma$ Ryl. 270 (all 4th century); also: $\mu\epsilon\chi\epsilon\beta$ Ryl. 352; $\epsilon\lambda\omega$ Cramer, Totenklage 2² (A.D. 765 !); $\mu\epsilon\omega\epsilon$ Ryl. 124, BMOr. 6201B47¹⁴.

D $\mu\epsilon\kappa$ Rec. XI, 147; $\mu\epsilon\mu\epsilon\kappa$ Brunton, Matmar LXVIII, 11, 18; $\mu\epsilon\epsilon$ Glos. 107; $\mu\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon$ Glos. 66; $\mu\epsilon\tau$ Glos. 175, 176; $\mu\epsilon\gamma$ P. Lond. IV 1553^{vo.16}, BM 1160; $\mu\epsilon\omega\epsilon$ P. Lond. IV 1515¹²; $\alpha\pi\epsilon\tau\omega\gamma$ P. Mich. 593 \times (this region ?); $\chi\omega\tau\epsilon\epsilon$, $\chi\omega\tau\epsilon\epsilon$ Bal. 118², Brunton, Qau and Badari III LIII, 5²¹ (photo pl. IV).

E Very common; see Ep. I p. 237, CO index p. 117; many more could be cited, e.g. $\mu\epsilon\kappa$ ST 54, CO 315; $\mu\epsilon\mu\epsilon\kappa$ ST 54; etc..

b) Not due to Achmimic or Subachmimic influence.

Cf. Sah. Elias $\epsilon\lambda\omega$, $\mu\epsilon\tau\omega\mu\epsilon$ (see above); Miss. LXVI (Achmimic Psalm-fragment) $\chi\epsilon\epsilon\iota$ for $\chi\alpha\epsilon\epsilon$.

C $\epsilon\epsilon$ BM 1035⁵.

D $\epsilon\epsilon$ Bal. 339²; $\omega\epsilon\lambda\omega$ Bal. 253².

E $\epsilon\epsilon$ CO 86⁹.

8) $\mu = \lambda$; cf. $\mu = \epsilon$ (22), $\epsilon = \lambda$ (7).

From early literary texts I can only cite $\mu\mu\gamma$ Br. 140^{6,22}, 141¹⁵ and $\mu\mu\iota$ Sah. Elias 118, 1321, these forms are very common at Thebes, but rare in region D and C; except for $\mu\mu\iota$ which is also

the normal Sub-Achmimic and Bohairic form, these are really the Fayyumic forms; the frequent occurrence at Thebes is probably due to the interchange of the vowels *e* and *h*, and these forms are presumably Achmimic(ⲛⲉⲥⲕ, ⲛⲉⲥⲩ, etc.) in origin; in fact, they are already found in the Old Coptic Horoscope from Thebes(ⲛⲙⲉⲩⲩ).

B Common, e.g. Kr.3; due to Fayyumic influence.

C ⲛⲙⲉⲩ BM 1123^{vo.1} (4th cent.); ⲙⲛⲧⲏⲥ Kr.80³ (but same line ⲙⲁⲃⲧⲁⲥⲉ).

D ⲛⲙⲉⲩ P.Lond.IV 1552⁵, 1553^{5,14}; ⲛⲙⲉⲩ Brunton, Qau and Badari III pl. IV (also LIII) no.5²⁶; ⲙⲁⲃⲧⲁⲥⲉ, ⲉⲃⲣⲏⲓ ib.lines 11,15,18,21.

E Very common, see Ep.I p.238 and C.O. Index p.118.

9) ⲓ = ⲁ .

Crum in Ep.I p.239 note 1 already drew attention to ⲣⲓⲛ for ⲣⲁⲛ in Br.139¹⁴, 140^{4,12}; I have also found ⲃⲙ for ⲃⲁⲙ (Sah. ⲃⲁⲙ) in the Achm. Elias 37¹⁸. ⲣⲓⲛ for ⲣⲁⲛ (absol.) only occurs at Thebes. Cf. also Crum, Dict. p.297b.

C Cf. ⲕⲁⲧⲁⲛⲉⲧⲓⲕⲙⲁ Kropp D 113.

D ⲛⲓⲩ P.Lond.IV 1512³⁹; ⲉⲣⲁⲧⲩ P.Lond.IV 1508²⁰, 1509.

E ⲣⲓⲛ Crum, Ep.I p.239 cites Ep.169, CO 126, J.61¹, add: BKU 119A⁷, TurO 13⁵; ⲉⲣⲁⲧⲩ J.67¹⁵; Crum also refers to the Theban forms of the verb ⲧ.

10) ⲟ = ⲁ .

This peculiarity is mostly confined to Thebes and occurs in a number of early texts of Theban provenance: ⲟⲩⲟⲩ Berlin Psalter (ed. Rahlfs) 83³, Sap.13¹⁹ (ed. Lagarde), Berlin Gnostic P.8502; ⲉⲧⲛⲟⲩⲩ Br.140²⁰; ⲭⲛⲟⲩ Lemm, Misc.L; cf. ⲉⲣⲟⲩⲙⲁ Berlin Gnostic (Schmidt, Alte Petrusakten) 131¹⁶, 132⁶. From early texts outside Thebes I can only cite ⲧⲟⲛ Acts X,11 (Budge) cf. ⲉⲣⲟⲩⲙⲁ ib.index. Cf. also ⲁⲩⲧⲟⲩⲩ P.Mich.593,594 (AJSL XLVI,246).

D ⲛⲟⲩ Bal.124³; ⲛⲧⲟⲩ (verbal, 2nd.perf.) Bal.242³.

E Very common, see Ep.I p.239.

10A) $\omega = \alpha$ (rare).

D $\omega\pi$ $\pi\epsilon\eta\mu\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$ Ann.Serv.XVI,98.

E See Ep.I p.241; cf. also Br.42² $\epsilon\eta\tau\alpha\lambda\omicron\gamma\omega\alpha\eta\gamma\alpha\rho\ \eta\sigma\omega\kappa$.

11) $\alpha\alpha = \alpha$; cf. ϵ added (19), $\omicron\omicron = \omicron$ (45), $\omega\omega = \omega$ (63A).

Cf. Luke Semi-Achm. (BIFAO VIII, 36f.) I, 45 $\eta\alpha\iota\alpha\alpha\tau\epsilon$; Pro. (Worrell)

VII, 11 $\omicron\gamma\omega\eta\alpha\alpha\tau\epsilon$; BHom.1 $\gamma\alpha\alpha\alpha\gamma\alpha\iota$, $\gamma\alpha\alpha\tau\mu\epsilon\gamma\omega\mu\tau\epsilon\mu\eta\epsilon$; etc..

C $\eta\mu\alpha\alpha\gamma$ Ryl.277³⁷; $\eta\alpha\alpha$ MIF LIX 131.

D $\mu\alpha\alpha$ Bal.189⁸; $\mu\alpha\alpha\omicron\gamma$ WS 48; $\rho\alpha\alpha\eta$ P.Mich.593 \times (this region ?);

$\eta\alpha\alpha$ Ann.Serv.XVI, 66 (twice).

E More common than elsewhere; see Ep.I p.242.

12) $\alpha\iota = \alpha$; cf. $\alpha = \alpha\iota$ (15); (rare).

C $\eta\alpha\iota\eta\tau$ BMor.6201B206; $\pi\text{-}\mu\alpha\iota$ BMor.6201A107, B213; $\gamma\alpha\iota\eta\eta\epsilon\epsilon$ MIF LIX 400.

D $\alpha\pi\iota\ \omicron\gamma\eta\alpha\iota$ Brunton, Matmar pl.LXVIII.

E See Ep.I p.247 $\eta\alpha\iota$ (three times) $\gamma\alpha\iota$ (once); $\pi\text{-}\mu\alpha\iota$ C.O.Ad.389, 19.

13) $\alpha = \alpha\alpha$; cf. $\epsilon = \epsilon\epsilon$ (20), $\eta = \eta\eta$ (38), $\omicron = \omicron\omicron$ (48), $\omega = \omega\omega$ (63C).

This is already found in a number of early manuscripts; thus we have $\mu\alpha\gamma$ in Br.246, BG 132¹⁷ (Schmidt, Alte Petrusakten); $\mu\alpha\gamma$ and $\epsilon\mu\alpha\mu\alpha\tau$ Luke Semi-Achm. (BIFAO VIII, 36f.) I, 42; Wessely, Sah.Gr.Ps.-Fr. (Old Vienna Psalter) p.11 notes $\alpha\gamma\kappa\alpha\gamma$, $\pi\epsilon\gamma\mu\alpha\chi\epsilon$, $\tau\eta\epsilon\mu\alpha\mu\alpha\tau$, $\pi\epsilon\tau\text{-}\omicron\gamma\alpha\beta$ (twice); Worrell, Chicago Proverbs p.XIV notes $\mu\alpha\chi\epsilon$, $\gamma\alpha\alpha\tau\epsilon$, $\eta\alpha\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon$, $\chi\eta\alpha\gamma$, $\gamma\eta\alpha\alpha\gamma$, also $\lambda\alpha\gamma$ XXIV, 23; in Budge, Biblical Texts I have noted $\epsilon\tau\gamma\eta\alpha\alpha\epsilon$ Deut.VII, 19; Lemm, Misc.I and BM 1224 have $\kappa\alpha\gamma$, $\kappa\alpha\epsilon$. In non-literary texts it occurs in all regions, but is common only at Thebes.

a) C $\kappa\alpha\gamma$ BM 1123^{vo.9} (4th cent.); $\lambda\alpha\gamma$ Kr.91⁶, BMor.6201A21; $\mu\alpha\gamma$ BIFAO 1901, p.87; $\tau\alpha\gamma$ BMor.6201B65; $\epsilon\tau\omicron\gamma\alpha\gamma$ MIF LIX, 307 and elsewhere.

D $\beta\alpha\mu\eta\epsilon$ Gloss.260; $\eta\tau\alpha\iota\alpha\gamma$ Brunton, Qau and Badari III pl.LIIII (= pl. LV photo) line 27; $\lambda\alpha\gamma\epsilon$ P.Jkow Cairo; $\mu\alpha\gamma$ WS 29⁴, 30⁵, 34¹, Ann.Serv. IX, 56 (twice), ib.XVI, 98; $\tau\alpha\epsilon$ Bal.242¹⁰, WS 106; $\epsilon\tau\omicron\gamma\alpha\epsilon$ Bal.228¹², WS 29², 32³, 9, Petrie, Memphis I pl.LIV.

- E Βαυνη Ep. 380⁶; $\lambda = \gamma$ ($\epsilon\iota\rho\epsilon$) CO 60⁴, JAOS XLVIII, 149 (twice), VC 71⁵⁻⁸, al.
 $\lambda\alpha\gamma$ J. 2⁴³, ST 199²⁰ ($\lambda\delta\gamma$); $\lambda\alpha\gamma\epsilon$ CO index p. 119, ST 228¹⁷, Ep. 63²⁰, 98^{ps},
 120, 135¹², 256⁶, 260⁹, 262⁶, 265, 280¹³, 300¹¹, al.; $\mu\alpha\gamma$ CO 201², 242⁴,
 Ad3², Ad43⁸, Ep. 179², 258¹⁴, 280⁵, 336²⁸, 485¹⁷, al.; $\mu\alpha\chi\epsilon$ CO 165⁵, 206⁶,
 241¹⁰, 462^{vo3}, 465¹², 476⁴, Ad18⁶, ST 90⁹, 123⁷, 125¹, 127⁴, 255⁹, 273⁴, 7,
 etc., Ep. 176¹³, 297⁷ etc., al.; $\sigma\mu\mu\alpha\tau$ Worrell, Copt. Texts IV, 4; $\tau\alpha\gamma$,
 $\tau\alpha\gamma$ CO Ad18, Bku 89, 121, al.; $\epsilon\tau\omicron\gamma\alpha\beta$ CO 48³, Ad59¹², Ep. 244¹¹, 358², al..
- b) $\lambda\omicron\gamma = \lambda\alpha\gamma$. Luke (BIFA O VIII, 76ff.) I, 37 $\lambda\omicron\gamma$; P. Gol. 47 $\lambda\omicron\gamma$, $\lambda\omicron\gamma$ ($\lambda\alpha\gamma$).
 C $\lambda\omicron\gamma$ BM 1123¹⁸ (4th cent.), cf. Kr. 228³ (bis) (from Cairo?).
 D $\lambda\omicron\gamma$ Bal. 241³; $\mu\omicron\gamma$ Brunton, Qau and Badari III pl. LIII (top left).
 E $\lambda\omicron\gamma\epsilon$ ST 347³; $\epsilon\lambda\omicron\gamma$ CO 315¹⁰; al..

14) $\epsilon(\epsilon)\gamma = \alpha\alpha\gamma$ (rare).

- D $\mu\epsilon\epsilon\gamma$ Gloss. 87, $\mu\epsilon\gamma$ Brunton, Qau and Badari III pl. LII (top right).

These two instances are of great interest as $\mu\epsilon\gamma$, $\mu\epsilon\epsilon\gamma$ are the Sub-Achm. and Fayy. forms.

15) $\alpha = \alpha\iota$; cf. $\alpha\iota = \alpha$ (12), ι omitted (38B).

- a) I have found four examples in the Achm. Minor Prophets: $\sigma\epsilon\rho\mu\alpha\alpha\epsilon$
 Hos. III, 5, $\epsilon\epsilon\eta\lambda\alpha\epsilon$ Hos. X, 4; $\lambda\omicron\gamma$ $\alpha\iota$ $\kappa\epsilon$ $\alpha\beta\alpha\lambda$ Zach. XI, 14, $\alpha\mu\rho\epsilon$ Mal. I, 2.
 In the Berlin Psalter (ed. Rahlfs) XL, 5 $\alpha\rho\eta\omicron\beta\epsilon$ was corrected to $\alpha\rho\eta\omicron\beta\epsilon$.
 In the Bruce Codex we find $\eta\alpha$ for $\eta\alpha\iota$ (124¹⁸) and $\epsilon\epsilon\rho\alpha$
 for $\epsilon\epsilon\rho\alpha\iota$ (58¹⁶); with the latter cf. Lemm, Misc. I $\alpha\epsilon\rho\eta$ (three times but $\alpha\epsilon\rho\eta\iota$ once), BM 1224 $\alpha\epsilon\rho\eta$ passim, $\omega\alpha\epsilon\rho\eta$, P. Gol. 47 $\epsilon\epsilon\rho\eta$ (twice),
 P. Aberdeen (Rec. Champ. 539) $\alpha\chi\rho\eta$ and $\alpha\epsilon\rho\eta$ (4 times); $\alpha\epsilon\rho\eta$ also
 ST 393⁵. It seems unlikely that all these are scribal errors.
- C $\tau\epsilon\eta\alpha\eta\epsilon$ (for $\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ $\eta\alpha\iota$ $\eta\epsilon$) Kr. 76⁷; $\epsilon\epsilon\rho\alpha$ $\eta\epsilon\eta\tau\gamma$ Kropp D³⁰; $\eta\tau\alpha\gamma\eta\eta\eta$
 $\alpha\eta\lambda\omicron\gamma$ BMO. 6201A35; $\tau\alpha\chi\omicron\gamma$ (for $\eta\tau\alpha\iota\chi\omicron\omicron\gamma\omicron\gamma$) P. Černý (ined.) line 5.
- D $\alpha\beta\omicron\kappa$ Bal. 187⁵; $\alpha\chi\omicron\omicron$ Bal. 277⁶; $\alpha\eta\tau\omicron\gamma$ Bal. 277⁷; $\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ $\eta\alpha$ $\eta\epsilon$ Bal.
 138³; $\epsilon\tau\tau\alpha\eta\gamma$ Bal. 198²; cf. $\sigma\mu\mu\alpha\eta\epsilon$ Bal. 249¹⁹.
- E $\alpha\alpha\alpha\iota$ (for $\alpha\iota\alpha\iota$) CO 294²⁰; $\eta\rho\omicron\varsigma$ $\theta\epsilon$ $\eta\tau\alpha\sigma\epsilon\alpha\iota$ Tor. 11¹²; $\omega\alpha\rho\chi\rho\iota\alpha$ ST
 226⁸; $\eta\tau\alpha\chi\alpha\omicron\gamma$ (for $\eta\tau\alpha\iota\chi\omicron\omicron\gamma\omicron\gamma$) ib. ¹⁰; $\mu\alpha\eta\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon$ Ep. 386⁴, $\mu\alpha\eta\epsilon\chi\epsilon$
 COAd. 60²⁰; $\epsilon\tau\tau\alpha\eta\gamma$ VC 103⁵, Ep. 202².

- b) A few further examples might be cited, but these may be due to assimilation: $\lambda\epsilon\iota$ for $\lambda\iota\epsilon\iota$ Sub-Achm.St.John XVI,28, Acts(Budge) VII,36, XXIII,27; $\lambda\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon$ for $\lambda\iota\epsilon\mu\epsilon$ ib.XII,11.

C $\alpha\mu\epsilon$ (= $\lambda\iota\epsilon\mu\epsilon$) BMO.6201B47, also BIFAO III,208 (but probably Theban).

D $\eta\tau\alpha\epsilon\iota$ (= $\eta\tau\alpha\iota\epsilon\iota$), $\omega\alpha\epsilon\iota$ (= $\omega\alpha\iota\epsilon\iota$) Bal.186^{10,26}.

16) $\epsilon = \alpha\iota$; cf. $\alpha\iota = \epsilon$ (26); mostly in Greek words.

D $\eta\epsilon\eta\epsilon$ (for $\eta\alpha\iota\eta\epsilon$) Bal.327¹; cf. $\Delta\iota\kappa\epsilon\omicron\nu$ Bal.102¹,103¹; $\Delta\iota\kappa\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$

WS 29,30; $\gamma\epsilon$ (= $\kappa\alpha\iota$) Bal.152^{1(bis)}; $\kappa\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma$ Bal.103¹²,116⁹; etc..

E Cf.CO index p.117; al.pl. (Greek words only).

17) $\alpha = \alpha\gamma$.

From the Achm.Minor Prophets I can cite five examples: $\eta\tau\alpha\gamma\alpha\beta\omega\kappa$ Hos.IX,10; $\alpha\omega\gamma\alpha\chi\alpha\kappa\omicron\gamma$ Mich.II,1(ed.Malinine); $\epsilon\tau\alpha\chi\omicron\gamma\epsilon$ Zach.I,21;

$\kappa\alpha\gamma\omicron\gamma$ Naum III,18,Hag.I,6. Other early examples are: Br.103⁶

$\alpha\gamma\omega\alpha\kappa\omega\eta\omega\gamma$; 137¹⁷ $\alpha\chi\iota$; PS 45⁵ $\alpha\gamma\omega\eta\alpha\mu\epsilon\tau\omega\varsigma\bar{\eta}\delta\iota\eta\epsilon\phi\gamma\lambda\alpha\varsigma\tau\eta\rho\omicron\gamma$;

Sub-Achm.St.John IV,27 $\alpha\gamma\mu\alpha\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon$ ^($\mu\epsilon$); Sah.Elias $\alpha\gamma\eta\alpha\epsilon\gamma\eta\eta\omicron\delta$ ^($\mu\epsilon$); also $\alpha\omega$

for $\alpha\gamma\omega$ Semi-Achm.Luke(BIFAO VIII,36f.)I,42, Sir.XLVIII,22(Lagar-

de, see note), Pro.(Worrell)XXIV,62; ManiP 10¹⁹,141¹⁸ $\kappa\alpha\eta\epsilon$ (= $\kappa\alpha\gamma\eta\epsilon$).

C $\alpha\tau\iota$ (1st.perf.) Ry1.321³.

D $\omega\alpha\epsilon\gamma$ -Bal.55¹³; $\beta\omega\kappa\epsilon\mu\alpha$ Bal.229⁸; $\alpha\omega$ for $\alpha\gamma\omega$ (?) Bal.277¹³.

E $\beta\omega\kappa\epsilon\mu\alpha$ RE V,30, CO 30²³ (but perhaps for $\beta\omega\kappa\epsilon\gamma\mu\alpha$); cf. $\gamma\epsilon\lambda\alpha$ for $\kappa\epsilon\lambda\alpha\alpha\gamma$ VC 10⁶.

18) $\omega = \alpha\lambda\gamma$; cf. $\epsilon\gamma$ for $\alpha\lambda\gamma$ (14).

This is frequently found at Thebes but not elsewhere, particularly in the words $\mu\alpha\alpha\gamma$, $\mu\mu\alpha\gamma$, $\eta\alpha\gamma$ (vb. and nn.) which are written $\mu\omega$ (also $\mu\omicron$), $\mu\mu\omega$ and $\eta\omega$, see Ep.I p.241. These forms are clearly due to the influence of the Achmimic forms $\mu\omicron$, $\mu\mu\omicron$, $\eta\omicron$ and it is of considerable interest to note that Sub-Achm. with Fayy. manuscripts write $\mu\epsilon\gamma$, $\mu\mu\epsilon\gamma$, $\eta\epsilon\gamma$, an exception being the Manichaean Homilies (ed.Polotsky) which has the Achmimic forms. The Sub-Achm. forms are, indeed, found outside Thebes (above par.14), but not at Thebes, cf. chapter IX.

18A) $\alpha\gamma\omicron\gamma = \alpha\gamma$; (rare) cf. paragraph 56A.

Pro. (Worrell) XXIV, 76 $\alpha\gamma\omicron\gamma\omega\lambda\eta$; P. Mich. 593 (AJSL XLVI, 245) $\tau\alpha\gamma\omicron\gamma\alpha\epsilon$.

C $\eta\mu\alpha\gamma\omicron\gamma$, $\eta\epsilon\chi\alpha\gamma\omicron\gamma$ Ryl. 320.

D $\eta\alpha\gamma\omicron\gamma\eta\alpha\mu$ P. Mich. 1190² (*Orientalia* IV, 6).

18B) $\alpha\gamma = \alpha\gamma\omega$ ('and'); (rare).

Luke (BIFAO VIII, 76ff.) I, 65, Br. 256, Sir (Lagarde) XXVII, 5.

B BM 601, 659.

E Kroppk²⁷, ST 227¹⁷ (?), cf. $\alpha\gamma\omicron\gamma$ ST 225³¹.

19) ϵ added; cf. paragraph 140.

- a) Due to Achmimic or Subachmimic influence. This is found in a number of early texts, but seems mostly confined to Semi-Achmimic and Theban manuscripts. In the Sah. Elias we find: $\epsilon\omicron\gamma\epsilon$ 7^{28,30}, 8^{11,9}, 11³, al.; $\epsilon\omicron\gamma\epsilon$, $\alpha\omicron\gamma\epsilon$ 5¹⁸, 10⁵; $\lambda\alpha\alpha\gamma\epsilon$ 3³; $\eta\eta\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon$ 6^{27,72}; $\epsilon\omicron\gamma\eta\epsilon$ 8³; $\eta\omega\epsilon$ 1³¹; $\epsilon\mu\epsilon$ 4⁶. Luke (BIFAO VIII, 76ff.) I, 60 $\omicron\gamma\omega\gamma\epsilon$; Br. 45²⁴ $\epsilon\omega\tau\tau\eta\gamma\tau\eta\epsilon$, 41^{6,22}, 42¹⁸ $\lambda\alpha\alpha\gamma\epsilon$, $\lambda\alpha\gamma\epsilon$; Berlin Psalter (ed. Rahlfs) IX, 28 $\epsilon\alpha\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$; Wessely, *Sah. Gr. Ps. Fr. p. 13* (Old Vienna Psalter) CVIII, 26 $\eta\epsilon\kappa\text{-}\eta\alpha\epsilon$; BG 32 $\mu\eta\epsilon$ (cited in Crum, *Dict. p. 157a*), 82 $\chi\alpha\epsilon\mu\epsilon$ (cited ib. p. 798a); Crum's fragment of St. John (see p. 241 note 2) $\epsilon\eta\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon$, $\omicron\gamma\omega\gamma\epsilon$. $\mu\epsilon\epsilon$ for $\mu\epsilon$ ($\alpha\alpha^2\mu\eta\epsilon$) is found in a few early manuscripts, e.g. PS 125¹⁰, 177¹⁰, Jo. VI, 55 (2 MSS), Deut. (Budge) XIII, 14, I John I, 9 (Berl. Or. 408). $\alpha\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ for the normal Sah. $\alpha\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ is found occasionally: Deut. (Budge, corr. H.T.) VII, 24, Br. 247. In non-literary texts these Achmimicisms are very common at Thebes, but only a few examples, mostly early, can be cited from the rest of Upper Egypt.

C $\epsilon\omicron\gamma\eta\epsilon$ occurs in three fourth century texts: Ryl. 270 (twice), 273, 311; Ryl. 352 has $\epsilon\eta\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon$, $\epsilon\omicron\gamma\eta\epsilon$; $\epsilon\alpha\eta\epsilon$ Baouit 93; cf. also P. Mich. 136^{60,61} (Ora. IV, 20) $\epsilon\omicron\mu\epsilon$; P. Mich. 593 (AJSL XLVI, 244) $\eta\epsilon\tau\text{-}\omicron\gamma\alpha\tau\epsilon$, (ib. 246) $\chi\omega\kappa\mu\epsilon$. See also paragraph 140 below.

D $\lambda\alpha\gamma\epsilon$ occurs a few times in P. Jkowi Cairo (sixth century).

E See Ep. I p. 247, particularly common are $\omicron\gamma\omega\gamma\epsilon$ and $\lambda\alpha\gamma\epsilon$, $\lambda\alpha\alpha\gamma\epsilon$; cf.

also Ep.I p.242 μεε 'truth'(twice).

- b) Added at the end of words, but not directly due to Achmimic influence. Here also the examples are mostly from Thebes. A few early instances may be cited: In the Achmimic Minor Prophets an ε has been added incorrectly in φηλογωζε Zach.IX,8, ουροογε Zach. X,1(for ουρωογ 'rain'). Dt.XXXIII,26(Budge)τ-πεε (cf.μεε above); Berlin Psalter(ed.Rahlfs)XIII,3 [α]ατογε.

C †ωινεε ζαροτην Ryl.270; πετεωωεε πε Ryl 292(both of the fourth century); εγορξε νακ Kr.112⁷.

E See Ep.I.p.247 and 242.

- c) Other instances (rare). Berlin Psalter(ed.Rahlfs)p.33 ωηρε εεν[τα], νεεμεει; PS 112¹ ἡπαῦτο εεβολ, 175²⁵ αεβαωτ εεπτοπος; Pro.(Worrell)XXVII,25 ηερωωεεεζουν; cf.P.Mich.3565(Ora.IV,15) μοιο εετνεσοςπ, φιβαμων εεατογ και εερε πκαμνος.

C εετβε Ryl.409.

E εετρεγ J.2⁷; †ωινε εετεκιντωηρε Hall p.34.

20) ε omitted.

- a) Verbal. Br.57¹⁵ ητερ_τβομ.
B ωαλ_πνουτ, ωαλ_ποс BM 592⁷.
C μερ_παζηт BM 1118^{vo.2}; ηηт_ε Kr.114⁸; ηολιс_тенине Kr.22⁷, 76⁷(sim.)
D тар_тетημεтeт Bal.205⁴; εωαr_πνουτε Bal.160⁵; εт_ηαινε Bal.121¹; εт_ημοу ηε Cramer, Kopt.Inschr.K.F.Mus.9691¹⁴(A.D.799-805).
E ημα ετερ_^(ω)χιcιανос J.18¹⁸; εγποгpαφeγс_тpεγгγποгpαφe J.13¹⁰; тηpου_тaη-εγкeсθaι J.12²⁵; тaιxμαλωcиa_тηηηηтс Ep.177⁴.
- b) Preposition ε. A few early examples may be cited: Achm.Elias 14²⁰ ηο_pac, ηο_θαλλαc; Br.127¹⁹ cωтῶ_ηειpαη, 136²⁶ ηπiηaγ_ηα; PS 174⁴ αγeι_тη, 186¹⁵ εζογo_ηογocειη; Worrell, Proverbs p.XIV εapeз_po= (6 times), εapeз_ρω=(twice), εapeз_ηa, εapeз_ηeγ, εapeз_ηηομoc(twice); cf. P.Mich.3565⁴(Ora.IV,14)(early) εβzo_ρoi.
- B тeи_βaλ, тeтoγ_βaλ BM 580⁸, 650, Stern, AZ 1885, 35(pap.VI); κω_βaλ BM 580⁶, 635; ογzογ_λaтη Kr.3⁵.

C ει_βολ Kropp D⁸⁸, Worrell, Cop. Texts III, 17, BMO^r.6201B70 (twice), Cramer, Kopt. Inschr. K.F. Museum 9694^{7, 11}; χολεου_βολ BM 1174³; γαν_εκοου_βολ BP 10589; πτογοναε_βολ, εωλ_βολ, αδαμ_βολ, χωκ_ναι_βολ Kropp D^{11, 26, 101, 124, 128}; σμου_ροου BMO^r.6201A75; ει_ρηс BM 1132¹⁶, 1145³, 1150⁷; ητοу_ρηс BM 1112⁹; ευαε_ρατου Kropp D^{47, 67}; ει_τοот Ryl. 121, 216, Kr. 9⁴; γληλ_χωι MIF LIX 92¹, 540; ορ[ζε]_μοου_εωου(εεχωου) Kr. 116; γαντ_μπωα_ναу Ryl. 315; στοιχει_τιασφαλεια BM 1028¹², 1041, Kr. 157¹⁷; εγουω_τνοουγ BMO^r.6201B154⁷.

D καат_βολ Bal. 187^{7, 10, 12}; зη_ρος (εε_ερος) P.Lond. IV 1554³²; ει_ρηс P.Lond. IV 1645; ει_ратк P.Lond. IV 1639; ει_тоот Bal. 145³; ει_знт Bal. 187¹⁰; вк_εοуη_пани Bal. 248¹²; στοιχη_μι... P.Lond. IV 1573²⁰, sim. Bal. 114¹⁴, 124⁷; εαεστο_πιποсон_ноуε_ниергатнес P.Lond. IV 1509¹¹.

E (rare) ει_ρηс BIFAO III, 208 (Theban ?); ηεζων_πειεγραφον J. 12⁴⁷.

- c) At the end of words. A few examples may be cited where in Achmimic texts the final ε is omitted, probably due to Sahidic influence: ηταγεου Joel II, 26; λαου Hos. VII, 7, Gespr. III, 2; ουωε (for ουωεε) II Macc. VI, 20; εихη ουχαї Naum III, 17; σεναεї Joel II, 8; εооу Hos. XII, 9, Soph. I, 15 (4 times), 16; not due to Sahidic influence: εтв ημεεε II Macc. VI, 20; εα II Macc. VI, 6. In ManiP we find με(ε)υ (vb. and nn.) more commonly than the usual με(ε)τε, also γηη (once) and γεεε (twice) for γηηε, γεεεε; these forms are of considerable interest as they recur in certain non-literary texts (see below). From early Sahidic texts a few instances may be cited: Wessely, Sah. Gr. Ps. Fr. (Old Vienna Psalter) p. 13 μεс (twice), μпноу; PS 14⁷ εενψυχου, 76²³ εин εтооу_ωαροуεε, 192¹⁴ τμαετ_μφωη, 332⁵ пниг_μпкаке, cf. 22²⁴ αγγυμνεу_тпrou; Pro. (Worrell) XVI, 15 γηη. C μεεу, μεу, μεоу, for μεεεу J&C 1921²⁰ (μεεу), Ryl. 292 (both of the fourth century), MIF LIX 49⁴, 145, 307, 334, 399⁵, 453, 457; γεεε for γεεεε BM 1047², BMO^r.6201A120a, 124b, Ann. Serv. XV, 122 no. 10; ηανοу_тпrou MIF LIX 455; θιμ (τε-ειμε) Kr. 248 (passim), Ryl. 305; cf. κεlou_μμοу BMO^r.6201A156; εωωη_пноуτε BM 1137¹⁰.

D π-μεε Bal.58²; ψηερ (= γεερε) Bal.245^{3,7}; π-με Bal.332¹; ἀνωιν_ντογ P.Lond.IV 1641; νενχισοογ_νετα^x P.Lond.IV 1513⁶; cf. τιασπαζ_ντεκμε^ε xpeic Bal.269¹.

E (rare) πεκερπμευ Worrell, Copt.Texts IV,4¹⁰; ετβ_πλειωτ BKU 118⁷.

d) ουρητε for ουερητε, due to Achmimic or Sub-Achmimic influence. A few early instances may be cited: Br.103²,269, Wessely, Sah.Gr.Ps.Fr. (Old Vienna Psalter)p.13 (twice), Worrell, Proverbs p.19. In non-literary texts it is common at Thebes, but only occurs once elsewhere.

C νευρητε BMor.6201A80.

E ουρητε CO 50³,93³,302^{vo.5},322³,350⁴,353⁷, Ep.127³,199³,202³,203⁷, 254⁹,310²,475²,J.66⁶⁶,ST 300²,al..

e) Varia. Cf.PS 5¹⁷ ουνος νε^(με)οογ; P.Mich.3565 (Ora.IV,15)¹¹ πβιεν (eniebhen)

C ντηνουρητε (ντε-conj.) MIF LIX 145; τβε BM 1063¹⁷; _ωωπε Ryl.349; cf. ητ- (π-ετ-rel.) Kropp D¹¹,100,103, Ryl.162.

f) eye and eoye for eeve, perhaps due to Subachmimic or Middle Egyptian. meve Lagarde, Aegypt.p.207, Berlin Psalter(ed.Rahlfs)VI,6, XXXIII, 17; βαλεε, βλλεε Sah.Elias 5^{6,9}. π-μεοε Luke Semi-Achm.(BIFAO VIII,36f.)I,51,54; χιλεογ Dt.(Budge)I,42, VI,19, VII,15, XII,10, al.,Wessely, Sah.Gr.Ps.Fr. (old Vienna Psalter)p.12(5 times), Berlin Psalter(ed.Rahlfs)p.44(4 times), Sap.(Lagarde)X,12; caβεοε Sah.Elias 4³⁰.

C π-μεε, π-μευ Ann.Serv.XV,115 no.2, MIF LIX 59²,307,334; μεοε JEA XIII,19f.(fourth cent.), MIF LIX 399¹,27¹⁴, BMor.6201A179(early?).

D π-μεε Ann.Serv.IX,56, XVI,98, BIFAO III,126; π-μεοε WS 32¹⁰, Ann. Serv.XV,179, XVI,98.

E π-μεε ST 97³, Ep.213⁶; πμευ Worrell, Copt.Texts IV,4¹⁰.

g) e = ee within words. γεεε for γεερε is the usual spelling in ManiP and ManiH(once) and P.Gol.47(7 times). We also find πene Worrell, Proverbs p.XIV and μεγ (neeB)ib.XXIII,34; cf. ουοιμε εεετ P.Mich.1190¹² (Ora.IV,7). At Thebes γεεε J.2⁴; cene J.3³⁶.

- h) Final ϵ omitted before following ϵ . Achm. II Macc. VI, 20 $\tau\epsilon\epsilon\tau\gamma\omega\epsilon$; Berlin Psalter (ed. Rahlfs) p. 33 $\pi\epsilon\tau\omicron\gamma\alpha\alpha\beta$, $\epsilon\gamma\phi\rho\alpha\eta\epsilon\chi\mu$, $\gamma\omega\tau\epsilon\beta\alpha\lambda$; Sah. Elias 5¹⁷ $\eta\epsilon\zeta\beta\eta\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\tau\epsilon\rho\epsilon$; Pro. (Worrell) XXII, 17 $\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon\rho\omicron\omicron\upsilon$, XXVII, 21 $\gamma\alpha\chi\epsilon\rho\omicron\gamma$; Sap. (Thompson) II⁵ $\alpha\gamma\tau\omega\omega\beta\epsilon\rho\omega\omicron\gamma$.
- C $\gamma\iota\eta\epsilon\rho\omicron\kappa$ J&C 1922², Peremans, Vergote, Papyrologisch Handboek, pl. XI Louv. 18b (both 4th century), Worrell, Coptic Texts III, 16^{6, 20}, BM 1126¹¹, 1150^{10, 16}; $\gamma\iota\eta\epsilon\pi\epsilon\gamma\omicron\omicron\upsilon$ (et sim.) Worrell, Coptic Texts III, 16^{2, 3, 4}, BM 1147^{9, 10}, P. Černý (ined.)¹¹; $\tau\alpha\iota\mu\epsilon\rho\gamma$ Ryl. 316; $\tau\alpha\iota\mu\epsilon\phi\omega\beta$ BMO. 6201A76; $\eta\tau\alpha\gamma\zeta\epsilon\rho\iota$ BM 1042²⁸; $\epsilon\theta\alpha\tau\epsilon\beta\alpha\lambda$, $\beta\eta\beta\epsilon\beta\alpha\lambda$ Kropp D^{22, 99}; $\chi\epsilon\eta\eta\epsilon\varsigma\mu\alpha\zeta\epsilon\eta\epsilon\zeta$ Ryl. 280.
- D $\gamma\iota\eta\epsilon\rho\omicron\kappa$ Bal. 228¹⁶, P. Lond. IV 1639; $\gamma\iota\eta\epsilon\pi\alpha\mu\epsilon\rho\iota\tau$ (et sim.) Bal. 248^{2, 3}, P. Lond. IV 1641; $\epsilon\iota\omicron\tau\epsilon\tau\omicron\gamma\alpha\alpha\beta$ Bal. 197¹²; $\chi\iota\omicron\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\tau\alpha\mu\alpha\zeta\tau\epsilon$ P. Lond. IV 1519; $\rho\omega\mu\epsilon\pi\omega\kappa\eta\epsilon$ P. Lond. IV 1639; $\tau\iota\omicron\eta\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\rho\tau\iota\zeta\alpha\mu\omicron\lambda\omicron\gamma\epsilon\iota\alpha$ P. Lond. IV 1508²⁶.
- E $\gamma\iota\eta\epsilon\rho\omicron\kappa$ BKU 280; $\eta\epsilon\gamma\varsigma\iota\mu\epsilon\chi\eta$ CO 72³.

21) $\lambda = \epsilon$.

- a) Verbal; $\mu\alpha\rho\epsilon-$, $\mu\alpha\iota-$, $\mu\alpha\gamma-$, etc. for $\mu\epsilon\rho\epsilon-$, $\mu\epsilon\iota-$, $\mu\epsilon\gamma-$, etc., due to Achmimic or Subachmimic influence. A few early examples: Br. 119¹, Sirach (Lagarde) XI, 25 (27) bis, XXI, 16, XXXVIII, 4, XLII, 27, cf. $\mu\alpha\gamma-$ for $\mu\epsilon\gamma-$ (imperf.) Sah. Elias 1²⁴. In non-literary texts this is common in regions D and E, but rare elsewhere:
- C $\mu\alpha\gamma-$, $\mu\alpha\eta-$, $\mu\alpha\gamma-$, BM 1019⁶, Ryl. 221, 323, AJSL XLVI, 246.
- D $\mu\alpha\rho\epsilon-$, $\mu\alpha\iota-$, $\mu\alpha\gamma-$, $\mu\alpha\eta-$, $\mu\alpha\gamma-$, Bal. 277¹¹, P. Lond. IV 1494³⁴, 1499⁹, 1508³⁰, 1509⁶, 1518²⁷, 1521²⁹, 1552³¹, 1553¹⁸, 1554^{vo. 36}, 1562¹⁴, 1563²⁶, 1564⁶, 1565⁵², 1573²⁴, 1587²³, 1593, 1634¹⁰.
- E $\mu\alpha\rho\epsilon-$, $\mu\alpha\gamma-$, $\mu\alpha\gamma-$ etc., very common, e.g. ST 38, BKU 92, CO 29, 61, 82, J. 4⁹³, etc..
- b) $\mu\alpha\zeta-$ for $\mu\epsilon\zeta-$, cf. ξ expressed by λ (1a). Berlin Psalter (ed. Rahlfs) p. 45, Acts X, 40 (Budge), cf. ib. VII, 8 $\mu\alpha\zeta\mu\omicron\upsilon\eta$, Sah. Elias 7³².
- C Kr. 238, Kropp D 64, cf. Ryl. 279 $\mu\alpha\zeta\mu\omicron\omicron\upsilon$.
- D Bal. 305⁴, P. Lond. IV 1572¹⁸.
- c) λ for ϵ in the preposition $\epsilon-$ etc.. This is perhaps the most

marked and important evidence for the spread of the Achmimic and Subachmimic dialects. It occurs regularly throughout the Coptic period from Thebes northwards as far as Achmim and a few examples may be cited north of that region. Leipoldt, Schenoute von Atripe p.95 cites a few examples in late manuscripts from the White Monastery and at Abydos graffiti and stelae as late as the time of the Patriarch Gabriel (A.D.910-921) still show this peculiarity, cf. below.

In the Berlin Psalter (ed. Rahlfs) we find twice α - (prep.) 37⁵, 76⁶ and once $\alpha\eta\epsilon\lambda$ 36²⁷; α , $\alpha\phi\omega$ occurs six times on the dialectical page (139-140) of the Bruce Codex; in the Sah. Elias we find α - (prep.) 1¹³, 4^{21, 31}, etc., $\alpha\tau\phi\epsilon$ -9²¹, 11³⁰, $\alpha\chi\eta$ -1⁹, 7², $\alpha\lambda\mu$ 6¹⁵; the semi-Achmimic St. Luke (BIFAO VIII, 76ff.) has α - 1³⁸, $\alpha\chi\eta$ -1⁴⁸; St. John XX, 29 (Bodleian Ms. Copt. e 150) $\alpha\beta\alpha\lambda$.

B $\alpha\beta\omega\lambda$ (also $\epsilon\beta\omega\lambda$) V.C. 49².

C α - (prep.) B.Mor. 6201B271, probably sixth century, written $\epsilon\eta\alpha\eta\mu\mu\omega\gamma$; $\alpha\epsilon\omega\gamma\eta$ Ryl. 316; $\alpha\tau\alpha$ for $\epsilon\tau\tau\alpha$ B.Mor. 6201B47¹⁰.

D α - (prep.) P. Lond. IV 1498^{11, 16}, 1504², 1508³¹, 1553^{vo. 16}, 1572^{11, 34}, 1553¹⁷, 1593, 1599¹⁵, 1630; Grohmann, Ar. Pap. Egyptian Library III, 167^{19, 21}; P. Jkowi Cairo; Brunton, Qau and Badari III pl. LV, 5^{11, 18}; Murray, The Osireion at Abydos pl. XXVII, Bouriant in Miss. I, 382ff. numbers 3, 4, 13, 15, 17.

$\alpha\beta\omega\lambda$ P. Lond. IV 1553^{6, 16, vo. 9}; Ann. Serv. XI, 243.

$\alpha\tau\omega\omega\tau$ P. Lond. IV 1553^{32, 33}, 1595.

$\alpha\lambda\mu$ P. Lond. IV 1498¹²; P. Mich. 593 α ^{3, 14} (Ora. IV, 192ff.).

$\alpha\chi\eta$, $\alpha\chi\omega$ P. Lond. IV 1498¹⁴, 1499⁸, 1553^{8, 18}, 1561⁴; Bal. 247⁴; P. Mich. 593 α ³ (Ora. IV, 192ff.); Rec. XI, 147.

Cf. $\alpha\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon$ B.Mor. 6201B46, $\alpha\lambda\epsilon$ $\alpha\phi\epsilon\tau\omega\gamma$ P. Mich. 593 α ⁴ (Ora. IV, 192ff.).

E Very common, see Ep. I p. 236 and CO p. 116 (index); many more could be cited.

d) $\eta\alpha\chi\epsilon\gamma$ and $\eta\alpha\chi\epsilon\gamma$ in Br. 40⁷, 43⁸.

e) Not due to Achm. or Subachm. influence. A few early examples:

Achm. Exodus II, 9 $\alpha\rho\epsilon\epsilon$, IV, 23 $\kappa\alpha\kappa$ (both Sahidicisms); Achm. II Macc. VI, 4 $\mu\epsilon\tau[\epsilon]\mu\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon$; P. Mich. 136¹⁰⁵ (Ora. IV, 22) $\alpha\beta\omega\tau$ (place-name).

C $\epsilon\iota\tau\eta\kappa\alpha\iota\kappa\alpha\iota$ Krall, Mitt. P. E. R., V p. 35; $\alpha\lambda\sigma\sigma\upsilon$ (pl. $\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon$) BMor. 6201A90.

D $\alpha\lambda\sigma\sigma\upsilon$ (pl. $\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon$) Bal. 332², this spelling also I Sam. VI, 7 (Morgan);

$\mu\alpha\tau\eta\kappa$ - (poss. adj.) P. Lond. IV 1500⁹; cf. $\epsilon\pi\alpha\iota\delta\eta$ Bal. 119¹⁰; $\sigma\tau\eta\chi\alpha\iota$ Bal. 116¹⁸.

E $\chi\alpha\alpha\kappa\alpha\chi\alpha\sigma\upsilon\gamma$ CO 82³.

22) H = ϵ ; cf. ϵ expressed by H (2).

A few early examples: $\eta\eta$ (nn) Achm. Genesis (BKU 164) I, 26, II, 4 (bis); $\mu\mu$ Sah. Elias 1²² (also $\mu\eta\epsilon$ 10²⁸, 14³⁰); $\mu\eta\tau\epsilon\upsilon\eta\beta\omicron\mu$ Luke (BIFAO VIII, 76ff.) I, 49; $\beta\eta\eta\eta$, $\chi\eta\kappa\alpha\varsigma$, $\chi\eta$ (bis), $\mu\eta\mu\eta\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha$, $\eta\tau\eta$ ($\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ -rel.), $\eta\tau\alpha\gamma$ - (rel.) P. Gol. 47; $\eta\tau\kappa\alpha\alpha$ (= $\epsilon\tau\kappa\eta$) Glosses in the Chester Beatty Isaiah, ed. Kenyon.

C $\mu\eta\kappa$ -, $\tau\eta\kappa$ -, $\tau\eta\eta$ -, $\tau\eta\tau\eta$ -, (poss. adj.) Ryl. 169, Jern. 8⁴, Kr. 7, Ryl. 296; $\eta\eta\eta$ - (indef. art.) BMor. 6201B160; $\epsilon\tau\eta$ - (rel.) BM 1051³; $\eta\tau$ - (rel.) BM 1035⁸, 1041⁶, 1044⁷, Jern. 5¹²; $\eta\varsigma$ - (circumst.) BM 1047⁷; $\mu\eta\gamma\alpha\rho$ - P. Černý (ined.); $\theta\eta$ BM 1041³, 1053⁶, BMor. 6201B221, 267; $\chi\eta$ Ryl. 193, Worrell, Coptic Texts III, 5 (twice), 6 (5 times); $\mu\eta\sigma\upsilon\tau\eta$, $\epsilon\upsilon\omega\mu\eta$, $\omega\omega\mu\eta$, $\omega\alpha\chi\eta$ ib. 6; $\mu\eta\rho\iota\tau$, $\omega\iota\eta\eta$ (4 times), $\tau\omicron\eta\eta$ (3 times), $\tau\eta\eta\eta$ (twice), $\mu\eta\gamma\alpha\rho\alpha\eta$, $\eta\beta\omega\alpha\tau$, $\eta\beta\omega\lambda$, $\mu\eta\tau\eta\sigma\upsilon\omega$ ib. 5 (prob. early); $\rho\omega\mu\eta$, $\omega\eta\eta\eta$, $\epsilon\upsilon\omega\mu\eta$, $\mu\eta\tau\eta\varsigma\epsilon$, $\eta\beta\omega\lambda$ BMor. 6201A124b; $\mu\eta\eta\upsilon$ Ryl. 139, BMor. 6201A29⁶; $\epsilon\iota\eta\beta\tau$ Ryl. 162, 282, KroppD¹⁹; $\epsilon\iota\mu\eta$ (vb.) Ryl. 333; $\epsilon\tau\eta\eta$ VC 46^{4,6}; $\mu\eta\mu\eta$ Ryl. 139; $\varsigma\upsilon\eta\tau\eta$ BMor. 6201B 13; $\omega\omega\mu\eta$ KroppD¹¹⁶; $\epsilon\mu\eta\varsigma\tau$ Ryl. 296; $\mu\eta\sigma\upsilon\epsilon$ MIF LIX 448; $\tau\omega\eta\eta\epsilon\mu\omega\rho$ Kr. 125; $\tau\eta\rho\omicron\mu\eta$ Ryl. 277; $\chi\omega\tau\alpha\varsigma\eta$ Ann. Serv. XV, 120.

D $\tau\eta\varsigma$ -, $\mu\eta\tau\eta$ - (poss. adj.) P. Lond. IV 1513⁷, Bal. 216¹⁴, 218⁶; $\eta\tau$ - (rel.) Bal. 114¹¹, 210⁵; $\eta\kappa$ - (circumst.) Bal. 276¹⁵; $\tau\eta$ (def. art.) WS 117; $\theta\eta$ Bal. 188^{9,11}; $\eta\eta$ (vb.) P. Lond. IV 1554³²; $\eta\mu\eta$ ib. 1574 (twice); $\mu\alpha[\omega]\eta$ P. Mich. 1190¹⁴ (Ora. IV, 7); $\sigma\omega\eta\eta$ WS 65; $\epsilon\iota\eta\beta\tau$ P. Lond. IV 1520⁴, 1535⁸, 1586⁵; $\omega\alpha\epsilon\eta\eta\eta$ ib. 1598; $\eta\eta\eta$ ib. 1631, WS 140; $\sigma\upsilon\eta\eta\tau\epsilon$ Bal. 395⁷; $\tau\eta\eta\sigma\upsilon$ Bal. 114¹²; $\varsigma\eta\eta\eta$ Bal. 154¹⁰; cf. $\varsigma\eta\eta\tau$ (N. Pr.) Ryl. 218.

E See Ep. I p. 238f., but many more could be cited, e.g.: $\tau\eta\eta$ - (poss. adj.) J. 24²², 10⁹, al.; $\epsilon\tau\eta\eta$ - ST 97¹³; $\eta\lambda\eta$ - (= $\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ -rel.) TurO 7¹⁹; $\epsilon\eta\eta\tau$ BKU 1⁸; $\delta\eta\eta\eta$ ÄZ XXXIV, 85f. (5 times), CO 327; $\omicron\eta\eta\eta\tau\epsilon$ Ep. 458¹⁰; $\mu\eta\eta\tau$ BKU 280; $\omega\epsilon\eta$ ST 42; $\zeta\epsilon\eta$ BKU 264; $\tau\chi\eta\alpha$ TH BKU 272; etc..

23) ϵ = ϵ ; cf. ϵ expressed by ι (3).

- a) ι for finale ϵ . In a number of early Sahidic, Achmimic and Subachmimic texts we sometimes find ι for finale as in Bohairic, Fayyumic and Middle Egyptian with Fayyumic influence. For the significance of this see chapter IX, pp. 242f. and elsewhere. For the evidence of the Paris Magical Papyrus see pp. 243f. below. P.S. 296⁸ $\omega\iota\eta\iota$; P. Mich. 4932¹⁵ (Ora. IV, 185) $\kappa\alpha\kappa\iota$; Achmimic Psalm-fragment ed. Crum in Miss. LXVI (Mél. Maspero II) pp. 73ff. $\chi\epsilon\iota$ and $\chi\epsilon\iota\alpha\iota$ for $\chi\alpha\epsilon$ *; Achm. Asc. Isaiah (Museon LIX, 452ff) $\chi\alpha\epsilon\iota$ F. 6, 7; Achm. Genesis (BKU 164) $\zeta\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota$ I, 26, 28, $\kappa\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\iota$ I, 18; Schmidt, Acta Pauli (Subachmimic) $\sigma\alpha\omega\iota$ 9¹⁶, 21²⁵, $\chi\alpha\epsilon\iota$ 22²⁴, $\sigma\alpha\eta\iota$ 31¹⁵, $\epsilon\iota\alpha\iota$ 33¹⁹, 65⁸; Achm. II Macc. VI, 1, 6 $\epsilon\iota\alpha\iota$; cf. Middle Egyptian $\pi\eta\iota$, see p. 222.

From non-literary texts only a few examples are known:

- A $\omega\tau\omega\iota$ Revillout, Actes et Contrats, papyri du Louvre V - VIII.
 B $\eta\eta\eta\iota$, $\omega\epsilon\eta\eta\iota$, $\kappa\omega\tau\iota$, $\tau\omega\iota$, $\omega\eta\eta\iota$, $\omega\tau\omega\iota$ Kr. 116, 117.
 C $\pi\epsilon\omega\epsilon\iota$ BMOr. 6201B47¹⁴.
 D $\lambda\omega\iota$, $\lambda\omega\eta\iota$ ($\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$, $\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$) P. Lond. IV 1561^{16, 17}; $\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\iota$ Bal. 115⁹; $\omega\eta\iota$ Bal. 279⁶.
 E Crum in Ep. I p. 239 cites $\rho\omega\mu\iota$, $\chi\eta\mu\iota$ CO Ad 35, $\epsilon\iota\epsilon\iota$ Ep. 459.
 b) $\zeta\iota\eta$ - for $\zeta\epsilon\eta$ - (indef. art.). This occurs frequently in the Hamburg Old Fayyumic texts, see p. 227 below, also in the Achm. Asc. Isaiah (Museon LIX, 452ff.) B 10, and the Sah. Elias 5³⁴, 6¹.
 B BM 544.
 C Kr. 48.
 D P. Lond. IV 1513⁵.

- c) Varia. Berlin Psalter (ed. Rahlfs) $\chi\iota$ 37¹⁷, 70¹⁰; Acts (Budge) XXXI, 37 $\epsilon\tau\alpha\chi\iota\omicron\upsilon\omega\chi\epsilon$; PS 21¹ $\alpha\gamma\eta\alpha\gamma$ $\epsilon\pi\alpha\gamma\chi\tau\eta\eta\iota\omicron\upsilon$; $\mu\eta\eta\eta\iota$ for $\mu\eta\eta\eta\epsilon\iota$ in Subachmimic St. John XX, 4.

C ει- (prep.) BM 1019²; ειγωμε BMOr.6201B37; εικε BM 1063^{11,15}, BMOr. 6201B262; ειπειρητ Ryl.277²²; κι- Kr.48, BM 1119^{17,22}; νιμαδ=ν MIF LIX, 131; τινου Ryl.134², 152, 165, 365, BM 1061⁴.

D ειγωμε P.Lond.IV 1640; ειπιωτικo ib.1646; τινου Bal.118².

E See Ep.I p.239, but many more could be added, e.g.: ει- (prep.) J.3⁴⁶⁻⁴⁸; ειβιην AZ XXXIV, 85ff.; βιλλυ (= κελλυ) VC 39⁹; νεινερμυ J.5³²; etc..

24) ο = ε; cf. ε expressed by ο (4), (rare); cf. chapter IX pp.213ff.

C ου-, βοη-, BM Or.6201B47, 170; ρογροειс BMOr.6201A79b (Arab period); cf. φανο-, βοη- Le Muséon LXV, p.160 (ca.1000 A.D.).

D μηωρνοχ ρωμε εβολ Bal.271⁵.

E A few examples in Ep.I p.240.

25) γ = ε; cf. ε expressed by γ (5). This is found a few times in late literary texts, e.g. John IV, 36 (Horner's 91) βγκη.

C κυ Ryl.284 (twice); θυ Ryl.159, Worrell, Coptic Texts III, 21⁸; χγ BMOr.6201B273³; ετγ- (rel.) BMOr.6201A107, B273⁴; πηγτερε- (= πει ετερε) πηγτετεν P.Černý (ined); γρσοογν (circumst.) Ryl.353; τυψιχη Ann.Serv. XV, 120; μυριτ P.Černý (ined.); ηργβωγ MIF LIX, 300⁴; χινυηοογ BM 1018³; cf. μυκαλωνυμος (Megalonymus) J&C 1921²⁴; often in Greek words, e.g.: κυρατιν Ryl.180.

D κυ- P.Lond.IV 1639; θυ WS 112; καδγ Bal.152⁶; cf. θυογ Bal.152¹.

E See CO p.122 (index) citing γ- (prep.) 119 and εγ (60) Ad 54, also a few examples in Greek words; also μαργ- TurO 18².

26) αι = ε; cf. ε = αι (16).

In the Subachmimic St. John and the Manichaean Psalmbook we frequently find και for κε and I have also found it once in the Pistis Sophia 347⁹. In non-literary texts και is common in regions D and C but very rare at Thebes. This is of some significance for the early spread of Subachmimic, see chapter IX p.216.

A και Krall, Rec.Tr. VI, 63ff., pap. I⁵; εται- (rel.) Revillout, Actes et Contrats, papyrus du Louvre VII.

C και Kr.112⁴, BM 1110⁴, 1113⁹, 1115⁶, 1138^{5,7}, Ry1.153, 171, 188, 319, BM Or.6201B60, 69, 84; εσμηται BM 1128⁴.

D και Bal.175¹, 199³, 214¹⁵, 223⁷, WS 93, 109, 186, P.Lond.IV 1508²⁴, 1513⁵, 1528¹², 1530¹⁹, 1574, 1586³, 1592, P.Lond.V 1709^{10,24}, Cramer, Kopt.In-schr.K.F.Museum 9691^{36,40} (A.D.799-805); και (760) Bal.246¹²; cf. καιλενε P.Lond.IV 1643.

E Ep.I p.237 citing και (perhaps) ST 97⁹ and ωαι (vb.) Ep.531¹⁵; also παιτα (= πετνα) Ep.102^{1,6}; εταιυνα J.12⁴⁵; ναι (= νε 'to thee') MH 69.

26A) ΕΥ = Ε; cf. paragraph 28.

KEY for κε is found in three fourth century literary texts: Deut. (Budge) XIII, 13, XXVIII, 36, 64, XXIX, 26 al. (always γενκενονυτε); Le-
fort, Les Manuscrits Coptes de l'Université de Louvain no.12, (once); Berlin Ms.Or.408, I John II, 17, ed. Delaporte, Rev. Biblique 1905, pp.377ff.. Cf. Pro. (Worrell) XXVIII, 4 εκτο ευροογ .

27) N = Ε; cf. Ε = N (82).

a) ΝΤΒΕ for ΕΤΒΕ. This is confined to region D: Bal.152⁶, 257⁴, P.Lond.IV 1494¹⁵, 1500⁶, 1509⁸, 1560⁵, 1574^{12,24}, 1596^{4,6}, 1634 (3 times), 1638³, 1642³.

b) Ν for ε or ΕΤΒΕ meaning 'concerning', cf. last. Perhaps this is a remnant of the Demotic usage, cf. Spiegelberg, Demotische Grammatik par.273. It occurs once in the Pistis Sophia 352⁴ αν γενμακαριος ανον παρ ρωμε νημ ἡνεμῶντο νοβ εντακβολου ναν εβολ .

C BM 1037⁴ ΝΤΑΚΜΝ ΟΥΑΦΑΛΕΙΑ ΝΑΙ ΝΤΡΙΜΗCIN CNAΥ , BM 1043^{VO} . ΤΑΦΑΛΕΙΑ ΝΚΥΡΑ ΜΑΡΟΥ ΝΕΒΤΟΥ ΝΕΡΓΟΒ ; Kr.62⁴ ειωανζε επεντακτι μημα (Ν)ΤΑΥΡΙΝΕ .

D WS 174 ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤCΓΑΙ ΝΥΩΗΡΕ ΝΕCΝΗΥ ἡπανδ(ρις)μος , similarly Aegyptus XXXI (1951) pp.332ff., numbers b and c; cf. note there.

c) Varia. Cf. Pro. (Worrell) XV, 21 ωαρε ΝΕΤΝ ΝCΕΤΑΙΟ ΑΝ .

A ΝΤΡΑΒΩΚ Krall, Rec.Tr. VI, pp.63ff., pap.III⁵.

B ΝΥΩΗΠΙ Worrell, Coptic Texts III, 12⁵.

C ΝΥΩΗΠΕ BM 1145⁸.

D Νημα Bal.140², WS 26; ΧΝ WS 111; προς θε ΝΥΩΗ βῆτογ Bal.102²².

E NT-(rel.) J.4⁵⁴; ΕΤΡΗΠΜΟΝΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ... ΡΗΧΘΕΙΣ J.99²⁶.

28) ΟΥ = Ε; cf. Ε = ΟΥ (55).

For COY = CE (1st.pres.) and (N)COY = NCE (conj.) see par.138,139.

This is common only at Thebes; for ΚΟΥ (= κε-) cf. also par.26A.

C ΚΟΥ BM 1032^{2,5}, 1129¹¹(?).

E See Ep.I p.238; ΚΟΥ is particularly common.

28A) ΕΕΙΕ = Ε.

In the Sah.Elias we find ΡΕΕΙΕ 6^{27,72} and ΣΕΕΙΕ 12¹², both due to Achmimic; a few non-literary examples from Thebes are cited in Ep.I p.238.

29) Η = ΕΕ.

Michah I,8(Achmimic) ΩΗΡΕ for ΨΕΕΡΕ.

C CΗΕ Ryl.155.

D ΕΤΕΤΝΩΑΝΕΗΡΟΣ P.Lond.IV 1554³²; cf. ΧΗΠΙΤΗ Bal.114³.

E ΩΗΡΕ for ΨΕΕΡΕ J.2^{4(bis)}, 12^{34,37}, 13⁴³, 16^{42?,54}, 18¹³, al..

30) Ε = ΕΕΥΕ; cf. Ο = ΟΟΥ (53).

C ΠΕΕ (= ΠΕΕΕΥΕ) MIF LIX,10,232,389.

D ΠΕΕ (= ΠΕΕΕΥΕ) P.Lond.IV 1641.

31) Ε = ΕΥ; cf. ΕΥ = Ε (26A).

Hos.III,4(Achmimic) ΕΜΝΤΕ Ρρο μμο; Br.110³ ΧΙΝΤΕ ΜΝΤ ΚΟΥΙ, 119²
CENAT ΝΗΤΝ ΝΝΕ CΦΡΑΓΙC ΜΝΠΕΥΛ^ρ.

C ΕΥΨΕΛΨΩΛ ΕΤΗΚ ΕΥΡΑΝΑΚ BM 1031⁷; ΑΡΙ ΠΕΜΕΕΥΕ MIF LIX,232; cf.

ΠΕΠΝΕΜΑ Ann.Serv. XV p.124.

32) ΟΥ = ΕΥ; cf. ΕΥ = ΟΟΥ (52).

In the Sah.Elias we find ΠΟΥ- 11²⁰, ΤΟΥ- 11^{17,19}, ΝΟΥ- 4^{27,828,31}
for Sah. ΠΕΥ-, ΤΕΥ-, ΝΕΥ; the same is also found in the Berlin
Gnostic, e.g.: Schmidt, Alte Petrusakten 140¹⁵. The forms ΠΟΥ-,
ΤΟΥ-, ΝΟΥ- are proper to all Coptic dialects except Sahidic, though
the Sah.forms are sometimes found, e.g. Schmidt, Acta Pauli p.16,
Joel I,3(Achmimic), al..

C ΜΝΤΟΥΜΗΣ Ryl.192.

D $\tau\omicron\upsilon\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha\gamma\eta$ P.Lond.IV 1514¹⁵; cf. $\pi\omicron\mu\omicron\omicron\upsilon$ P.Mich.593¹³ (Ora.IV,192).

E See Ep.I p.240, add: AZ XXXIV,85ff.⁴, COAd 9⁹, J.13³⁴.

32A) $\omega = \epsilon\omicron\upsilon$.

E $\epsilon\tau\beta\omega$ for $\epsilon\tau\beta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$ CO 327, Ad 50.

33) $\alpha = \eta$; cf. $\eta = \alpha$ (8).

E A few examples from Thebes, see Ep.I p.237.

34) $\epsilon = \eta$; cf. $\eta = \epsilon$ (22).

In early texts we frequently find $\mu\epsilon\zeta^+$ for $\mu\eta\zeta^+$, e.g. Deut. (Budge) VI,11, PS 117¹⁸, Pro. (Worrell) VI,34.

C $\epsilon\chi\kappa\epsilon$ MIF LIX 265; $\eta\epsilon=\tau\eta$ BM 1028⁹, BMO ϵ 6201B30 (4 times); $\eta\eta\mu\epsilon=\tau\eta$ BM 1041³; $\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\tau$ BMO ϵ .6201B175; $\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\tau$ MIF LIX 307 (twice); $\eta\zeta\epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$ BMO ϵ .6201B30; $\zeta\tau\epsilon\chi$ AJSL XLVI,248.

D $\epsilon\tau\eta$ Bal.242⁵, WS 90,91,92 (twice), 186; $\mu\epsilon\tau$ (10) Bal.127²; $\mu\eta\tau\epsilon$ (15) WS 133; $\eta\epsilon=\tau\eta$ BMO ϵ .6201B58; $\zeta\alpha\tau\theta\epsilon$ Brunton, Matmar p.95; $\chi\iota\eta\epsilon\theta\epsilon$ Bal.245⁵; $\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon$, $\eta\epsilon\upsilon$ (vb.), $\tau\epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$, $\zeta\alpha\zeta\tau\epsilon\kappa$ P.Lond.IV 1639; cf. $\zeta\epsilon\mu\chi$ WS 92,186; cf. also $\tau\epsilon\mu\omicron\omicron\omicron\iota\omicron\upsilon\eta$ Bal.103⁶; $\alpha\kappa\alpha\eta\epsilon$ Bal.228⁶; $\epsilon\kappa\lambda\epsilon\iota\alpha$ Bal.312⁹.

E No example in Ep.I, but occurs frequently, e.g.: $\eta\tau\alpha\beta\eta\tau\epsilon\upsilon\tau\eta$ BKU 92^{vo.7,10}; $\beta\epsilon\tau$ BKU 151⁶; $\mu\epsilon\zeta^+$ J.5³⁵; $\rho\epsilon\zeta$ J.7²⁵, TurO 7²²; $\epsilon\tau\tau\alpha\iota\epsilon\upsilon$, $\tau\epsilon\tau\chi$ BKU 280; $\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\tau$ ST 42; $\zeta\epsilon\kappa\epsilon$ BKU 264, JAOS XLVIII,148; $\eta\zeta\epsilon\tau\chi$ ST.42.

35) $\iota = \eta$.

$\omicron\upsilon\tau\iota\tau\epsilon$ for $\omicron\upsilon\tau\eta\tau\epsilon$ is found in the Subachmimic St.John (14 times) and the Subachmimic Acta Pauli (5 times), but not in the Manichaean texts; cf. L.Ap.II,3^{ro.} $\eta\iota=\tau\eta$, 6^{vo.} $\epsilon\tau\eta\iota\upsilon$.

B $\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$ BM 545².

C $\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$ MIF LIX 366; $\chi\omicron\tau\iota$ (= $\chi\omicron\upsilon\tau\eta$) Ryl.298.

D $\mu\eta\tau\iota$ (15) P.Lond.IV 1561¹⁷, 1563²²; cf. $\Delta\iota\omicron\iota\Gamma\epsilon\iota\varsigma\iota\varsigma$ Bal.301¹; $\zeta\iota\omicron\upsilon\mu\epsilon\eta\omicron\varsigma$ Bal.235¹⁰; $\Delta\epsilon\varsigma\alpha\tau\iota\varsigma$ (= $\tau\epsilon\varsigma\alpha\tau\eta\varsigma$) Bal.116¹⁰.

35A) $\omicron = \eta$.

E Three examples in Greek words Ep.I p.240; cf. PS 209²¹ $\mu\eta\tau\eta\mu\omicron\eta\omicron\tau\epsilon\varsigma$.

36) γ = η; cf. η = γ (59).

A κυμε Revillout, Actes et Contrats, papyrus du Louvre V, VI.

C λαγυ Ryl. 207; νυ=τη BMO. 6201B47¹⁰; τυροу BSAC III, pp. 6ff. and plate;
 2αθυ Ryl. 353 (9th-10th cent.); 2υμε Ryl. 320^{16, 18, 353}; χουτυ Kr. 60³;
 very frequently in Greek words.

D μνεπερυου Bal. 152⁵; λαγυ WS 96; 2αρυ Bal. 115⁶; τυρυ Bal. 261⁶;
 2αθυ Bal. 280²; 2υτ Bal. 261^{4, 278}⁵; 2εγυτ Bal. 152⁸; in two place-
 names: αποθυκη Bal. 186¹⁵; τσυ WS 130 (τση in same document); cf.
 2υλιας Bal. 175²; very often in Greek words: 2υμοσιον Bal. 102⁹
 and note; 2υδαυ Bal. 152⁴; γ 'or' P. Lond. IV 1537⁴; φγγουμενος
 P. Lond. IV 1622; πεμυτ Bal. 115⁵; πλυν Bal. 152⁸; 2υμιον Bal. 115
 note 4, 165¹⁸; τριμυσιον Bal. 152⁶; χαρτυс Bal. 152^{10, 11}. See also
 the note by Bell in P. Lond. IV p. XLIII.

E кγ (qual. of κω) J. 6^{11, 18}^{22, 36}⁴⁸; τ-смγ CO 282; 2υμε CO 160¹⁰; often
 in Greek words, e.g. 2αγυ J. 1^{36, 4}^{22, 62}; cf. CO index p. 122f..

36A) ω = η.

B 2ω=τη Kr. 116¹⁸ (Touho).

36B) εε = η.

Acts (Budge) X, 24 2εγυβεερ (plural ?), LemmAp. II, 8^{ro}. 2αγυβεερ.

36C) ηη = η.

Br. 105¹⁷, 232 2υνηρε; Pro. (Worrell) XVII, 17, XXV, 8 2υβνηр; Crum,
Dict. p. 66 cites ηηη, μνηηε, 2υνηηε, 6ρηηηε in Esne-Edfu MSS (BAP).

C τηηηε Ryl. 144.

E Cf. 2ηημε CO 315⁵.

37) μ = η; cf. η = μ (83), γ = μ (86), al..

D 2μμε (for 2ημε) Bal. 235².

37A) οι = η.

C οιρη (for ηρη) BM 1063^{13, 14}.

E Cf. κλοιρονομος CO 4⁷.

38) η = ηη; cf. α = αα (13), ε = εε (20), ο = οο (48).

a) Sahidic is the only dialect which doubles η in 2τβηηηε, but in a

number of early manuscripts we sometimes find $\epsilon\tau\theta\mu\tau$: Berlin Psalter(ed.Rahlfs) p.33(twice), the Turin Wisdoms(ed.Lagarde) Sap.VI,15(16),VIII,10,13,XVI,7, XVIII,18,19, Sir.XXII,26(28), XXV,27, XXX,3,28(29), XXXV,2, XLIII,28, XLVII,16, LI,18; Sah. Elias 13³⁵,14^{2,4}; Br.232,245,259,266; P.S.126⁶.

C Ryl.269,292,301,312(all fourth or fifth century),BMor.6201A81, Ryl.281, BM 1177¹³.

D Bal.180³.

E Cf.Ep.I p.242, e.g.CO 81; cf.JAOS XLVIII p.152

b) We also find single μ in $\epsilon\iota\epsilon\eta\tau\epsilon$: Br.88¹,92⁷; Wessely,Sah.Gr.Ps.-Fragmente p.11; Semi-Achm.Luke(BIFA0 VIII,76ff)I,38($\epsilon\iota\epsilon\eta\tau\epsilon$ ^{u(6ic1)}).
Cf.also Pro.(Worrell)XXIV,66 $\mu\eta\eta\epsilon$.

38A) $\mu = \mu\gamma$.

C $\epsilon\iota\mu\mu$ Jern.5¹¹, but 5¹⁰ $\epsilon\kappa\mu\mu$.

E $\mu\mu\eta\eta\epsilon\phi\eta$ ST 45^{4,6}.

38B) ι omitted; cf. $\alpha = \alpha_1$ (15), $\alpha_1 = \alpha$ (12), and especially par.6D.

a) In a number of literary and non-literary texts of a late period we find $\kappa\omicron\upsilon$ used as a construct form of $\kappa\omicron\upsilon\iota$, see Crum,Dictionary p. 93b, and add Bal.284, Ryl.p.117 note 18, Kroppk⁶³, MIF LIX,194.
Most of the instances are from the Fayyum.

b) Wessely,Sah.Gr.Ps.Fragmente p.114(Ps.L,5) $\chi\omicron\upsilon\omega$ for $\chi\iota\omicron\upsilon\omega$.

B $\omega\mu\iota$ for $\omega\iota\mu\iota$ BM 597.

C $\alpha\lambda\ \mu\alpha\mu\eta[\omicron\upsilon\iota]$ MIF LIX 355.

D $\omega\mu\epsilon$ and $\omega\mu\iota$ for $\omega\iota\mu\epsilon$ Bal.279^{2,6}.

E $\omega\mu\epsilon$ for $\omega\iota\mu\epsilon$ CO 65¹, BKU 111B⁴; $\mu\epsilon\omega\tau$ for $\mu\epsilon\omega\iota\omega\tau$ CO 86⁶.

38C) $\alpha = \iota$.

D $\mu\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$ -Cramer,Kopt.Inscr.K.F.Museum 9691²⁶, but ib.⁴⁰ $\mu\mu\alpha\tau\iota\ \mu\omicron\upsilon$ (A.D.799 - 805); $\tau\alpha\tau\alpha$ -P.Lond.IV 1498¹³.

E $\mu\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$ -Ep.I p.237, citing Ep.245.

39) $\epsilon = (\epsilon)\iota$; cf. ι expressed by \eth (6D).

A few early examples: Achm.Amos VI,7 $\epsilon\tau\theta\epsilon\ \mu\epsilon$; Sah.Elias 4²¹

εγγοует, 5²⁴ μαεν; cf. also the Achmimic practice of writing τε for † (verb) when followed by the preposition ᾗ- with pronominal suffix. In non-literary texts this is common only at Thebes, though not unknown elsewhere.

C τε-(1st. present) Kr. 113² (twice), BM 1045^{2,6}; нте-(1st. perf. neg.) Kr. 113⁶; нтеε BMOr. 6201A2; нтеρομнεται BM 1043⁷, cf. 1015⁷, 1016⁴; Χεντα πιωτ... μου BMOr. 6201A108d; Χενε- Krall, Mitt. P. E. R. V, p. 32; εс Ryl. 121, 124, 298, al..

D αρε-, αλε- WS 50, Ann. Serv. XV, p. 114; τε-(1st. present) P. Lond. IV 1497²⁰, 1554⁶, 1559¹¹, 1573²³; не-(for нн-, 1st. perf. neg.) P. Lond. IV 1563²¹; (2) нтеρομнεται P. Lond. IV 1519², 1521¹⁰, 1525⁴, 1530⁸; τεαποу- такеиcen (for τειαποδειξις) Bal. 132⁶; не διασταλμος P. Lond. IV 1553 vo.³⁴; οεκ P. Lond. IV 1588; εεтен (for εитн) VC 60⁵; Χενε-(AA²) P. Lond. IV 1565³⁴.

E Very common, see Ep. I p. 238; many more could be cited.

39A) н = ε/ι.

Subachmimic St. John XVII, 5 ετεοунтннч.

C тнне (for тне 'village') Kr. 93^{2,5}.

D Cf. λωтнз Bal. 325².

E знтотк BKU 280.

40) ε/ι = ι; cf. ι = ε/ι (40A); cf. also paragraph 60.

- a) A considerable number of early Sahidic texts write frequently ε/ι for normal Sahidic ι when this follows another vowel, e.g.:
- λει-, нтаει-, паει, таει, наει, εзраει, нμμδει, ουχδει; पेει, तेει, नेई, ऐई-, ऐईना-, ऐईयान-; нई, ουβнई, унई; εροει, уароει, μμοει, κτοει, ογοει, βοειλε; κουει, μουει; ρωει, нсωει, εχwei, etc.. These spellings are probably due to Subachmimic influence since they occur regularly in the Subachmimic St. John and the Acta Pauli, though not the Manichaean texts which invariably write ι, cf. paragraph 40A below and chapter IX p. 210. Manuscripts in which this occurs particularly frequently are the following:

BMOr.7594(ed.Budge, Biblical Texts, both hands), the Berlin Psalter(ed.Rahlfs), the Turin Wisdoms(ed.Lagarde, Aegyptiaca), the two old Vienna Psalters(ed.Wessely, Sah.-Gr.Ps.-Fragmente, pp.11ff. and 65ff.), the Berlin Gnostic(see Schmidt, Die Alten Petrusakten), Lefort, Les Manuscrits Coptes de l'Universite de Louvain numbers 9 and 12, the Sah.Elias, the Semi-achmimic St.Luke(BIFAO VIII, pp. 76ff.), the Pistis Sophia, Ryl.16, LMisc.L, BM 1224, and number 18 in the present collection. It is to be noted that all these manuscripts are from the fourth or early fifth century.

In non-literary texts these spellings occur only rarely, except in a few early texts.

C J&C 1920: αειXοοc (twice), c2αει (twice), οyxαει, οyoει, κοyει, εxwei; Ryl.271: Nα=ει, εειc2αι, εxwei; 273: αειTNNοοy, NεειHΠ ne, κοyει, εxwei; 292: c2αει (twice), εειοyαyк, μμoει, εpοει; 301: c2αι Nα=ει, εειαζιοy, εpοει; 313: εει2Hу; P.Amh.(Greek)II, 145 Hει; (all of the 4th-5th cent.). Also Hει BP 10589; εxwei MIF LIX, 207, 259.

D ET(6)Nαειne Bal.121¹; NTαειTαay, oειne WS 140.

E See Ep.I p.239.

b) Berlin Psalter(ed.Rahlfs)p.30 citing: N6ει, neite, T288eie, ceine.

C NEU ST 185; yeine BMOr.6201B27, 171.

D NEU Bal.103¹²; yeine Bal.192¹¹; zeiten Bal.238⁴.

40A) ι = ει; cf. ει = ι (40).

In a number of early Sahidic manuscripts we frequently find ι for normal Sahidic ει, e.g.: ιωT, poic, Tαio, οyoin, οyoiy, yoyiT, zoite, Xoic; especially in the Pistis Sophia, the Turin Wisdoms(ed. Lagarde), the Berlin Gnostic(Schmidt, Die alten Petrusakten), the Old Vienna Psalter(ed.Wessely, Sah.-Gr.Ps.-Fragmente pp.11ff.), and others. It is to be noted that all these manuscripts also confuse ει with ι where normal Sahidic has ι, see above par.40. The Manichaean manuscripts(Subachmimic) invariably write ι, cf. chapter IX p.210 below.

In non-literary texts this occurs in all regions, though perhaps less commonly at Thebes than further north. It is so common in many texts that it did not seem necessary to collect material for this.

41) ⲉⲓⲉⲓ = ⲉⲓ.

Achm. Amos I, 14 ⲡⲣⲉⲁⲉⲓⲓ, Semi-achmimic Luke (BIFAO VIII, 76ff.)
I, 63 ⲁⲩⲉⲁⲉⲓ.

C ⲡⲧⲁⲩⲁⲓⲉⲣⲥ Ryl. 196; ⲭⲟⲓⲉⲓⲥ Peremans-Vergote, Papyrologisch Handboek, pl. XI (Louv. 18b); ⲉⲓⲓⲉ, ⲉⲓⲓⲁⲩⲡⲁⲩⲉ BM 1124^{2,3}; ⲡⲟⲩⲟⲓⲉ BMO. 6201A110a; ⲩⲓⲱⲃ BMO. 6201B52; ⲩⲓⲱⲱⲛ BMO. 6201B265²; ⲩⲓⲱⲟⲩ BM 1124³.

D ⲩⲓⲱⲱⲩ Bal. 216¹¹; cf. ⲥⲓⲱⲟⲩⲩⲧ (place-name) Bal. 155¹.

42) ⲟⲓ = ⲓ.

Acts (Budge) XXIII, 12 ⲡⲃⲟⲓ.

C ⲧⲟⲓⲥⲧⲟⲓⲭⲉⲓ Ryl. 191.

D ⲧⲟⲓⲩⲟⲙⲟⲗⲟⲩⲁ P. Lond. IV 1509²²; cf. ⲁⲡⲡⲟⲓⲃⲟⲩⲗⲓⲁ Bal. 117⁸, 163⁴.

42A) ⲉⲓ = ⲉⲓⲱ.

E At Thebes we sometimes find ⲉⲓⲧ as construct form of ⲉⲓⲱⲧ; see
Ep. I p. 248.

43) ⲁ = ⲟ.

This is one of the fundamental differences which divides Sahidic (and Bohairic) from the Upper Egyptian sub-dialects (Achmimic, Subachmimic, Middle Egyptian and Fayyumic), cf. chapter IX p. 230. Examples from early literary Sahidic texts are extremely rare, but the non-literary texts have preserved very substantial evidence for this in the whole of Upper Egypt. It is notable, however, that at Ashmunein we only rarely meet with this, whereas it is common both further south, especially at Thebes, and further north in the Fayyum. In some localities it persisted practically throughout the Coptic period and we still find it on stelae and graffiti from the 11th century at Abydos (see Murray, The

Osireion at Abydos, Bouriant, Miss. I, pp. 382ff.) and occasionally in late manuscripts from the White Monastery (see Leipoldt, Sche-noute von Atripe p. 95 and Till, Kopt. Heil. u. Märt.-Legenden I, p. 39). Deut. (Budge) XII, 26 NTAK ; Berlin Psalter (ed. Rahlfs) TA^6QY ; Br. 263 MAAK ; BG p. 10 TAMATHTN ; Sah. Elias 1³³ ABZE ; Semi-Achm. Luke (BIFAO VIII, 76ff.) I, 43 ANAK , I, 56 $[\omega]\text{AUT NEBAT}$, I, 65 OYAN NIM ; P. Mich. 136⁹⁰ (Ora. IV, 21) n-kaiz .

A Nwapeh Rec. Tr. VI, pp. 63ff., papyrus III.

B Very Common due to Fayyumic influence.

C canc Ryl. 270(ter); NAB , epay BM 1123^{27, 29} (both 4th cent.); ATN , anc Ryl. 352; AYI TAAAT Kr. 9⁴; ANAK Kr. 77¹¹; EBAT BMOr. 6201A104; yuma ib. B14; EBAL B30; alcalbq[dy] B47⁷; raic MIF LIX, 195; NAYE (NOBE) 265; EKERAC $[\epsilon]\text{PAI}$ 272; NABE 281, 286; cf. OYENABPE 10³; EKNAAYAC , TAYOYAC , NGOYAMC , OYAEIN , NETOYAT[ε] P. Mich. 593, 599 (AJSL XLVI, pp. 242-245).

D ABAL P. Lond. IV 1553¹⁶; MAC (= MOC) ib. 1554³¹; CAT ib. 1536³³; COYA Bal. 309²⁸; WAXNE AZ LXVIII, pp. 60ff. line 28; XAK , CAI , OYAY , NAIY , BAP , BAT , BajcaT , EALe , ZA , PAMPE , TNAM Gloss. 6, 35, 54, 55, 57, 65, 155, 249, 261, 330, 398; WAMIT (= WOMIT), WAZPHI APAY NEAY Brunton, Qau and Badari III, pl. LIII right (= pl. IV no. 5) lines 7, 11; MAN , MAC (MON , MOC), ZAPAN , ZIAMe , Xaic , BAM , alXa PETAIeY EBAL EPAC Brunton, Matmar p. 95; NACAN Ann. Serv. XVI p. 99; cf. names: IOYCTAC Bal. 359⁴, KOLLONAC Bal. 214¹³; in Greek words: KAINOTHC Bal. 156¹, LIPAC Bal. 291⁹, ZALAKOYTE Bal. 114⁴, CENBOYAC Bal. 187^{6, 10}.

E Very common, see Ep. I p. 237; many more could be cited.

43A) $\epsilon = o$.

Deut. (Budge) XIII, 13 neyc neht .

B tie METPH Kr. 64⁶.

C eye (but ib. eoy o) Cramer, Die Totenklage bei den Kopten 1² (A.D. 750!).

E See Ep. I p. 238, a few examples.

43B) $H = O$.

E A few examples, see Ep.I p.238.

44) $\omega = o$; cf. $o = \omega$ (61).

In early literary texts this is comparatively rare: Achm.Amos IX,3 $\eta\pi\alpha\epsilon\zeta\omega\gamma$, Achm.II Macc.VI,4 $\alpha\mu\omega$, VI,9 $\nu\omega$, VI,18 $\zeta\omega$, VI,19 $\epsilon\omega\gamma$; Sah.Elias 9⁵ $\mu\mu\omega\eta$, 8⁵ $\epsilon\omega\omega\alpha\epsilon$, 9³³ $\epsilon\eta\alpha\epsilon\omega\kappa\omicron\gamma$, 5² $\omega\omicron\gamma\omega\gamma$; Br.141¹¹ $\omega\beta\iota\omega$; Pro.(Worrell)XXII,20 $\epsilon\omega\eta$.

In the non-literary texts this is common in all districts,
The following are examples from region D.

D ω (qual.of $\epsilon\iota\rho\epsilon$) Bal.115⁹, P.Lond.IV 1512⁴⁰, 1515¹⁸, 1521²⁸, 1537⁶, 1565⁵⁴; $\tau\alpha\lambda\omega$ P.Lond.IV 1552⁵, 1561⁴, 1563²¹; $\omega\mu\omega$ (= $\omega\mu\mu\omicron$) P.Lond.IV 1565⁵⁰; $\zeta\omega$ P.Lond.IV 1642; $\epsilon\omega\gamma$ Bal.228¹²; $\epsilon\beta\omega\lambda$ WS 48; $\epsilon\iota\omega\tau\epsilon$ Bal.192¹⁴; $\eta\mu\omega\iota$ P.Lond.IV 1622; $\mu\omega\beta$ (= $\mu\mu\omicron\gamma$) P.Lond.IV 1560⁷; $\nu\omega\chi$ P.Lond.IV 1561⁸; $\nu\omega\epsilon$ WS 113, P.Lond.IV 1642; $\omega\eta$ P.Lond.IV 1640, 1642; $\rho\omega\mu\eta\epsilon$ P.Lond.IV 1561⁷; $\tau\alpha\mu\omega\iota$ P.Lond.IV 1642; $\tau\omega\gamma$ P.Lond.IV 1518⁶, 1519⁵, 1521¹⁰, 1525⁴; $\omega\epsilon$ Gloss.91,92; $\omega\gamma\eta\eta$ P.Lond.IV 1642 al.; $\chi\omega\epsilon\iota\epsilon$ P.Lond.IV 1560²⁰; $\delta\omega\mu$ P.Lond.IV 1521²⁸; $\tau\eta\omega\omicron\gamma$ P.Lond.IV 1640; $\gamma\tau\omega\omicron\gamma$ P.Lond.IV 1596¹⁷; $\epsilon\alpha\rho\omega\gamma$ P.Lond.IV 1560³⁰; $\epsilon\tau\omega\tau$ P.Lond.IV 1504; $\omega\omicron\omega\tau$ P.Lond.IV 1515¹⁴; $\eta\tau\omega\omicron\tau\kappa$ Bal.133¹; $\chi\omega\omicron\epsilon$ P.Lond.IV 1512³², 1552²⁷; $\eta\tau\omega\tau\gamma$ Brunton, Matmar pl.LXVIII,14.

45) $oo = o$; cf. $aa = a$ (11), ϵ added (19), $\omega\omega = \omega$ (63A).

A few early examples: Berlin Psalter(ed.Rahlfs)42³ $\epsilon\tau\omicron\omicron\gamma$ [$\lambda\lambda\beta$, 44⁷ $\omega\omicron\omicron\omicron$ [η], 48¹⁵ $\chi\omicron\omicron\epsilon\iota\epsilon$, 73¹⁷ $\tau\omicron\omicron\gamma$; Sah.Elias 6²⁵ $\epsilon\eta\omicron\omicron\gamma$, 9²⁸ $\kappa\lambda\omicron\omicron\mu$, 12²⁰ $\epsilon\zeta\omicron\omicron\mu$ (= $\alpha\zeta\omicron\mu$), 6¹⁵ $\mu\mu\omicron\omicron\gamma$, 11⁹ $\omega\omicron\omicron$ (1000); Br.39¹² $\mu\mu\omicron\omicron\epsilon$, 250 $\tau\omicron\gamma\chi\omicron\omicron\gamma$; Pro.(Worrell)26¹³ $\mu\omicron\omicron\gamma\iota$, 15²² $\eta\epsilon\omega\omicron\omicron\gamma$, 23¹⁶ $\eta\alpha\epsilon\tau\omicron\omicron\tau\omicron\gamma$, 21⁶ $\zeta\epsilon\eta\epsilon\omicron\omicron\tau\omicron\gamma\epsilon$; cf.Deut.(Budge)13¹⁵ $\zeta\eta\omicron\gamma\beta\omega\omega\tau\epsilon$; Crum, Dictionary p.253a notes that this is common in the Esne-Edfu texts. In non-literary texts this is common only at Thebes.

C $\tau\omicron\omicron\gamma$ WZKM XLVIII(1941)p.46 no.2².

D $\eta\mu\omicron\omicron\iota$ P.Lond.IV 1521²⁹; $\epsilon\mu\omicron\omicron\tau$ P.Lond.IV 1565¹¹, 1566¹¹; $\tau\omicron\omicron\gamma$ Bal.344⁵.

E Frequent; see Ep.I p.242.

46) $\text{o}\gamma = \text{o}$; cf. $\text{o} = \text{o}\gamma$ (56).

PS 14⁵ $\alpha\iota\nu\text{o}\gamma\chi\text{o}\gamma$. In non-literary texts this is frequent at Thebes, but extremely rare elsewhere, except in Greek words.

C $\mu\text{o}\gamma\iota$ (= $\mu\mu\text{o}\iota$) P.Černý¹⁶ (ined.); $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\iota\alpha\chi\text{o}\gamma$ $\epsilon\beta\text{o}\lambda$ BM 1016⁴; cf. $\alpha\text{πο}\gamma\lambda\lambda\omega$ Baouit p.44(XV,2).

D $\varsigma\text{o}\gamma\eta$ P.Lond.IV 1536³; cf. $\alpha\text{πο}\gamma\lambda\omega$ Bal.319⁶; $\alpha\mu\phi\text{o}\iota\beta\text{o}\nu\lambda\iota\alpha$ Bal.117⁸; $\epsilon\pi\iota\sigma\text{το}\gamma\lambda\eta$ Bal.187¹¹; $\kappa\alpha\tau\text{o}\gamma\varsigma$ Bal.116^{4,11}; $\mu\text{o}\gamma\eta\chi\text{o}\varsigma$ Bal.114³; $\gamma\alpha\lambda\alpha - \kappa\text{o}\gamma\tau\epsilon$ Bal.114⁴; $\pi\alpha\lambda\tau\text{o}\gamma\kappa\rho\alpha\tau\omega\text{N}$ Bal.114¹¹; $\pi\rho\text{o}\gamma\varsigma$ P.Lond.IV 1536³³.

E Frequent; see Ep.I p.240.

46A) $\text{o}\gamma\text{o}, \text{o}\gamma\omega = \text{o}$; cf. $\text{o}\gamma\omega = \omega$ (63B).

a) In Achmimic texts we twice find $\text{o}\gamma\text{o}$ for the interrogative particle o (Sah. $\text{o}\gamma$): Zach.I,9 and Muséon LII p.2 lines 4,6,8(side by side with δ lines 5,17); this is also found once at Thebes in a non-literary text cited Ep.I p.241 (MMA.24.6.13): $\chi\epsilon \text{o}\gamma\omega \epsilon\tau\omega\text{o}\text{o}\eta$; cf. chapter IX p.238.

b) $\text{o}\gamma\text{o}$ and $\text{o}\gamma\omega$ are sometimes found for o , qualitative of $\epsilon\iota\pi\epsilon$; all the examples are from Thebes; one early example: Br.229.

E See Ep.I p.240 and 181 note 14, adding VC 8¹¹.

47) $\epsilon\iota = \text{o}\epsilon\iota$.

D $\chi\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ Bal.202¹⁶; cf. $\phi\iota\delta\alpha\mu\text{o}\gamma$ Bal.187²; $\dagger\kappa\text{o}\gamma\mu\eta\eta\eta$ P.Mich.1190 II²³ (Ora.IV,9).

47A) $\alpha = \text{o}\text{o}$; cf. $\alpha = \text{o}$ (43), $\text{o} = \text{o}\text{o}$ (48).

a) Due to Achmimic influence. In five texts from Thebes.

E $\mu\alpha\lambda\epsilon$ (for $\mu\text{o}\text{o}\gamma\epsilon$) ST 213⁶, 228²², 231², VC 6^{ro.6,7}, MH 61⁷.

b) Not due to Achmimic influence. These forms are Fayyumic, their presence at Thebes is remarkable.

E $\chi\alpha\gamma$ (for $\chi\text{o}\text{o}=\varsigma$) ST 60⁷, VC 80⁸; $\eta\tau\alpha\tau\kappa$ (?) BKU 125.

48) $\text{o} = \text{o}\text{o}$; cf. $\alpha = \alpha\alpha$ (13), $\epsilon = \epsilon\epsilon$ (20), $\eta = \eta\eta$ (38).

A considerable number of examples can be cited from early literary texts: Acts(Budge)VII,57 $\tau\text{o}\gamma$, X,11 $\tau\text{o}\gamma$; PS 19²² $\epsilon\gamma\gamma\text{o}\eta$,

110¹⁰ εντασχος ; Old Vienna Psalter (ed. Wessely, Sah.-Gr. Ps.-Fragmente pp. 11ff.) CIV, 39 ογκλολε, CIII, 20, CXIV, 4 μογε, CV, 41 ετοτογ, CV, 1, CXI, 3, 9, CXX, 2, CXXI, 6, CXXIII, 1, 2 γον, CIX, 1, CXXI, 5 ζμος, CIV, 31, 34, CV, 23 αχχος, CV, 27 εχορογ, CIV, 37 πετβογ, CVIII, 29 νσεβολογ ; BG (ed. Schmidt, Die alten Petrusakten) 131² ζμος, many more could be cited from the unpublished part, e.g. 21^{6, 18} γον ; Br. 139^{2, 6, 10, 16}, 140^{6, 14} ετγον (pp. 139-140 are more dialectical than the rest of the codex); Pro. (Worrell) p. XIV citing: χος, γον, μογε (bis), ογχορ, add 17²⁴ κοζ, 11³ τοτογ, 16¹, 22¹³ ζιογε ; LMisc. L γον ; BM 1224 χος ; P. Mich. 136⁶⁸ (Ora. IV, 20) ντοτ ; P. Mich. 3565^{4, 9} (Ora. IV, 14f.) τοττ.

A ντοτκ Revillout, Actes et Contrats, papyrus du Louvre IV⁴.

C χος (bis) JEA XIII, 19f.; τοτγ, ντοτκ BM 1123^{8, mg.} (both 4th cent.); τοττ Ryl. 132, BM 1103¹³; γον Kr. 7⁷; ερογ BM 1118¹²; τνογ Ryl. 356, P. Černý (ined.); πετβογ MR V, 28; γτογ BM Or. 6201 B 272.

D τοτ Bal. 119¹⁷, P. Lond. IV 1528⁴, 1529^{5, 8}, 1595; γτογ Bal. 331⁴; ζαρογ P. Lond. IV 1552²⁷; δογνε WS 22.

E Crum in Ep. I p. 242 only cites χογ for χοογ, but quite a number of examples are known from Thebes, e.g.: τοτ CO 48⁵, 86, 206⁹, Ad. 43⁵; ζι τοτ BKU 163, 280; χο CO 81, BKU 92, VC 112³; μογε, μοζε VC 35⁴, ST 359¹; μμογ J. 16⁶¹; τηνογγ, τηνογγογ BKU 139, 299⁸; γτογ J. 15⁴⁶; etc..

49) ω = οο ; cf. ο = οο (48), etc..

In the Old Coptic Horoscope we find three times τωτγ for τοοτγ and Theban texts showing this peculiarity have evidently preserved an ancient tradition. Other early examples are: Achm. Hosea IV, 9 †νατωβογ, IV, 14 νετωγ, Sah. Elias 7³⁴ cωζε (vb.).

C μωγε BM 1123⁴ (4th cent.).

D ζιτωτ Bal. 242³, P. Lond. IV 1642 (3 times).

E Not listed in Ep. I, but a number of examples can be cited: ατωτ CO Ad 9⁴; ζατωτ Ep. 287⁹; ζιτωτ J. 7⁴⁵, BKU 80, Ep. 291⁴; al..

50) αΥ = οοΥ; cf. α = ο (43).

Due to Achmimic, Subachmimic or Fayyumic influence.

C χαΥ, χαΥ = Jern.1² and note, Ryl.315; ἱτακχαΥ ναίμπεητσοΥ BMor.6201B22.

D αΥχαΥ νωωοΥ, Worrell, Coptic Texts III, 8 (this region ?); αΥζε Bal.333⁸; αΥνε Bal.320⁵.

E χαΥ Ep.280, 295, 317, 336, Tor.39, al.; cf. εκατααΥε (= εκεταοοΥ) AZ XXXIV, 85ff., vo.6; αΥαΥ MH 53⁴.

51) εΥ = οοΥ; cf. last..

C εΥ τεγμααΥ Ryl.310 (4th century).

D εΥ- WS 92, 93, 186^{3, 8}.

52) ο = οοΥ; cf. ο = οΥ (56).

C νεο τηροΥ Krall, MR V p.28 (late).

D οΥβονε νωοοΥ WS 138.

E See Ep.I p.240 citing σνοσ, σοτν, τννωοΥ.

53) οΥ omitted.

a) Sometimes we find the indefinite article omitted, but often it is difficult to decide whether it is the indefinite or definite article, cf. par.94. A few early examples: Achm.Hosea XIV, 8 ντζε νωοΥ νελαλε, XIV, 9 αχναρο αν νειδωλον, Berlin Psalter (ed. Rahlfs) 72² παρ[α] κοϋι, P.Mich.136⁶⁷ (Ora. IV, 20) ειταλην εστοατ; al..

b) α, ο, ω, = οΥα, οΥο, οΥω. A number of early examples: Achm.Hosea IX, 3 σεναωμ, Achm.II Macc.VI, 1 ^(οις)ναειω, Achm.Elias 6³ ξεαβε, Semi-Achm.Luke (BIFAO VIII, 76ff.) I, 35 ογπνα εγααβ, Sah.Elias 5¹⁶ νον νωμ, Br.241 πετοτβ, Berlin Psalter (ed. Rahlfs) 79¹³ νβι ον νωμ, PS 85¹¹ εγογς. In non-literary texts this occurs sometimes at Thebes, but is very rare elsewhere.

C ον νωμ BM 1123^{8, 20} (4th. century); ποϊε BMor.6201A43; νετααΥ τηροΥ MIF LIX, 238.

E See Ep.I pp.240 and 242 (top).

54) β = οΥ; cf. οΥ = β (65B); cf. also Crum, Dictionary p.467a.

Achmimic Psalmfragment (ed. Crum, Miss. LXVI, pp.73ff.) ετβααβ.

C Βερ for ουνρ P.Černý(ined.).

55) ε = ογ; cf. ογ = ε (28).

In a few early manuscripts we sometimes find the 2nd.fem.sing. of the possessive adjective as νε-, e.g. BG 130³, 131² (Schmidt, Alte Petrusakten); Luke semi-Achm. I, 36 (BIFAO VIII, 76ff.), but ρογ- ib. I, 61; νε- is the form found in all dialects except Sahidic which has ρογ-.

C μνε† for μνογ† Ryl.270(4th century).

D μανχοογς Bal.277¹¹.

E A few examples in Ep.I p.238.

56) ο = ογ; cf. ογ = ο (46).

This is found a few times in the Achm.Minor Prophets: ο (indef. art.) Hos.IX, 16; αο for αογ (Sah.: αγω) Soph.I, 10, Joel II, 23; ογνοζ Mic.II, 4; χοογλε Hos.VI, 10; in the semi-Achm.BM 1223 we find twice ο (indef.art.), but four times ογ; Manik 59⁹ γογγο; Sir. (Lag. Aegyptiaca) XXIII, 10 χνο; ο for ογ (indef.art.) is also found four times in Proverbs (Worrell) XVI, 14, XVIII, 4, XXIV, 48, XXIX, 35, cf. ib. XV, 2, 15 νετνανοογ. In non-literary texts it is found in all regions, but perhaps more common at Thebes than elsewhere.

C εζον BM 1127¹⁹; πνοτε MIF LIX 542; ετνανογ BMO.6201B29; κοχωωτ BM Or.6201A64a; οωω MIF LIX 238, 477; νετοααβ ib.477; τνοογ BM 1109³; γογτ KroppD⁷²; βτοο Ryl.205(1ate); χοτι (=χογτι) Ryl.298; χισοο Kr.98.

D ο for ογ (indef.art.) WS 173; εζον Bal.152⁶; νοκ, νογ (=νογ-κ, νογ-γ) Bal.57², 239²; παπνοτε κο† Ann.Serv. XVI p.99; νανογ Bal.30³¹, 57³, P.Lond.IV 1641; νανοογ Bal.260⁴; πνοτε Bal.202¹⁵; σογτοογ Petrie, Memphis I pl.LIV; τνοογ ST 265⁵; χοονε (=βοογνε) Bal.330⁴; χοοτ (=χογωτ) Bal.132⁵; cf. ον = ογν(?) Bal.114⁹.

E See Ep.I p.240; many more could be cited.

56A) οοογ = ογ; cf. ογ omitted (53); cf. also paragraphs 18A, 46A, 63B.

A few early examples: Berlin Psalter (ed. Rahlfs) XVII, 36 $\bar{\eta}$ οοογ $\bar{\eta}$ αωτε, XXI, 9 αοοογ $\bar{\eta}$ αωγ, XLII, 1 οοογ $\bar{\eta}$ αμε, cf. XXXVI, 17 $\bar{\eta}$ αοογ $\bar{\eta}$ αωγ (= $\bar{\eta}$ αοογ $\bar{\eta}$ αωγ); Deut. (Budge) V, 25 $\tau\eta\eta\alpha\mu\omicron\omicron\omicron\gamma$; Le Muséon LII pp. 2f. $\epsilon\gamma\omicron\omicron\gamma$.

C $\bar{\eta}$ οοογ $\bar{\eta}$ αμε BM 1064.

D $\eta\sigma\eta\eta\omicron\omicron\gamma$ P. Lond. IV 1565¹⁷; cf. $\epsilon\gamma\omicron\gamma\omicron\gamma$ Bal. 227⁷.

56B) ω = ογ; cf. ο = ογ (56); ογ = ω (62); ογ = ο (46).

Br. 97¹³, Sah. Elias 12²² ω for ογ (question particle).

C $\epsilon\omega\omega\epsilon$ (= $\epsilon\omicron\omicron\gamma\epsilon$) BM 1147⁴; $\epsilon\omicron\gamma\chi\omega\tau\alpha\chi$ Ann. Serv. XV p. 120; $\chi\omega\chi\omicron\mu\epsilon$ BM 1126⁶; $\chi\omega\omega\tau$ (= $\chi\omicron\omicron\gamma\omega\tau$) BMO. 6201A64a; $\alpha\iota\sigma\mu\eta\eta\tau\omega$, $\eta\tau\alpha\kappa\tau\eta\omicron\gamma\epsilon\omega$, $\epsilon\eta\alpha\gamma\omega\delta\omicron\epsilon$ (bis) BM 1103^{8, 21, 31, 32}; $\alpha\lambda\epsilon\omega\eta\alpha$, $\eta\epsilon\omega\chi\omega\omega\tau$ Ann. Serv. XV p. 114.

D $\beta\omega\epsilon$ Gloss. 22, 24 (Achm. is $\beta\omega\epsilon$!).

E Frequent, see Ep. I p. 241; many more could be cited.

57) ογ = ογο; cf. next; also ογ omitted (53).

A number of early examples: PS 20⁸, 111¹⁸ ογ $\epsilon\iota\omega$, 5¹⁸, 263²⁰ ογ $\epsilon\iota\eta$; Berlin Psalter (ed. Rahlfs) XLII, 3, Br. 32²¹ ογ $\epsilon\iota\eta$; Pro. (Worrell) XIII, 9, XV, 23 ογ $\epsilon\iota\omega$; cf. BM 1124 $\eta\epsilon\tau\omicron\gamma\eta\eta\epsilon$ (= $\eta\epsilon\tau\omicron\gamma\alpha\eta\epsilon$).

C $\eta\alpha\beta\alpha\omicron\gamma\eta$ (twice) BMO. 6201A28a.

57A) ογ = ογω; cf. last.

A few early examples: Acts (Budge) XXII, 8 $\alpha\iota\omicron\gamma\omega\bar{\beta}$, VII, 43, VIII, 27 ογ $\omega\tau$; TU 43, 36³ αοογ $\bar{\eta}$ ε; Rec. Champollion p. 539 ογω; Pro. (Worrell) XVI, 4 ογ $\bar{\eta}$ ε, XVII, 11, XVIII, 18 ογ $\bar{\eta}$.

D ογ Bal. 154¹²; ογω Bal. 241¹⁰; cf. $\eta\tau\alpha\kappa\omicron\omicron\gamma$ Bal. 241⁹.

E ογω Ep. 299¹⁸, M. H. 72¹³; $\chi\omicron\gamma\tau$ CO 140².

58) ογ = οοογ, εγ = εοογ, αγ = αοογ; cf. ογ omitted (53); οοογ = ογ (56A).

This peculiarity is frequent in early texts, but seems to be remarkably rare in texts later than the fifth century. Achm. I Clem. (Schmidt) 66¹⁷ $\epsilon\alpha\omicron\gamma\omega\epsilon$; Achm. II Macc. VI, 8 $\eta\omicron\gamma\alpha\epsilon\alpha\eta\epsilon$, V, 27 $\epsilon\gamma\omega\mu$; Achm. Minor Prophets, Mic. IV, 3 $\alpha\omicron\gamma$ $\mu\epsilon\eta\eta\epsilon$, Hos. IV, 4 $\bar{\eta}\omicron\gamma\bar{\eta}\epsilon$, Joel II, 26 $\epsilon\eta\omicron\gamma\omega\mu$, II, 10, III, 15, cf. Hos. X, 12 $\bar{\eta}\eta\omicron\gamma\alpha\epsilon\eta\epsilon$, Joel II, 14 $\mu\eta\omicron\gamma\omega\tau\eta\epsilon$, Hos. IX, 4 $\mu\eta\omicron\gamma\omega\tau\eta\epsilon$, Hos. IX, 3 $\mu\eta\omicron\gamma\omega\epsilon$, Zach. VIII, 8 $\tau\alpha\omicron\gamma\omega\epsilon$,

Zach.XIV,7 ουδε ου^ει , Hos.XI,4 νοαδε , Mic.II,3 ξεουλειω , Mic.
VII,1 εμ(η)χο^υλε , Hag.II,11 χ^νο^υ , Mic.III,3 α^υαδ^πο^υ ; Manik 38¹
ετο^υω^υτ, 135¹⁶ ε^νο^υω^νε ; Subachm.St.John VII,10 ε^νο^υω^νε αβαλ , XIX,
23 ο^υω^ν , IX,7 ε^ωα^ρο^υα^εμ^υ , IX,19, XVIII,7 χ^νο^υ , X,5 μα^ρα^δο^υ ;
Acts(Budge)IV,36 ε^ωα^ρα^εμ^υ ^(sic)ε^ε , VII,56 ε^υη^ν , XVI,27 ε^ου^ηη^ν ; PS 6² ε^ν-
ο^υο^ει^ν , 106¹⁸ μ^πο^υε^υ , 190¹⁵, 194¹³ ε^υο^γβ ; Pro.(Worrell)XXVIII,6
να^νο^υε^νκε , ib.p.XIV citing ο^υω , ο^υω^υ , ο^υω^ς , ο^υω^υ , ο^υο^ει^υ , ε^υο^νε ,
add ο^υω^νυ p.98 ; Br.104²⁴ α^υα^ντο^υω^τβ , 107⁷ νε^υε^ρη^τε , 235 ε^υα^δο^υ ;
Berlin Psalter(ed.Rahlf)s p.34 citing ε^νο^υω^νε^ε βο^λ , ο^υω^υ , νο^υνο^υ ,
η^μο^υω^χ , [η^μ]ο^υνο^υ , μ^πο^υω^υ , πε^το^υα^υυ ; BG e.g.20²¹ ε^νο^υο^ιν , 24¹⁸ ο^υη^ρ , al ;
Sap.(Lagarde)XVII,17(16) ει^{τε} ο^υο^ει^{τε} η^ν ο^υω^ως ; P.Mich.136¹⁴³(Ora.
IV,24) η^ν-χι ο^υω^ν .

C με^γων KroppD⁷³.

59) Η = Υ .

This occurs only in Greek words; from region D the following may
be cited:

D μ^ης^τη^ριον Bal.234²(also BHom.1); η^ρη^ςβ^ητε^ρος Petrie, Memphis I pl.
LIII; π^ρο^ςκ^ηη^ς Bal.189³¹; ε^ηπ^ογ^ρα^φη P.Lond.IV 1588; ε^ηπ^οκ^ισ^θαι P.Lond.
IV 1553^{70.36}; ε^ηπ^ογ^ρα P.Lond.IV 1639; ψ^ηχ^η Petrie, Memphis I, LIII..

E cf. CO index p.118.

59A) Ι = Υ ; cf. last.

D Cf. α^ηα^ρι^ρε Bal.102³; τ^ηπ^ρο^ς η^νε Bal.242¹.

E Cf. π^ρο^ςκ^ηη^ς CO 99,195.

60) α^ου = α^υ , ε^ου = ε^υ , η^ου = η^υ ; cf. ει = ι (40); cf. also next.

When υ follows α , ε , and in particular η , it is often in early
manuscripts written as ο^υ , e.g. Deut.(Budge)I,40,44, VI,14, VIII,
1, IX,8,16,19 etc. -τ^ηο^υτ^ην , X,9 σ^ηη^ου , X,17, XI,2,18 τ^αχ^ηρ^ου , al.
pl., this peculiarity is very frequent in Deut. but extremely
rare in Acts written by a different hand, one example is Acts
XXIII,30 α^ιτ^αο^υο^υ ; Wessely, Sah.-Gr.Ps.-Fragm. p.12 citing η^μο^υ
and ο^υη^ου ; ib.p.106 ο^υτ^ηο^υ , νε^χη^ου ; Sap.(Lagarde)XIV,8 τ^ακ^ηο^υ ,

VII,18 $\bar{\eta}\sigma\eta\omicron\upsilon$, XIV,17(bis) $\epsilon\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon\eta\omicron\upsilon$; Sah.Elias 4³⁰ $\sigma\alpha\beta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\epsilon$, 1¹⁴, 5³⁰, 7⁷, 14⁵ $\eta\eta\omicron\upsilon$, 10¹⁷ $\omega\eta\omicron\upsilon\epsilon$, 5¹⁷ $\epsilon\beta\eta\omicron\upsilon\epsilon$; Semi-Achm.Luke(BIFA0 VIII,76f.) I,58 $\rho\mu\rho\alpha\omicron\upsilon\eta$, I,35 $\eta\eta\omicron\upsilon$; P.Mich.136¹⁷¹ (Ora.IV,25) $\omega\alpha\rho\epsilon \dots \tau\rho\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omicron$.

In non-literary texts this is comparatively rare, though a more systematic search would probably reveal further examples.

C $\mu\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\epsilon$, $\sigma\eta\eta\omicron\upsilon$, $\mu\eta\eta\omicron\upsilon\epsilon$ JEA XIII,19f.; $\sigma\eta\eta\omicron\upsilon$ J&C 1920⁵; $\eta\eta\omicron\upsilon$, $\sigma\eta\eta\omicron\upsilon$, $\omega\eta\eta\epsilon\tau\eta\eta\omicron\upsilon$ Ryl.273; $\epsilon\beta\eta\omicron\upsilon\epsilon$ Ryl.292; $\sigma\eta\eta\omicron\upsilon$ Ryl.314; $\eta\eta\omicron\upsilon$, $\sigma\eta\eta\omicron\upsilon$, Permans-Vergote, Papyrologisch Handboek pl.XI; $\eta\tau\alpha\omicron\upsilon$ -P.Gol.47; all these texts are from the fourth or fifth century; also: $\eta\alpha\omicron\upsilon$ BM Or.6201B160; $\tau\alpha\omicron\upsilon\omicron\upsilon$ BMor.6201A120b; $\tau\alpha\alpha\omicron\upsilon$ BMor.6201A64a; $\mu\alpha\alpha\omicron\upsilon$, $\eta\alpha\omicron\upsilon\lambda\epsilon$ (n.pr.) MIF LIX,484; $\epsilon\omicron\omicron\upsilon \eta\theta\epsilon$ Cramer, Totenklage 1⁴ (A.D.750); $\alpha\eta\eta\omicron\upsilon\epsilon$ BMor.6201B279; $\mu\epsilon\eta\epsilon\rho\eta\omicron\upsilon$ BMor.6201B267; $\eta\eta\omicron\upsilon$ BMor.6201A179; $\sigma\eta\eta\omicron\upsilon$ MIF LIX,60; $\tau\alpha\chi\rho\eta\omicron\upsilon$ BMor.6201B206.

D $\lambda\alpha\omicron\upsilon$ Bal.241^{9,11}; $\mu\alpha\alpha\omicron\upsilon$ WS 48; cf. also spellings like $\lambda\alpha\omicron\upsilon$, $\mu\alpha\omicron\upsilon$ see above par.13b.

60A) $\alpha\gamma = \alpha\omicron\upsilon$, $\epsilon\gamma = \epsilon\omicron\upsilon$; cf. last, also $\iota = \epsilon\iota$ (40A).

This peculiarity occurs in Sahidic manuscripts of all periods, in some more marked than in others; early manuscripts where this is particularly frequent are the Berlin Psalter (ed. Rahlfs, see list on p.31) and the Achmimic II Maccabees.

60B) $\eta = \gamma$.

This is found in the verbal auxiliaries a number of times in early manuscripts, e.g. Acts (Budge) IV,11, Achm.Hos.X,5, PS 195²¹, 217⁴, 223⁹, rarely otherwise, e.g. Achm.Elias 20⁴ $\alpha\gamma\tau\bar{\eta}\eta\alpha\gamma \mu\eta\gamma\omega\eta\rho\epsilon$. In non-literary texts the two letters are written so alike that it seems wiser not to cite any examples. Cf. also Ep.I p.242 and an unusual spelling in MIF LIX,149 $\tau\alpha\phi\rho\iota\eta\epsilon$ (n.pr. = $\tau\alpha\upsilon\rho\iota\eta\epsilon$).

60C) $\alpha = \omega$; cf. $\omega = \alpha$ (10A).

Acts (Budge) VII,46 $\alpha\chi\alpha \alpha\gamma\alpha\tau\iota$; cf. Br.40¹⁷ $\eta\kappa\alpha\alpha\mu$ (= Sah. $\epsilon\omega\mu$).

D $\eta\epsilon\tau\kappa\alpha\tau\gamma$ Gloss.384.

E $\epsilon(\eta)\tau\mu\epsilon\alpha\eta \sigma\omicron$ 42⁷ (cf. ib. line 15); $\eta\alpha\lambda\kappa$ ST 53; cf. Ep.I p.237 ($\eta\alpha\eta = \eta\omega\iota$).

61) $\omega = \omega$; cf. $\omega = \circ$ (44).

This peculiarity is of some interest as it is one of the most marked features of Middle Egyptian, see below chapter IX pp.221f. A few early examples: Achm.Amos I,3,9,11 $\tau\omega\alpha(\omega)\eta\tau\omega\epsilon$, VI,9 $\omega\omega\chi\eta$; Achm.Hos.VI,9 $\epsilon\omega\eta$; Sah.Elias 8¹⁸ $\kappa\omega\tau\epsilon$, 9³³ $\epsilon\omega\kappa$; Semi-Achm.Luke(BIF-AO VIII,76ff.)I,57 $\chi\omega\kappa$; Br.118⁵ $\omega\gamma\omega\gamma\epsilon\beta\omega$; BM 1223 $\epsilon\epsilon\gamma\omega\omega\gamma$; Lemm, Misc.I $\beta\omega\gamma\tau$, $\beta\omega\gamma\tau$, $\omega\gamma\omega\gamma\omega\gamma$; BM 1224 $\tau\omega\tau\omega\gamma\omega\gamma$, $\tau\omega\gamma\omega\gamma$. In non-literary texts this occurs frequently in all regions; from region D the following may be cited:

D $\epsilon\omega\tau\omega$ P.Lond.IV 1509¹²; $\mu\omega\omega\tau\omega$ Bal.188^{14,15}, P.Lond.IV 1509⁸, 1530¹⁸, 1579, 1589; $\epsilon\chi\omega\omega$ P.Lond.IV 1494³³, 1518¹⁰, 1519¹¹, 1521¹⁸, 1528¹⁵, 1559¹⁰, 1560, 1593¹⁰; $\eta\omega\omega\tau\omega$ P.Lond.IV 1565; $\rho\omega\omega\kappa$ Bal.51³; $\beta\omega\kappa$ Bal.240³, P.Lond.IV 1636, 1646, Brunton, Matmar p.95; $\kappa\omega\tau$ Bal.241⁶; $\eta\omega\tau$ P.Lond.IV 1528¹²; $\eta\omega\epsilon$ Bal.240⁷; $\rho\omega\omega\epsilon$ P.Lond.IV 1553^{vo.8,9}, 1561¹⁶, 1646; $\rho\omega\omega\epsilon$ P.Lond.IV 1610 fragm.2¹¹, 1633; $\epsilon\omega\kappa$ P.Lond.IV 1494³²; $\epsilon\omega\tau\omega$ P.Lond.IV 1494³⁸, 1512³⁵; $\omega\gamma\omega\epsilon$ P.Lond.IV 1554¹¹, 1561⁹, 1587²⁵, 1597^{2,4}; $\epsilon\omega\beta$ P.Lond.IV 1587^{14,25}, 1634⁷, 1636, 1646; $\chi\omega$ P.Lond.IV 1646; $\chi\omega\kappa$ Bal.51²⁹; $\epsilon\omega\omega\tau$ P.Lond.IV 1552²⁷, 1610⁴⁴; $\epsilon\omega\omega\gamma$ P.Lond.IV 1610⁴²; $\epsilon\tau\omega\omega\epsilon$ Gloss.81; $\epsilon\omega\omega\gamma$ P.Lond.IV 1565³⁵, 1638; $\epsilon\omega\omega\tau$ P.Lond.IV 1521²⁹, 1536²⁵; $\epsilon\omega\omega\gamma$ P.Lond.IV 1634.

62) $\omega\gamma = \omega$; cf. $\omega = \omega\gamma$ (56B); $\omega\gamma = \circ$ (46).

Sahidic doubled ω and final ω generally become $\omega\gamma$ in Achmimic, see Till, Achm.-Kopt.Gr. par.11b; in Subachmimic doubled ω is never, final ω rarely, changed to $\omega\gamma$, see chapter IX pp.204, 209. I have not been able to find any examples for $\omega\gamma = \omega$ in early Sahidic literary texts, but in the Paris Magical Papyrus (PGM I, IV) we find $\omega\gamma\tau$ for $\epsilon\omega\tau$ lines 99, 100, 104, 105 and $\eta\epsilon\omega\gamma\tau$ (sic !) in line 95. In non-literary texts this is frequent only at Thebes.

A Cf. $\eta\omega\omega\gamma\omega\gamma\omega\omega$ RAC papyrus du Louvre 2.

B $\rho\omega\omega\epsilon$ BM 545^{5,7,9}.

C Cf. $\phi\omega\omega\gamma\tau\eta\tau$ Kropp⁵⁰.

D $\kappa\omicron\upsilon$ $\eta\eta\iota$ $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ Brunton, Qau and Badari III pl.LIII(=pl.LV no 5)²⁶;
 $\kappa\omicron\upsilon$ $\eta\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\omicron$ P.Lond.IV 1642; $\epsilon\pi\omicron\upsilon$ Gloss.236; $\chi\omicron\upsilon$ Gloss 251; cf. also
 $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\sigma\omicron\upsilon\eta\eta\omega\eta\eta$ P.Lond.IV 1536; $\tau\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\phi\iota\alpha$ (n.pr.)Bal.152³.

E See Ep.I p.241.

62A) $\alpha\upsilon = \omega$; cf. $\omega = \alpha\upsilon$ (18).

D Cf. $\epsilon\lambda\upsilon\pi\iota\epsilon$ P.Lond.IV 1553¹⁸.

63) $\omicron\omicron = \omega$; cf. the next paragraph.

C $\rho\omicron\omicron\mu\epsilon$ Jern.5.

D $\epsilon\alpha\pi\iota\epsilon\omicron\omicron\beta$ P.Lond.IV 1587²¹.

E $\psi\omicron\omicron\pi\epsilon$ J.1⁹⁷, 2²¹, al., also \mathbb{XZ} XXXIV, 85ff. line 10.

63A) $\omega\omega = \omega$; cf. $\alpha\alpha = \alpha$ (11), ϵ added (19), $\omicron\omicron = \omicron$ (45).

A few early examples: Wessely, Sah.-Gr.Ps.-Fragm. p.13 $\alpha\epsilon\iota\omega\omega\psi$ Psalm
 119¹; PS 17⁹ $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\eta\omega\kappa\rho\omega\eta\epsilon$; Semi-Achm.Luke(BIFA0 VIII, 76ff.) I,
 31 $\tau\epsilon\eta\alpha\omega\omega$ cf. ib. I, 36; BHom.3 $\omicron\upsilon\kappa\omega\omega\eta\tau$; Br.41⁸, 44⁴, al. $\epsilon\omega\omega\tau\tau\eta\upsilon\tau\eta$.
 For the doubling of ω in Subachmimic see below chapter IX p.212.

C $\epsilon\eta\eta\epsilon\omega\omega\eta\tau\tau\eta\eta\eta$ KroppD⁷⁹.

E $\epsilon\omega\omega\eta\epsilon$, $\chi\omega\omega\kappa$ cited Ep.I p.242.

63B) $\omicron\upsilon\omega = \omega$; cf. $\omicron\upsilon\omicron$, $\omicron\upsilon\omega = \omicron$ (46A), $\omicron\upsilon$ omitted (53), $\omicron\upsilon\omicron\upsilon = \omicron\upsilon$ (56A).

E See Ep.I.p.242 adding MH 61 $\epsilon\eta\epsilon\kappa\omicron\upsilon\omega\eta\chi$. Apparently not elsewhere.

63C) $\omega = \omega\omega$; cf. $\alpha = \alpha\alpha$ (13), $\epsilon = \epsilon\epsilon$ (20), $\eta = \eta\eta$ (38), $\omicron = \omicron\omicron$ (48).

A few examples from early literary manuscripts may be cited, but
 this seems extraordinarily rare in later texts, both literary and
 non-literary, though in the case of some words the correct spelling
 is not certain throughout the Coptic period, e.g. $\chi\omega(\omega)\mu\epsilon$, cf.
 Crum, Dictionary p.770b. Wessely, Sah.Gr.Ps.Fragm. pp.11f. citing
 $\tau\omega\beta\epsilon$, $\epsilon\epsilon\beta\omega\eta$, $\epsilon\omega\psi$, $\epsilon\iota\omega\psi$, $\psi\omega\tau$, $\chi\omega\eta$; Pro.(Worrell)p.XIV $\epsilon\omega\kappa$, $\chi\omega\eta\epsilon$; Ber-
 lin Psalter(ed.Rahlfs)XXXVI, 5 $\tau\omega\beta\epsilon$ (but $\tau\omega\omega\beta\epsilon$ 3 times); Br.85⁷,
 133²³ $\epsilon\omega\psi$, 88¹⁸, 93²² $\eta\omega\eta\epsilon$; BG 129⁷ (Schmidt, Alte Petrusakten) $\epsilon\omega\kappa$
 (but $\epsilon\omega\omega\kappa$ ib.137⁵); Si.(Igarde)XXIX, 24(27) $\eta\omega\eta\epsilon$; P.Mich.136⁷⁶
 (Ora.IV, 21) $\tau\omega\beta\epsilon$, ib.⁸⁹ $\beta\omega\eta\epsilon$.

63D) ου = ων.

This is sometimes found at the end of Greek words and names.

Closely allied to this is the abbreviation $\pi\alpha\kappa\omicron\upsilon$ and $\pi\alpha\iota\alpha\kappa\omicron\upsilon$ for $\pi\alpha\iota\alpha\kappa\omicron\nu\epsilon\varsigma$, cf. 248¹⁶ note, adding $\pi\epsilon\iota\alpha\kappa\omicron\upsilon$ (twice) MIF LIX, 152 (Bawit).

B $\phi\iota\beta\alpha\mu\omicron\upsilon$ Kr. 64⁵, 227^{vo.1}, CMSS Ap. ^{vo.47}, BM 682, 1235.

C $\lambda\epsilon\beta\iota\tau\omicron\upsilon$ (twice) J&C 1922; $\phi\iota\beta\alpha\mu\omicron\upsilon$ Ryl. 165; $[\alpha]\pi\alpha\mu\omicron\upsilon$ BMor. 6201B267.

D $\phi\iota\beta\alpha\mu\omicron\upsilon$ Bal. 187².

64) Unusual insertion of vowels; cf. above paragraphs 1 - 6.

Polotsky in *AZ* LXIX, 1933, pp. 126-7 collected a number of similar examples from literary texts, early and late.

a) α , in both cases due to the presence of α .

C $\mu\psi\omicron\nu\alpha\lambda\alpha\gamma$ Ryl. 319; $\alpha\gamma\tau\omega\beta\alpha\gamma\varsigma$ MIF LIX, 46⁵ (note 1).

b) ϵ .

B Cf. $\chi\epsilon\rho\iota\alpha$ Kr. 65², BM 591.

C $\omega\alpha\eta\tau\epsilon\rho\epsilon$ $\pi\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\eta\tau$ $\epsilon\mu\tau\omicron\nu$ BM 1137^{10f.}; $\eta\tau\alpha\beta\mu\tau\omicron\nu$ $\eta\epsilon\mu\omicron\upsilon$ *Ann. Serv.* XV, p. 124 no. 13; $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\beta\epsilon$ (= $\epsilon\tau\beta\epsilon$) Kr. 7⁸, BM 1124², 1138³, 1145⁵, BMor. 6201B72, 161, 178, cf. *Achm.* II *Μακκ.* VI, 20 $\epsilon\tau\beta\mu\epsilon\epsilon\iota\epsilon$; $\mu\eta\tau\epsilon\rho\epsilon$ BM 1044^{8,9}; $\alpha\eta\varsigma\mu\epsilon\eta$ -Kr. 7⁸; $\alpha\eta\psi\epsilon\rho\epsilon\pi\varsigma\mu\epsilon\tau\gamma$ Kr. 7¹⁰; $\mu\omicron\lambda\epsilon\beta\kappa$ ST 172¹²; $\mu\eta\tau\varsigma\epsilon\eta\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ BM 461², KropfD^{69,119}; $\varsigma\epsilon\omicron\gamma\omicron$ BM 1031^{5,6}; $\varsigma\alpha\iota\epsilon\varsigma$ BM 1031^{vo.2}; $\varsigma\alpha\iota\epsilon\varsigma\gamma$ Ryl. 368; $\epsilon\chi\eta$ $\pi\kappa\chi\epsilon\eta\alpha\lambda$ KropfD¹⁵¹; cf. $\chi\epsilon\rho\iota\alpha$ P. Černý (ined.).

D $\zeta\iota\tau\eta\tau\epsilon\varsigma\mu\iota\eta$ P. Lond. IV 1512³⁵; $\mu\eta\tau\varsigma\epsilon\eta\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ WS 100; $\zeta\omicron\beta\epsilon\varsigma\kappa$ WS 88; $\eta\kappa\tau\epsilon\rho\epsilon\gamma\kappa\mu$ P. Mich. 1190¹⁰ (Ora. IV, 5ff.); $\epsilon\zeta\epsilon\rho\alpha\iota$ ib. ^{vo.10}; $\epsilon\zeta\mu\omicron\varsigma$ ib. ^{vo.12}; $\epsilon\kappa\tau\epsilon\rho\epsilon\beta\zeta\epsilon\rho\omicron\upsilon$ ib. ²⁶.

E $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\rho\epsilon$ (= $\epsilon\tau\rho\epsilon$) Ep. 256⁸.

F $\eta\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\eta$ -BM 448¹⁷

c) η .

C $\alpha\iota\tau\eta\rho\epsilon$ $\beta\iota\kappa\tau\omicron\rho$ $\epsilon\iota\eta\epsilon$ Ryl. 409; $\kappa\omicron\rho\eta\gamma\tau$ BM 1044¹¹; $\mu\alpha\zeta\eta\rho\epsilon$ (= $\mu\alpha\zeta\rho\epsilon$) *Le Muséeon* LXV, 160 (ca. A.D. 1000); $\alpha\gamma\varsigma\alpha\lambda\eta\mu\gamma$ Ryl. 284; $\alpha\kappa\varsigma\alpha\iota\eta\varsigma$, $\eta\tau\alpha\kappa\varsigma\alpha\iota\eta\varsigma\gamma$ Ryl. 277^{6,13} (but ib. ¹¹ $\eta\epsilon\tau\alpha\kappa\varsigma\alpha\iota\varsigma\omicron\upsilon$).

d) ι .

B Cf. $\chi\iota\rho\iota\iota\alpha$ (= $\chi\rho\epsilon\iota\alpha$) BM 592.

C $\chi\iota\iota\omicron\upsilon$ Ryl.282, Worrell, Coptic Texts III, 16, BMor.6201A77, 128;

$\chi\iota\iota\omicron\upsilon\iota$ BM 1195; $\chi\iota\iota\omicron\upsilon\kappa$ BM 1122¹³, BMor.6201B175³.

D $\chi\iota\iota\omicron\upsilon\gamma$ P.Lond.IV 1644; cf. $\epsilon\iota\omicron\mu\epsilon$ (= $\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon$) P.Lond.IV 1646.

e) \omicron .

C Cf. $\tau\omicron\lambda\omicron\mu\alpha$ BMor.6201A109a.

C (?) $\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\lambda\omicron\kappa\omicron\chi\omicron\upsilon$ P.Mich.3565¹⁶ (Ora.IV, 15).

E $\epsilon\omicron\beta\omicron\omicron\epsilon$ ST 252; cf. $\epsilon\omicron\beta\omicron\beta\iota\iota\iota$, $\epsilon\omicron\beta\beta\iota\iota$ (= $\epsilon\omicron\beta\beta\eta\eta$) cited Ep.I p.240.

f) γ .

C $\kappa\omicron\gamma\gamma\tau$ BM 1033⁸; $\epsilon\gamma\gamma\mu\iota$ Ryl.178; $\chi\gamma\gamma\omicron\upsilon$ Ryl.353 (late).

D $\mu\eta\tau\epsilon\gamma\gamma\omicron\upsilon\epsilon$ Brunton, Qau and Badari III pl.LIII (= pl.LV, 5)⁹; $\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\gamma\gamma\eta\eta$ Bal.248²⁰.

E (?) $\chi\gamma\gamma\omicron$ BM 1224.

65) $\mu = \beta$; cf. paragraphs 76A etc..

E Cf. $\phi\omicron\iota\mu\alpha\mu\omega\iota$ Hall p.73 (sic.) cited Ep.I p.243.

65A) $\eta = \beta$.

Cf. BHom.3 $\alpha\kappa\eta\lambda\alpha\eta\tau\epsilon\iota$.

A Cf. $\mu\alpha\beta\iota\lambda\omega\iota$ Kr.228^{vo.8}.

B Cf. $\mu\alpha\beta\gamma\lambda\omega\iota$, $\mu\alpha\beta\epsilon\lambda\omega\iota$, $\mu\alpha\beta\iota\lambda\omicron\iota$, $\mu\alpha\beta\iota\lambda\omega\iota$ (= $\beta\alpha\beta\gamma\lambda\omega\iota$) CMSS 22¹², BM 459, 2⁹, 546⁶, 593⁴, 691.

C $\tau\epsilon\eta\epsilon$ (= $\tau\eta\eta\beta\epsilon$) BM 1114¹⁰ (note); cf. $\mu\alpha\beta\epsilon\lambda$, $\mu\alpha\beta\epsilon\lambda\omega\iota$ Ryl.258, 380.

D $\mu\eta\gamma\eta$ Bal.135⁵; cf. $\mu\alpha\beta\gamma\lambda\omega\iota$ Bal.185¹¹, 187⁶, 13.

65B) $\omicron\gamma = \beta$; cf. par.54.

For this see Crum, Dictionary p.467a and references there; cf.

also ManiK 72 $\epsilon\tau\alpha\gamma\omicron\gamma\omicron\gamma\omega\gamma\tau$, 120 $\omicron\gamma\omicron\gamma\alpha\tau$, but ib.109 $\epsilon\beta\beta\omega\gamma\omicron\gamma$.

650) $\eta = \beta$; cf. paragraphs 74B, 74C, 82, 83, 86, 99, 102.

D $\epsilon\eta\eta\epsilon$ (= $\epsilon\beta\beta\epsilon$) Bal.335².

66) $\gamma = \beta$; cf. paragraph 121; cf. also Crum, Dictionary p.619.

A few early examples from literary and magical texts: TU 43, 19³

$\mu\alpha\gamma\omicron\gamma\omega\gamma\epsilon$; Le Muséon LII, 2f. $\epsilon\gamma\omicron\gamma\omicron\gamma$ (A $\epsilon\beta\omicron\gamma$, SBFA² $\epsilon\beta\omega$); Berlin

Psalter (ed. Rahlfs) 83¹¹ $\mu\omicron\eta\epsilon$ (corr. to $\mu\omicron\beta\epsilon$); Acts (Budge) XXII, 10

$\mu\alpha\gamma\omicron\gamma\omega\gamma$; Pro. (Worrell) XIII, 24 $\beta\epsilon\gamma\omega\gamma$, XXIII $\mu\omicron\gamma\eta\epsilon\gamma$ (= $\mu\omicron\gamma\eta\epsilon\epsilon\beta$); P. Gol. 47

ετοαυ; LMisc.L 640ε1; P.Mich.136⁴⁰ (Ora.IV,9) 6αxγ. In non-literary texts this is extremely common at Ashmunein, less common, except for ζωγ = ζωβ, in region D, but it is remarkable that no examples are forthcoming from Thebes; this is one of the few instances where there is a marked difference between texts from Thebes and further north; cf. also paragraph 121 β = γ.

A γωκ RAC pap. du Louvre 6 (cf. facsimile); ζωγ ib. pap. du Louvre 5, 6, Krall, Rec. VI, 63ff. pap. II⁷.

B ετηη ηειζογ Kr.3⁶; ζογ CMSS XXV¹; al..

C εγολ MIF LIX, 60, 198, 265, al.; ετηε, ετηη BMor. 6201B70, V.C. 46^{4,6}; ειηγτ, ειγτ (= ειεστ) Ryl. 165, 288; νογε, ναγε MIF, LIX, 198, 265; νογγ Ryl. 284, 287, BM 1013 (ter), KroppD^{51,54,71,75,77}, al.; σογτε KroppD⁶⁶; τεγ νοογε Ryl. 284, MIF LIX, 283; τεεγιο JEA XIII, 19f.; ετοαυγ BSAC III pp. 6-8 (bis), KroppD^{36,37,38,39,103}, MIF, LIX, 238, 243, 265, 272, 273, 307, al.; ζωγ BM 1013¹⁷, 1031¹⁵, 1039⁹, 1059^{15,18,19}, 1065^{5ff.}, Ryl. 135⁶, 207, 280¹, 282, 296, 316, 321⁴, al. pl..

D εγολ WS 112; εγοτ WS 164; ετηε Bal. 276¹⁸; μαγγομτε Bal. 343; νογγ Bal. 152⁶, 214³, P. Lond. IV 1513⁸, 1514⁶, 1536³¹; νογε Brunton, Qau and Badari III, pl. LIII (= pl. IV, 5)²⁰; ηνενητ Bal. 312¹⁸; ζωγ Bal. 140², 152⁹, 223⁷, 253⁵, 259², 261⁶, 273², WS 161 (bis), P. Lond. IV 1509^{6,16}, 1510⁴, 1512^{14,25}, 1565³⁵, 1575, 1587, 1634⁷, 1636, 1642³, 1646; cf. αφαζαυ Bal. 187¹; γοιθος (= βογθος) Bal. 149².

E

67) K = γ; cf. paragraph 71.

In literary and non-literary texts we sometimes find nk- and nkna- for nr- and nrna-, e.g. Wessely, Sah.-Gr.-Ps.-Fragm. p. 68, BKU 126², but it is frequent in Greek words in all districts, cf. Ep. I p. 243 for Thebes, and the following may be cited from this collection:

D ακαπε Bal. 228⁶; καμμο Bal. 152⁵; καρ Bal. 241²; λοκος Bal. 320^{1,11}; πακαε Bal. 187¹³; η[α]ρ[α]νκελε Bal. 188⁵; cf. κωρκε, γεωρκε Bal. 192^{7,17}.

67A) $\chi = \Gamma$; cf. paragraph 123G.

E A few instances in Greek words, see Ep.I p.245.

67B) $\delta = \Gamma$; cf. paragraphs 125, 73, 67, etc.; also Crum, Dictionary p.49.

C $\delta\epsilon$ WZKM XLIX, 1942, p.2 line 17; cf. $\delta\epsilon\chi\omicron\omicron$ Ryl.282.

E See Ep.I p.243 citing $\delta\epsilon$ (once) and many instances in Greek words;

$\delta\epsilon$ also TurO 7²¹, CO 79, 206, RE 9, 164, Ep.144, 206^{7, 12}, MH 185⁵, 186⁸,

Till, Schutzbr. 4³ (bis), 76⁵, 82^{2, 3}; cf. also CO Index p.125.

68) $\tau = \Delta$; cf. paragraph 111.

Frequent in Greek words; the following are from region D:

D $\epsilon\pi\iota\tau\eta$ Bal.114³, 161⁶; $\kappa\alpha\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ Bal.116^{4, 11}; $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\tau\iota\delta\omicron\upsilon$ Bal.234³;

$\tau\alpha\pi\alpha\epsilon$ Bal.239⁷; $\tau\epsilon\kappa\alpha\tau\eta\varsigma$ Bal.116¹⁰; $\tau\epsilon\mu\omicron\sigma\iota\omicron\upsilon$ (and sim.) Bal.103⁶,

132², 133², 134³, 136^{2, 5}, 151⁶, 239⁷, al.; $\tau\alpha\kappa\omicron\upsilon\iota\alpha$ Bal.164¹; $\tau\iota\alpha\kappa\omega\upsilon$ Bal.

114¹⁶; $\tau\iota\alpha\sigma\tau\alpha\lambda\lambda\epsilon$ P.Lond.IV 1495; $\tau\kappa\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ WS 29, 30; al..

69) $\varsigma = \zeta$; cf. paragraphs 104, 106.

This is sometimes found in Greek words and names.

C Frequent, e.g. $\alpha\pi\omicron\lambda\omicron\upsilon\iota\varsigma$ Kr.92; $\varsigma\upsilon\gamma\eta$ BM 1103¹³; al..

D Cf. P.Lond.IV p.XLVII $\kappa\omicron\nu\phi\iota\varsigma\omicron\upsilon$, $\varsigma\omicron\rho\iota\varsigma$, etc..

E See Ep.I p.244.

70) $\tau\theta = \theta$; cf. paragraphs 117, 118.

C $\pi\epsilon\tau\theta\omicron\upsilon$ MIF LIX, 283, Krall, MR V p.28.

D $\varsigma\alpha\tau\theta\epsilon$ Brunton, Matmar p.95; $\tau\theta\omicron\omicron\upsilon\tau$ (month) WS 31¹³.

71) $\Gamma = \kappa$; cf. paragraph 67.

An early example: Achm.Elias 14² $\alpha\Gamma\beta\rho\omicron$. This peculiarity is frequent in Greek words and names in all regions, but only rarely occurs in Coptic words; cf. also Crum, Dictionary p.48f..

A $\varsigma\epsilon\eta\eta\epsilon\pi\omicron\varsigma\omega\eta\eta\omicron\upsilon$ RAC pap. du Louvre V; often in Greek words.

C $\eta\Gamma\Gamma\omicron$ $\eta\lambda\iota\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ MIF LIX, 455; often in Greek words.

D $\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon\pi\omicron\upsilon\eta\alpha$ Ann.Serv. XVI p.66; $\varsigma\alpha\eta\eta\epsilon\sigma\omicron\upsilon$ Bal.102²⁶; $\chi\epsilon\tau\alpha\varsigma\alpha\varsigma\omega\eta\eta\alpha$ $\epsilon\epsilon\pi\alpha\iota$

Brunton, Qau and Badari III pl.IV no.2⁶; cf. $\lambda\iota\omicron\iota\eta\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ Bal.301¹;

$\lambda\iota\eta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$ Bal.102¹; $\Gamma\epsilon$ ($\kappa\kappa\iota$) Bal.152¹; $\eta\pi\omicron\varsigma\Gamma\eta\epsilon$ Bal.242¹; $\Gamma\eta\mu\epsilon$ P.Lond.

IV 1501³; $\alpha\eta\alpha\Gamma\eta\epsilon$ Bal.102³.

E ρελα (= κελααγ) V.C.10⁶; often in Greek words and names, see Ep.I p.243 and CO Index p.116.

71A) τ = κ; cf. paragraphs 111B, 126A.

Cf. Crum, Dict. p.90a, adding Pro. (Worrell) XXVIII, 3 πεττητ.

D Cf. τε for κα Bal.116¹⁰.

E Twice in names, see Ep.I p.244.

72) χ = κ; cf. paragraph 117B, also 117A.

In Achmimic, Subachmimic and Middle Egyptian κ often becomes χ when followed by ε, cf. Till, Achm.-Kopt. Grammatik p.9, chapter IX p.215 below and Crum, Dictionary p.90a. This is also found a few times in early Sahidic manuscripts and to the instances cited by Crum (l.c.) the following may be added: Sah. Elias 8²⁸, 10¹⁷ ρωχ; BG (Schmidt, Alte Petrusakten) 139¹⁷ νηετμοχ; Si. (Lagarde) XLIII, 23 νηρωχ; P. Mich. 136^{189, 196, 206} (Ora. IV, 17ff.) ροχ, ροχε, μοχ; Acts (Budge, corr. H.T.) XI, 24 ερχη; cf. Le Muséeon LII, 2f. μαχε (= AA² μακε); cf. also PS 273^{8, 17}, 274²⁰ χιμαε (= δοκιμαε).

D Cf. ποχονομος WS 104.

E A few times in Greek words and names, cf. Ep.I p.243.

73) δ = κ; cf. paragraphs 126, 67B.

A. Rahlfs, Griechische Wörter im Koptischen (Sitzungsber. k. preuss. Ak. Wiss. 1912, pp. 1036ff.) has collected a considerable number of examples where this is found in Greek words and names, and as he pointed out, it is only found before following ι, e.g. καδία. Many more examples could be cited, in particular one where it is found before following ε: Sah. Elias 10¹⁴ δελεε. δ for κ is also found a few times in Coptic words: Bruce Codex 39¹¹, 44¹⁶ δε, 40^{13(bis)}, 14^{6ω}, 41¹, 45²¹ χεβας, 247 πβιμ; Sah. Elias 1¹⁰ δλλε, 11¹³ βιμ, 14²³ βωετ, 13³⁰ ταβο; Luke (BIFAO VIII, 76ff.) I, 41, 44 βιμ; P. Mich. 136⁹⁷ (Ora. IV, 17ff.) εγτηδ (= τηκ ib. ¹⁰⁰); see also the examples cited in Crum, Dictionary pp. 90, 801.

B Cf. CMSS Index p.92.

C $\beta\alpha\beta\alpha\lambda\tau$ BM 1211C; $\beta\epsilon\lambda\alpha\lambda\gamma$ Ryl. 188, 214, Kr. 91⁶.

D $\epsilon\mu\eta\tau\alpha\gamma\beta\epsilon\eta\iota$ $\sigma\alpha\beta\lambda\lambda\alpha\gamma$ P. Lond. V 1709⁴⁰.

E Very common, cf. CO Index p. 125; it may be noted that most of the literary examples cited above are from Theban or semi-Achmimic manuscripts.

73A) $\kappa\kappa = \kappa$; cf. paragraphs 75A, 77, 90, 96, 114, 105.

C $\eta\pi\kappa\kappa\iota$ J&C 1922⁵.

E $\epsilon\kappa\kappa\omicron$ $\eta\eta\alpha\mu\epsilon\lambda\eta\varsigma$ V. C. 99⁴.

74) $\kappa = \kappa\kappa$; cf. paragraphs 80, 92, 103, 106, 107.

The 2nd. masc. sing. suffix is sometimes omitted when preceded by κ , e.g. Achm. Minor Prophets Hos. IV, 6 $\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon\kappa$, Abdias 4 $\tau\alpha\sigma\epsilon\kappa$, Zachar. IX, 13 $\alpha\iota\chi\alpha\lambda\kappa$.

D $\mu\pi\epsilon\kappa\omicron\tau$ Bal. 241⁶; cf. $\tau\epsilon\kappa\lambda\epsilon\sigma\iota\alpha$ Bal. 312⁹.

74A) $\chi = \kappa\epsilon$; cf. paragraph 72.

A few early examples: Deut. VII, 25, XII, 3 $\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\rho\omicron\chi\omicron\gamma$, $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\eta\rho\omicron\chi\omicron\gamma$, IX, 13 $\mu\alpha\chi$; Si. (Lagarde) XXIII, 14(13), XXV, 14(16), XXX, 35 $\mu\omicron\chi\varsigma$; al..

74B) $\epsilon = \lambda$; cf. paragraphs 65C, 74C, 82, 83, 86, 99, 102.

P. Mich. 136¹⁶³ (Ora. IV, 25) $\omega\eta\mu$ $\pi\beta\omega$ $\pi\epsilon\lambda\omega$; ΔZ XXXIV, 85ff., vo. 1 $\eta\eta\beta\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\gamma$ (= $\eta\eta\beta\lambda\lambda\alpha\gamma$); cf. Ep. 561³ $\beta\epsilon\lambda\eta$ for $\beta\lambda\lambda\epsilon$ (Theban).

74C) $\eta = \lambda$; cf. last etc..

ΔZ XXXIV, 85ff. $\mu\eta\tau\beta\eta\lambda\epsilon$ (= $\mu\eta\tau\beta\lambda\lambda\epsilon$).

74D) $\eta = \lambda$.

E In Greek words, see Ep. I p. 243.

75) $\rho = \lambda$; cf. paragraph 100.

This peculiarity is found in all regions, though mostly in Greek words, cf. Crum, Dictionary p. 134a.

C BM 1119, 1120 passim; also $\tau\alpha\rho\omicron\gamma$ Kr. 91; $\pi\omega\rho\gamma\chi$ Ryl. 353; cf. $\pi\rho\alpha\iota\rho\omicron\gamma$ (= $\pi\lambda\eta\rho\omicron\gamma$) Kr. 66⁵; al..

D $\mu\epsilon\rho\epsilon\iota$ (?) Bal. 118⁴; $\rho\alpha\omega\alpha\eta\iota$ P. Lond. IV 1494²⁷; $\tau\alpha\rho\omicron$ P. Lond. IV 1553⁵, 1554⁸, 1563²¹; $\beta\omega\rho$ $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ P. Lond. IV 1554⁷; cf. $\tau\iota\alpha\sigma\tau\alpha\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$ P. Lond. IV 1554^{vo. 3}; $\epsilon\pi\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\rho\iota\alpha$ P. Lond. IV 1565⁴⁸; $\mu\alpha\rho\iota\sigma\tau\alpha$ P. Lond. IV 1634¹⁰;

παράκαρε P.Lond.IV 1622; παρακρετικών P.Lond.IV 1622; παρακριτική P.Lond.IV 1573^(ter); ζωρωκ (= ζωλοκοττινος) P.Lond.IV 1596¹⁷; cf. also ηλακριος (= ηρακλιος) P.Lond.IV 1494.

E Often, see Ep.I p.243.

75A) λλ = λ; cf. paragraphs 73A, 77, 90, 96, 105, 114.

Pro. (Worrell) p.92 βαλλχε, pp.67, 89 κλλχε.

C ζιτλλεβιτου J&C 1922¹¹.

E βαλλχε CO 217.

76) Ν = μ; cf. paragraph 85.

- a) Coptic literary texts in all dialects usually assimilate the preposition, genitive, object, plural particle Ν to μ before following μ, π, φ, ψ, also in the verbal prefixes ἄνε-, ἄπρ-, ἄπατε-, and (except Bohairic) in ἔΝ, ὑΤΝ-, ἐχΝ-, etc. cf. Stern, Kopt. Grammatik paragraphs 65ff.. There is, however, considerable evidence that this assimilation was only gradually introduced and systematised, and many of our earliest manuscripts either do not assimilate at all or show marked inconsistencies in this. Of the Old Coptic texts the Horoscope (ÄZ XXXVIII, 71ff.) makes use of a line for the Ν in question and ḥΝ, αχΝ-, etc. do not occur before a π. The Oxyrhynchus text (JEA XXVIII, 20ff.) of about the same period does not assimilate except twice (5 μμας, 21 μματν) but the text obviously reflects a different background which is also apparent in forms like μραγ, μḥνογ etc.. The papyrus Mimaut (PGM III) apparently does not assimilate, and the Paris Magical papyrus (PGM IV) only twice (17 Ντεμ ηνογτε, 22 μμοογ, otherwise ημοο etc.). Of the four Melitian letters two (J&C 1920 Sahidic, 1921 Subachmimic) always assimilate and two (J&C 1922 Middle Egyptian, JEA XIII, 19f. Sah. with Mid. Eg. influence) never assimilate. Early Coptic texts before the end of the fourth century fall into five main categories in this respect:

- 1) Texts which never assimilate, e.g. the second old Vienna

Psalter(Wessely,Sah.-Gr.Ps.-Fragm.p.68) and the Glossary to Hosea and Amos(JEA XI,241ff., but once $\epsilon\mu\mu\pi$ -).

2) Texts which usually have $\mu\mu\sigma$, but otherwise assimilate rarely, e.g.the old Vienna Psalter(Wessely,Sah.Gr.Ps.Fragm.p.12), the Sahidic Elias, Achm.Gespräche Jesu(frequently has $\mu\mu\delta$), also one of the new Gnostic manuscripts from Nag Hammadi, see the photograph in The Manchester Guardian 24th June 1949.

3) Texts which generally assimilate, but not $\epsilon\pi$ -, $\epsilon\tau\pi$ -, $\epsilon\chi\pi$ - etc.; this is particularly true of the Subachmimic St.John and the Manichaean Psalmbook, cf. for the latter the note by Allberry p. XIX: '...The second scribe has an idiom which is to be found in the Homilies and the Kephalaia: he writes not $\epsilon\pi$ -, as the first scribe invariably does, but $\epsilon\mu$ -, and I conclude from this that the Psalmbook is the earliest written of the three ...'(cf. also chapter IX below,p.219). Similarly Lefort,Les Manuscrits coptes ...de Louvain no.9; Bal.22 assimilates also $\epsilon\mu$ - but not $\epsilon\tau\pi$ -, $\epsilon\chi\pi$ -.

4) Texts which are more or less inconsistent in this, though assimilation is normal; the Achmimic texts generally fall into this category, cf.Till,Achm.Kopt.Grammatik par.34b, also the British Museum manuscript of Deuteronomy,Jonah and Acts(ed.Budge), the Turin manuscript of the two Wisdoms(ed.Lagarde) and Ryl.273, BM 1223,1224 al..

5) Texts which normally assimilate with very few exceptions, e.g. Bal.7,17,18,21,52, WS 17, Achm.Minor Prophets, Bruce Codex, Pistis Sophia, Berlin Psalter, Ryl.16, also BM 1102,Ryl.268-272,274 275,276,292,396 al..

The non-literary texts show a remarkable inconsistency in this, though in general Theban texts normally assimilate, texts from Ashmunein mostly do not assimilate except $\mu\mu\sigma$, and texts from the rest of Egypt vary between the two extremes. Texts which do not assimilate at all and even preserve $\bar{\mu}\mu\sigma$ are compa-

relatively rare though examples can be cited from all regions except Thebes:

A Kr.228.

B V.C.49 (from this region?).

C Kr.6 (A.D.596), Ryl.165, 158, 323, 324, 325, al..

D Bal.116, 154, 187, 244 (but once $\epsilon\mu\eta$ -), P.Lond.IV 1619, 1641, 1644.

E A rare example of $\mu\mu\omicron\varsigma$ J.3⁶⁴, a systematic search would probably reveal further examples.

b) Other instances, rare.

Acts (Budge) III, 19 $\mu\tau\omicron\eta$; Sah.Elias 8²³ $\epsilon\mu\beta\omicron\mu$; Br.268 $\mu\mu\eta\tau\epsilon\omega\tau$; Manik 39⁵ $\alpha\pi\mu\lambda\alpha\epsilon$.

C $\mu\eta$ (= $\eta\mu$) Ryl.314; $\mu\eta\omicron\varsigma$ BM 1057¹⁰.

D $\mu\eta$ (= $\eta\mu$) Bal.278¹; $\mu\eta\omicron\omicron\upsilon$ Bal.260¹¹; $\epsilon\eta\eta\gamma\alpha$ Bal.202⁴; $\eta\eta\eta\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon$ Cramer, Kopt.Inschr.K.F.Museum 9691 (A.D.799-805).

E $\rho\omicron\eta\eta\epsilon$ J 3⁹; $\epsilon\mu\beta\omicron\mu$ Bku 79; $\varsigma\omicron\eta\varsigma$ $\Delta\mathbf{Z}$ XXXIV, 85ff. line 1.

76A) $\eta = \mu$; cf. paragraphs 65, 77A, 78B, 79, 94B, 96A.

A few early examples: Paris Magical papyrus (PGM IV)²² $\alpha\eta\alpha\epsilon\tau\epsilon$; cf. PS 113⁵, 174⁵ $\epsilon\upsilon\eta\eta\epsilon\epsilon$; Achm. John (ed. Rössch) XI, 16 $\mu\alpha\mu\eta$ (= $\mu\alpha\omicron\eta$).

77) $\mu\mu = \mu$; cf. paragraph 90, also paragraphs 73A etc..

PS 167¹ $\mu\epsilon\gamma\mu\eta\tau\gamma\omega\tau\epsilon$; Berlin Psalter (ed. Rahlfs) p.33 $\epsilon\tau\mu\mu\beta\omega\upsilon\tau$, $\varsigma\omega\tau\mu\mu$.

D $\epsilon\mu\mu\mu\alpha\eta\tau$ Bal.192¹⁹.

E $\epsilon\gamma\mu\mu\epsilon\epsilon$ MH 58⁷; $\eta\epsilon\upsilon\mu\mu\eta\eta\varsigma$ MH 59⁵; cf. $\mu\mu\mu\omicron=$ J.3⁶⁶, CO 30⁷.

F $\epsilon\eta\mu\mu\eta\tau\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ BM 448¹⁷.

77A) $\mu\eta = \mu$; cf. paragraphs 65, 76A, 78B, 79, 94B, 96A, also 79A.

PS 129² $\eta\varsigma\omicron\eta$ $\mu\eta\mu\epsilon\tau$; 227²¹ $\eta\omicron\gamma\alpha$ $\eta\omicron\gamma\omega\tau$ $\mu\eta\mu\alpha\gamma\alpha\chi\epsilon$ $\epsilon\omicron\gamma$; Berl. Psalter (ed. Rahlfs) p.37 $\omicron\gamma\mu\eta\tau\epsilon$; three further examples Crum, Dict. p.258a.

C $\epsilon\eta\mu\eta\tau\omicron\beta\alpha\lambda$ Kropp⁹⁹; cf. $\mu\eta\mu\epsilon\tau$ $\eta\iota\omega\tau$ $\mu\eta\mu\epsilon\tau\omicron\gamma\alpha\gamma$ ST 172.

E $\eta\alpha\eta\mu\epsilon\iota\omicron\tau\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ $\mu\eta\mu\omicron\upsilon\epsilon$ RE 33⁴.

78) $\mu = \mu\mu$; cf. especially paragraph 80, also paragraphs 74, 103, 106, 107.

a) The pronominal suffix of the accusative particle η , $\mu\mu\omicron=$, $\mu\mu\alpha=$ is sometimes in early manuscripts spelt $\mu\omicron=$, $\mu\alpha=$: Achm. Exodus II,

17, Achm. II Macc. VI, 16, 18 (all $\mu\alpha\gamma$, $\mu\alpha\lambda$, $\mu\alpha\gamma$, note the superlineation) Sah. Elias 12²⁷, Subachm. St. John XVII, 1, cf. III, 3, 5, VIII, 21, several times in the Didache (ed. Schmidt ZNTW XXIV, cf. note on p. 83), PS 90¹, 153² ($\mu\alpha\gamma$), Pro. (Worrell) XXII, 7, XIV, 18. In the non-literary texts this is extremely common in all regions except Thebes:

A RAC papyrus du Louvre V, VI, VII, VIII.

B Kr. 3¹⁷, 25, 116⁹, BMor. 6201B106 al..

C BM 462, 1032, 1041(bis), 1053⁶, Ryl. 122¹¹, 127(ter), 151, 188⁶, 203, 205, 283(bis), 298, 314(early), 333, 383(bis), 393, 409, Kr. 5²⁰, 7¹⁰, 50²¹, al..

D Bal. 156⁴, 186²⁶, 259⁵, WS 29¹⁴, 38⁷, 43, P. Lond. IV 1553^{vo. 10}, 1554^{11, 31}, 1554^{vo. 6}, 1561¹⁰, 1571¹⁵, 1579, 1619^{4, 6}, 1574²⁵, Brunton, Matmar p. 95, Cramer, Kopt. Inschr. K. F. Museum 9691⁴², P. Mich. 1190 (Ora. IV, 5ff. early) passim.

E BKU 126, CO 65¹⁰, 138⁵, J. 3⁴, Ep. 260⁹, Tor. 12¹², al..

b) Other instances, not including the omission of the particle μ (assimilated to α) for which see paragraph 80.

Some early examples: Achm. Elias 4¹⁵ $\alpha\iota\sigma\alpha\ \alpha\gamma\mu\alpha\ \mu\alpha$; Subachm. St. John IX, 40, XII, 17 $\epsilon\tau\mu\epsilon\gamma$; IV, 44 $\mu\epsilon\gamma\tau\mu\epsilon\ \mu\iota\alpha\ \mu\mu\alpha\gamma$; XVIII, 18 $\tau\epsilon\mu\mu\alpha$ and $\tau\epsilon\mu\alpha$; Manik 131³ $\epsilon\tau\mu\epsilon\gamma$; Sah. Elias 8¹⁷, 10², 14¹⁴ $\mu\mu\alpha\gamma$, 13³⁰ $\mu\mu\eta\tau\eta$, 14¹⁷ $\mu\mu\alpha\gamma$.

C $\epsilon\tau\mu\mu\epsilon\kappa$ Ryl. 269(early); $\mu\mu\alpha\iota$, $\mu\mu\alpha\gamma$ MIF LIX, 58, 59; $\mu\mu\alpha\gamma$ (= $\mu\mu\mu\alpha\gamma$) Ryl. 277; $\mu\epsilon\tau\mu\alpha\gamma$ BMor. 6201B153¹⁷; $\epsilon\beta\text{-}\mu\epsilon$ Ryl. 281.

D $\mu\eta\text{-}\mu\mu$ P. Lond. IV 1565⁵⁰; cf. $\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon$ (= $\mu\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon$) P. Lond. IV 1568².

78A) $\mu\mu = \mu\alpha$.

In a number of early texts we find the Bohairic form $\mu\alpha$ for the normal Sahidic $\mu\alpha$ ('with'): Berlin Psalter (ed. Rahlfs), always $\mu\alpha$; Berlin-London Apocalypse (ed. Goussen, Studia Theologica I, Delaporte, Rev. Bibl. 1905, 377ff.), side by side with $\mu\alpha$; similarly the British Museum Ms. of Deuteronomy, Jonah and Acts (ed. Budge, cf. Sir H. Thompson, The New Biblical Papyrus p. 13; the second old

Vienna Psalter (Wessely, Sah.-Gr.Ps.-Fragm. pp. 65ff., e.g. Ps. XLVIII, 2) BM 24 (on the date of this manuscript see below p. 235 note 3); BM 132-135-137; BM 932; Ryl. 6; also the Turin Wisdoms (ed. Lagarde) e.g. Sir. XXVIII, 25 (27). The Paris Magical Papyrus (PGM IV) has $\mu\epsilon\eta$ three times, but twice it is corrected to $\eta\epsilon\mu$ (lines 101, 125). For the significance of this see below chapter IX pp. 243ff..

E $\lambda\eta\sigma\kappa\ \kappa\omicron\mu\omicron\varsigma\ \eta\mu\ \tau\alpha\gamma\epsilon\iota\alpha$ CO Ad. 18.

78B) $\mu = \mu\eta$; cf. paragraphs 65, 76A, 77A, 79, 94B, 94C, 96A.

Some early examples: Achm. Minor Prophets, Hos. VII, 1 $\mu\tau\rho\alpha\tau\alpha\lambda\beta\omicron$, Mich. VII, 1 $\mu\chi\omicron\gamma(\omicron\gamma)\lambda\epsilon$, Zech. XIII, 4 $\mu\tau\eta\rho\pi\rho\omicron\phi\eta\tau\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$, Hos. V, 13 $\mu\beta\eta\delta\alpha\mu$; Worrell, Coptic Manuscripts pp. 323ff. I, 11 $\mu\tau\eta\lambda\epsilon\gamma$, II, 2 $\mu\tau\epsilon\lambda\beta\alpha$ (fourth century ?); Lagarde, Aegyptiaca p. 207 (Ps. CI, 16) $\mu\kappa\alpha\zeta$ (= $\mu\eta\kappa\alpha\zeta$); PS 41⁴ $\mu\tau\eta\rho\gamma$, cf. ib. 106⁹ $\eta\alpha\rho\alpha\lambda\eta\mu\tau\eta\varsigma$; BHom. 2, LAl. 71 $\epsilon\mu\psi\alpha$ (= $\epsilon\mu\eta\psi\alpha$) cited Crum, Dict. p. 179; LMisc. L $\mu\chi\iota\kappa\beta\alpha$; cf. also paragraph 94.

C $\mu\epsilon\rho$ for $\mu\eta\rho$ - BM 1118^{vo.2}.

D Bal. 138⁴ $\rho\omicron\mu\epsilon$ corrected to $\rho\omicron\mu\epsilon$ (= $\rho\omicron\mu\eta\epsilon$).

E $\epsilon\mu\psi\alpha$ (= $\epsilon\mu\eta\psi\alpha$) BKU 35⁴; $\rho\omicron\mu\epsilon$ (= $\rho\omicron\mu\eta\epsilon$) VC 29¹⁰; $\gamma\mu\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ CO 401³.

79) $\eta = \mu\eta$; cf. last, etc..

PS 1⁵ $\epsilon\tau\eta\rho\omicron\gamma\eta$; 229¹ $\varsigma\epsilon\eta\alpha\rho\epsilon\omicron\tau\epsilon\ \epsilon\mu\alpha\psi\omicron\ \eta\beta\iota\ \eta\alpha\rho\alpha\lambda\eta\mu\tau\eta\varsigma$; 343¹³ $\gamma\alpha\upsilon\varsigma\phi\rho\alpha\gamma\iota\zeta\epsilon\ \eta\epsilon\rho\omicron\gamma$; cf. Br. 102¹ $\eta\alpha\rho\alpha\lambda\eta\tau\eta\varsigma$ (= $\eta\alpha\rho\alpha\lambda\eta\mu\tau\eta\varsigma$).

C $\rho\omicron\omicron\eta\epsilon$, $\rho\omicron\eta\epsilon$ (= $\rho\omicron\mu\eta\epsilon$) BM 1031¹⁶, Ann. Serv. X p. 274.

D $\beta\alpha\lambda\eta\epsilon$ Bal. 332³; $\rho\omicron\eta\epsilon$ Bal. 132⁵, cf. 138⁴.

79A) η added.

η is sometimes added in Coptic MSS, often to mark a sonant pronunciation, cf. Crum, Dict. p. 48b, 215; cf. $\tilde{\chi}$ XLV, 79f..

- a) Perhaps to indicate a sonant pronunciation it is added before $\eta\alpha\rho$ and $\lambda\epsilon$ in a number of early manuscripts (all from Middle Egypt): Both $\eta\eta\alpha\rho$ and $\eta\lambda\epsilon$ occur frequently in the Subachmimic Acta Pauli (ed. Schmidt) and Ryl. 292; $\eta\eta\alpha\rho$ also occurs four times in the British Museum Ms. of Deuteronomy, Jonah and Acts (ed. Budge) Deut. II, 5, V, 11, 26, XXXI, 23 (cf. Thompson, The New Biblical Papyrus p. 13), and

ⲛⲁⲉ in Ryl.6, the Didache (ZNTW XXIV, 81ff. and Lefort, Les Pères Apostoliques pp. IX and 32ff.), Crum's fragment of St. John XX (see p. 241 below), and Wor. pp. 323ff. (fourth century ?) three times.

Similarly we find ⲛⲕⲉ for ⲕⲉ in the Achm. Gespräche Jesu (TU 43) VIII, 4; PS 260; Gri. Stu. 163 (twice) and BM 1227 (=Crum, Copt. Doc. in Greek Script IV and note 92), CMSS 5^{vo.7}, cf. Crum, Dict. p. 746a.

Similarly also ⲛⲉⲓ is found for ⲉⲓ in J&C 1921^{18f.}, Zech. XIII, 2, P. Med. 299, BP 11349, P. Bu. 15, cf. Crum, Dictionary p. 802b; cf. also -ⲕⲉ for Sahidic ⲕⲉ in the Old Coptic Horoscope (ÄZ XXXVIII, 71ff., see p. 79 note.).

- b) ⲛ is sometimes added before ⲧ to mark a sonant pronunciation; in ⲛⲛⲧ, ⲙⲁⲛⲧ, ⲙⲉⲛⲧ, etc. this has become part of the language proper, especially in Sahidic, though many examples can be cited where it is omitted, see paragraph 80 below. There are, however, a few instances where a similar insertion is confined to a few early manuscripts: ⲙⲟⲩⲛⲧⲉ, ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲧⲉ for ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ, ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ is always found in the Achm. I Clem. (Berlin), the Achm. Shepherd of Hermas (ed. Lefort, Les Pères Apostoliques etc. pp. IIff., lff.), and the Achm. Exodus (ed. Lefort in Muséon LXVI, lff. ⲙⲟⲩⲛⲧⲉ does not occur). In the Achm. Proverbs ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲧⲉ occurs three times and ⲙⲟⲩⲛⲧⲉ only once (cf. Böhlig, Unters. ü. d. kopt. Proverbientexte p. 49); in the Strassbourg I Clem. ⲙⲟⲩⲛⲧⲉ occurs a few times side by side with ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ, but never ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲧⲉ. All the other Achmimic texts invariably have ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ, ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ. But ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲧⲉ also occurs once in LMisc. I and four times in BM 1224, and perhaps in MIF LIX, 145. We also find ⲙⲟⲩⲛⲧ and ⲙⲉⲛⲧ in the Paris Magical Papyrus (PGM IV) lines 19, 121, and ⲙⲟⲩⲛⲧ once in BM 1224; similarly ⲙⲟⲩⲛⲧⲛ occurs once in Worrell, Proverbs (see p. 7). In the Subachmimic St. John once (XII, 13) and in the Berlin Psalter (ed. Rahlfs, see p. 37) twice we find ⲙⲁⲙⲁⲛⲧ for ⲙⲁⲙⲁⲧ (qual. of ⲙⲟⲩ).

Closely related are a few instances cited by Crum, Dict. p.

215a, as $\kappa\rho\mu\tau\epsilon$, $\mu\eta\kappa\alpha\tau\epsilon$ -BG 62,67al., also in Bohairic $\mu\eta\alpha\tau\epsilon$ -; Crum also cites a number of examples of this in Greek words, to which might be added Acts(Budge)XV,22,25,33 $\alpha\epsilon\eta\lambda\omicron\beta\iota$.

In this connection one might also compare the verbal prefix $\tau\alpha\epsilon$ - which is sometimes spelt $\eta\tau\alpha\epsilon$ -, cf. Crum, Dictionary p.424b and see below paragraph 143A.

- c) η is also added sometimes before Coptic(rarely) and Greek adverbs and Stern, Kopt. Grammatik par.513 already noted $\eta\kappa\alpha\lambda\omega\varsigma$ and $\eta\sigma\pi\omicron\upsilon\lambda\epsilon\omega\varsigma$; cf. Ep. I p.251 and Crum, Dictionary p.485a citing $\eta\tau\epsilon\eta\omicron\upsilon$ which also occurs BG 15.

C $\eta\tau\iota\eta\omicron\upsilon$, $\epsilon\tau\iota\eta\omicron\upsilon$ ($\epsilon = \eta$, see par.82 below) BM 1153⁴, 1061⁴.

D $\eta\kappa\alpha\lambda\omega\varsigma$ Bal.254²; $\eta\epsilon\omicron\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ Bal.188¹⁶.

E $\eta\tau\epsilon\eta\omicron\upsilon$, $\eta\tau\eta\omicron\upsilon$ see Ep. I p.251 (six examples); $\eta\alpha\rho\eta\upsilon$ Ep.392; $\eta\epsilon\lambda\pi\alpha\varsigma$ BKU 259; $\eta\tau\alpha\chi\eta$ Ep.229; all cited Ep. I 251.

- d) Similarly η is also found with prepositions. Crum, Ep. I p.251 has cited a few examples for Coptic prepositions: $\eta\epsilon\iota$ -Achm. Haggai I, 1, II, 11; $\eta\epsilon\iota\theta\eta$ -PS 355; $\eta\alpha\chi\eta$ - (= $\epsilon\chi\eta$ -) CO 170 and $\eta\psi\alpha$ Ryl.314 (twice). With Greek prepositions, especially $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha$ and $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha$ this is much more common. In headings and subscriptions of the gospels we usually find $\epsilon\upsilon\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\iota\omicron\eta\eta\eta$ $\eta\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha$ $\mu\alpha\theta\theta\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma$ etc., but apart from this $\eta\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha$ is rare, cf. Manik 223¹⁰ and one example from Thebes, cf. below. $\mu\pi\alpha\rho\alpha$ is sometimes found in literary manuscripts of a late period, e.g. J. Drescher, Apa Mena pp.18a⁶, 14f., 19b², 20a⁸, etc.. From the non-literary texts the following may be cited:

A $\tau\alpha\epsilon\iota\epsilon$ $\eta\pi\pi\omicron\varsigma\theta\epsilon$ $\epsilon\tau\tau\eta\eta$ RAC papyrus du Louvre II.

B $\eta\pi\alpha\rho\alpha$, $\eta\pi\alpha\rho\epsilon\rho\alpha\kappa$, $\eta\pi\alpha\lambda\epsilon\lambda\alpha\kappa$, etc. CMSS 24, BM 530²³, 583¹⁹, 586⁸, VC 100⁵.

C $\alpha\iota\kappa\mu\eta\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\eta\pi\pi\omicron\varsigma\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$ VC 46¹¹.

D $\chi[\epsilon\eta]\eta\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\phi\omicron\upsilon\eta\eta\eta$ $\mu\mu\omicron$ $\mu\pi\alpha\rho\alpha$ $\mu\eta\ldots$ Bal.152⁷; $\tau\alpha\rho\eta\tau\alpha\alpha\upsilon$ $\eta\alpha\kappa$ $\eta\alpha\rho\psi\eta\eta$ \ldots $\mu\pi\pi\omicron\varsigma$ $\psi\mu\omicron\upsilon\eta$ $\eta\epsilon\rho\tau\omicron\upsilon$ \ldots Bal.102¹⁸.

E $\epsilon\upsilon\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\iota\omicron\eta\eta\eta$ $\epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\lambda\alpha\beta$ $\eta\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha$ \ldots CO 29¹¹, 30¹², 31²¹, Ad.7⁹, etc.; also $\mu\pi\alpha\tau\alpha\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau$ $\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon\rho\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta$ $\eta\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha$ $\eta\epsilon\eta\tau\alpha\iota\chi\omicron\omicron\upsilon$ BKU 262.

e) In a few cases \bar{N} seems irregularly added, but probably stands for $\bar{N}\bar{O}$: PS 33¹⁴ $\bar{N}\bar{C}\bar{E}\bar{W}\bar{L}\bar{E}\bar{R}\bar{A}\bar{I}\bar{N}\bar{N}\bar{E}\bar{T}\bar{N}\bar{A}\bar{O}\bar{Y}\bar{X}\bar{A}\bar{I}$, 292²⁴ $\bar{W}\bar{A}\bar{C}\bar{T}\bar{N}\bar{T}\bar{E}\bar{\Psi}\bar{Y}\bar{X}\bar{H}\bar{N}\bar{T}\bar{T}\bar{I}\bar{M}\bar{H}$, 360² $\bar{N}\bar{E}\bar{X}\bar{A}\bar{C}\bar{M}\bar{A}\bar{P}\bar{I}\bar{A}$ corrected to $\bar{N}\bar{O}\bar{I}\bar{M}\bar{A}\bar{P}\bar{I}\bar{A}$; Achm. II Macc. VI, 16 $\bar{E}\bar{T}\bar{B}\bar{E}\bar{N}\bar{E}\bar{E}\bar{I}\bar{R}\bar{O}\bar{Y}\bar{M}\bar{H}\bar{C}\bar{E}\bar{I}\bar{N}\bar{H}\bar{Q}\bar{N}\bar{A}\bar{E}\bar{A}\bar{N}\bar{H}\bar{Z}\bar{E}$; in the following two instances, as in the two examples from non-literary texts, it seems to correspond to the irregular use of $\bar{N}\bar{O}$ mentioned by Crum, Dictionary p. 252a-b: Br. 242 $\bar{E}\bar{T}\bar{E}\bar{N}\bar{A}\bar{I}\bar{N}\bar{E}\bar{N}\bar{T}\bar{E}\bar{M}\bar{N}\bar{X}\bar{P}\bar{C}$; P. Gol. 47 $\bar{N}\bar{T}\bar{O}\bar{Y}\bar{N}\bar{M}\bar{A}\bar{K}\bar{A}\bar{P}\bar{E}\bar{M}\bar{N}\bar{L}\bar{O}\bar{Y}\bar{K}\bar{I}\bar{E}\bar{N}\bar{T}\bar{E}\bar{M}\bar{G}\bar{E}\bar{R}\bar{E}$.

B $\bar{A}\bar{N}\bar{A}\bar{K}\bar{N}\bar{H}\bar{A}\bar{P}\bar{A}\bar{E}\bar{I}\bar{C}\bar{I}\bar{T}\bar{R}\bar{O}\bar{Y}$, $\bar{A}\bar{N}\bar{A}\bar{K}\bar{N}\bar{K}\bar{A}\bar{C}\bar{E}\bar{M}$ BM 658.

E $\bar{N}\bar{T}\bar{O}\bar{Y}\bar{N}\bar{H}\bar{A}\bar{Z}\bar{O}\bar{M}$ J. 15³⁶ (this and the last cited Crum, Dict. p. 215b).

f) In the following instances it is probably added by mistake: Achm. Zech. VIII, 12 $\bar{T}\bar{N}\bar{A}\bar{T}\bar{N}\bar{O}\bar{Y}\bar{E}\bar{I}\bar{R}\bar{H}\bar{N}\bar{H}\bar{N}\bar{T}\bar{B}\bar{O}\bar{Y}\bar{N}\bar{E}\bar{L}\bar{A}\bar{A}\bar{X}\bar{E}\bar{N}\bar{A}\bar{T}\bar{M}\bar{P}\bar{C}\bar{A}\bar{R}\bar{P}\bar{O}\bar{C}$ (l. $\bar{N}\bar{T}\bar{E}\bar{T}\bar{B}\bar{O}\bar{Y}$?); Pro. (Worrell) XXII, 15 $\bar{N}\bar{W}\bar{H}\bar{R}\bar{E}\bar{N}\bar{W}\bar{H}\bar{M}$.

80) \bar{N} omitted; cf. especially paragraphs 78, 79, 82, 83.

a) \bar{N} is omitted in certain verbal prefixes: $\bar{T}\bar{A}- = \bar{T}\bar{N}\bar{A}-$ (par. 128), $\bar{E}\bar{I}\bar{A}- = \bar{E}\bar{I}\bar{N}\bar{A}-$ (129), $\bar{E}\bar{T}\bar{A}- = \bar{E}\bar{T}\bar{N}\bar{A}-$ (130), $\bar{T}\bar{A}- = \bar{N}\bar{T}\bar{A}-$ (131), $\bar{N}\bar{E}- = \bar{M}\bar{N}\bar{E}-$ (133), $\bar{N}\bar{A}\bar{T}\bar{E}- = \bar{M}\bar{N}\bar{A}\bar{T}\bar{E}-$ (135), $\bar{N}\bar{E}\bar{I}\bar{P}\bar{E}- = \bar{M}\bar{N}\bar{P}\bar{E}-$ (136), $\bar{T}\bar{E}- = \bar{N}\bar{T}\bar{E}-$ (138), $\bar{T}\bar{E}\bar{T}\bar{E}- = \bar{T}\bar{E}\bar{T}\bar{N}\bar{E}-$ (141); also in the possessive adjective $\bar{N}\bar{E}\bar{T}\bar{E}- = \bar{N}\bar{E}\bar{T}\bar{N}\bar{E}-$ (141).

b) \bar{N} is regularly added in Sahidic before \bar{T} in the following words: $\bar{T}\bar{W}\bar{M}\bar{N}\bar{T}$, $\bar{W}\bar{O}\bar{M}\bar{N}\bar{T}$, $\bar{Z}\bar{O}\bar{M}\bar{N}\bar{T}$, $\bar{M}\bar{N}\bar{T}-$, $\bar{M}\bar{N}\bar{T}\bar{P}\bar{E}$, cf. also paragraph 79A above; in the other dialects it is often omitted and the following table gives a survey of the evidence:

S, A ² (AP-BM leaf)	$\bar{T}\bar{W}\bar{M}\bar{N}\bar{T}$	A, A ² (Jo.), F, B	$\bar{T}\bar{W}\bar{M}\bar{T}$
S, A ² (AP)	$\bar{W}\bar{O}\bar{M}\bar{N}\bar{T}$, $\bar{W}\bar{A}\bar{M}\bar{N}\bar{T}$	A, A ² (Jo. Mani), F, B	$\bar{W}\bar{A}\bar{M}\bar{T}$, $\bar{W}\bar{O}\bar{M}\bar{T}$
S, A ² (AP)	$\bar{Z}\bar{O}\bar{M}\bar{N}\bar{T}$, $\bar{Z}\bar{A}\bar{M}\bar{N}\bar{T}$	A, A ² (Jo. Mani), F, B	$\bar{Z}\bar{A}\bar{M}\bar{T}$, $\bar{Z}\bar{O}\bar{M}\bar{T}$
S, A, A ²	$\bar{M}\bar{N}\bar{T}-$	B, F	$\bar{M}\bar{E}\bar{T}$, $\bar{M}\bar{E}\bar{T}-$
S, A, A ²	$\bar{M}\bar{N}\bar{T}\bar{P}\bar{E}$	B, F	$\bar{M}\bar{E}\bar{T}\bar{P}\bar{E}$, $\bar{M}\bar{E}\bar{T}\bar{P}\bar{E}\bar{P}\bar{E}$

There are, however, a number of Sahidic and semi-Sahidic manuscripts, both early and late, where the \bar{N} is frequently omitted in $\bar{T}\bar{W}\bar{M}\bar{N}\bar{T}$, $\bar{W}\bar{O}\bar{M}\bar{N}\bar{T}$, $\bar{Z}\bar{O}\bar{M}\bar{N}\bar{T}$, and sometimes even in $\bar{M}\bar{N}\bar{T}-$; sometimes we find an \bar{E} in its place (see par. 82) or even an \bar{H} (par.

215a, as $\kappa\rho\mu\text{NTC}$, $\mu\text{NNC}\alpha\text{NT}\rho\epsilon$ -BG 62, 67al., also in Bohairic $\mu\text{N}\alpha\text{NTE}$ -; Crum also cites a number of examples of this in Greek words, to which might be added Acts(Budge)XV, 22, 25, 33 $\alpha\text{C}\text{N}\Delta\omicron\omicron\iota$.

In this connection one might also compare the verbal prefix $\tau\alpha\rho\epsilon$ - which is sometimes spelt $\text{NT}\alpha\rho\epsilon$ -, cf. Crum, Dictionary p. 424b and see below paragraph 143A.

- c) N is also added sometimes before Coptic (rarely) and Greek adverbs and Stern, Kopt. Grammatik par. 513 already noted $\text{N}\kappa\alpha\lambda\omega\varsigma$ and $\text{N}\sigma\text{πον}\delta\epsilon\omega\varsigma$; cf. Ep. I p. 251 and Crum, Dictionary p. 485a citing NTENOY which also occurs BG 15.

C NTINOY , $\epsilon\text{TIN}\text{OY}$ ($\epsilon = \text{N}$, see par. 82 below) BM 1153⁴, 1061⁴.

D $\text{N}\kappa\alpha\lambda\omega\varsigma$ Bal. 254²; $\text{N}\epsilon\omicron\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ Bal. 188¹⁶.

E NTENOY , $\text{N}\text{TN}\text{OY}$ see Ep. I p. 251 (six examples); $\text{N}\alpha\rho\eta\text{Y}$ Ep. 392; $\text{N}\epsilon\lambda\text{P}\alpha\chi$ BKU 259; $\text{N}\text{T}\alpha\chi\eta$ Ep. 229; all cited Ep. I 251.

- d) Similarly N is also found with prepositions. Crum, Ep. I p. 251 has cited a few examples for Coptic prepositions: $\text{N}\epsilon\iota$ - Achm. Haggai I, 1, II, 11; $\text{N}\epsilon\iota\theta\eta$ - PS 355; $\text{N}\alpha\chi\text{N}$ - (= $\epsilon\chi\text{N}$ -) CO 170 and $\text{N}\epsilon\gamma\alpha$ Ryl. 314 (twice). With Greek prepositions, especially $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha$ and $\mu\alpha\rho\alpha$ this is much more common. In headings and subscriptions of the gospels we usually find $\epsilon\gamma\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\iota\omicron\text{N}$ $\text{N}\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha$ $\mu\alpha\theta\theta\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma$ etc., but apart from this $\text{N}\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha$ is rare, cf. Manik 223¹⁰ and one example from Thebes, cf. below. $\mu\alpha\rho\alpha$ is sometimes found in literary manuscripts of a late period, e.g. J. Drescher, Apa Mena pp. 18a⁶, 14f., 19b², 20a⁸, etc.. From the non-literary texts the following may be cited:

A $\tau\alpha\epsilon\iota\rho\epsilon$ $\text{N}\eta\rho\omicron\varsigma\theta\epsilon$ $\epsilon\text{TCH}\epsilon$ RAC papyrus du Louvre II.

B $\text{N}\mu\alpha\rho\alpha$, $\text{N}\mu\alpha\rho\epsilon\rho\alpha\kappa$, $\text{N}\mu\alpha\lambda\epsilon\lambda\alpha\kappa$, etc. CMSS 24, BM 530²³, 583¹⁹, 586⁸, VC 100⁵.

C $\lambda\iota\varsigma\mu\text{NT}\text{OY}$ $\text{N}\eta\rho\omicron\varsigma\omicron\gamma\text{TOY}$ VC 46¹¹.

D $\chi[\epsilon\text{N}]\text{N}\alpha\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\phi\rho\omicron\text{N}\iota$ $\mu\mu\omicron$ $\mu\mu\alpha\rho\alpha$ $\mu\mu\omicron$... Bal. 152⁷; $\tau\alpha\rho\text{NT}\alpha\lambda\text{Y}$ $\text{N}\alpha\kappa$ $\text{N}\alpha\rho\gamma\iota\text{N}$... $\mu\mu\omicron\varsigma$ $\omega\mu\omicron\gamma\text{N}$ $\text{N}\epsilon\rho\text{TOY}$... Bal. 102¹⁸.

E $\epsilon\gamma\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\iota\omicron\text{N}$ $\epsilon\text{TOY}\alpha\lambda\beta$ $\text{N}\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha$... CO 29¹¹, 30¹², 31²¹, Ad. 7⁹, etc.; also $\mu\mu\alpha\tau\alpha\text{TOY}\text{N}$ $\omicron\gamma\text{TEPMHCOY}$ $\text{N}\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha$ $\text{N}\epsilon\text{NT}\alpha\chi\omicron\omicron\text{OY}$ BKU 262.

e) In a few cases \bar{N} seems irregularly added, but probably stands for $\bar{N}\delta\iota$: PS 33¹⁴ $\bar{N}\epsilon\epsilon\omega\lambda\ \epsilon\gamma\rho\alpha\iota\ \bar{N}\bar{N}\epsilon\tau\bar{N}\lambda\omicron\upsilon\chi\alpha\iota$, 292²⁴ $\psi\alpha\sigma\tau\ \bar{N}\tau\epsilon\psi\chi\eta\ \bar{N}\tau\tau\iota\mu\eta$, 360² $\bar{N}\epsilon\chi\alpha\varsigma\ \bar{N}\mu\alpha\rho\iota\alpha$ corrected to $\bar{N}\delta\iota\ \mu\alpha\rho\iota\alpha$; Achm. II Macc. VI, 16 $\epsilon\tau\beta\epsilon\ \bar{N}\epsilon\epsilon\iota\ \rho\omicron\upsilon\ \mu\eta\gamma\epsilon\iota\ \bar{N}\mu\eta\gamma\alpha\epsilon\ \alpha\eta\eta\gamma\epsilon$; in the following two instances, as in the two examples from non-literary texts, it seems to correspond to the irregular use of $\bar{N}\delta\iota$ mentioned by Crum, Dictionary p. 252a-b: Br. 242 $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\ \bar{N}\alpha\iota\ \bar{N}\epsilon\ \bar{N}\tau\epsilon\gamma\mu\bar{N}\chi\epsilon\varsigma$; P. Gol. 47 $\bar{N}\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \bar{N}\mu\alpha\kappa\alpha\epsilon\ \mu\bar{N}\lambda\omicron\gamma\kappa\iota\epsilon\ \bar{N}\tau\epsilon\gamma\gamma\epsilon\epsilon$.

B $\bar{N}\alpha\bar{N}\alpha\kappa\ \bar{N}\mu\alpha\pi\alpha\ \epsilon\iota\varsigma\iota\tau\omicron\upsilon\ ,\ \bar{N}\alpha\bar{N}\alpha\kappa\ \bar{N}\kappa\alpha\varsigma\epsilon\mu$ BM 658.

E $\bar{N}\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \bar{N}\mu\alpha\gamma\omega\mu$ J. 15³⁶ (this and the last cited Crum, Dict. p. 215b).

f) In the following instances it is probably added by mistake: Achm. Zech. VIII, 12 $\bar{N}\alpha\tau\ \bar{N}\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\iota\bar{N}\eta\bar{N}\eta\ \bar{N}\tau\bar{N}\omicron\upsilon\ \bar{N}\epsilon\lambda\alpha\lambda\chi\epsilon\ \bar{N}\alpha\tau\ \mu\bar{N}\kappa\alpha\rho\omicron\varsigma$ (l. $\bar{N}\tau\epsilon\ \bar{N}\tau\bar{N}\omicron\upsilon$?); Pro. (Worrell) XXII, 15 $\bar{N}\psi\eta\bar{N}\epsilon\ \bar{N}\psi\eta\mu$.

80) \bar{N} omitted; cf. especially paragraphs 78, 79, 82, 83.

a) \bar{N} is omitted in certain verbal prefixes: $\bar{N}\alpha-$ = $\bar{N}\alpha$ (par. 128), $\epsilon\iota\alpha-$ = $\epsilon\iota\bar{N}\alpha-$ (129), $\epsilon\tau\alpha-$ = $\epsilon\tau\bar{N}\alpha-$ (130), $\tau\alpha-$ = $\tau\bar{N}\alpha-$ (131), $\bar{N}\epsilon-$ = $\mu\bar{N}\epsilon-$ (133), $\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon-$ = $\mu\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon-$ (135), $\mu\epsilon\gamma-$ = $\mu\mu\gamma-$ (136), $\tau\epsilon-$ = $\bar{N}\tau\epsilon-$ (138), $\tau\epsilon\tau-$ = $\tau\epsilon\tau\bar{N}-$ (141); also in the possessive adjective $\bar{N}\epsilon\tau-$ = $\bar{N}\epsilon\tau\bar{N}-$ (141).

b) \bar{N} is regularly added in Sahidic before τ in the following words: $\tau\omega\mu\bar{N}\tau$, $\psi\omega\mu\bar{N}\tau$, $\gamma\omega\mu\bar{N}\tau$, $\mu\bar{N}\tau-$, $\mu\bar{N}\tau\epsilon$, cf. also paragraph 79A above; in the other dialects it is often omitted and the following table gives a survey of the evidence:

S, A ² (AP-BM leaf)	$\tau\omega\mu\bar{N}\tau$	A, A ² (Jo.), F, B	$\tau\omega\mu\tau$
S, A ² (AP)	$\psi\omega\mu\bar{N}\tau$, $\psi\alpha\mu\bar{N}\tau$	A, A ² (Jo. Mani), F, B	$\psi\alpha\mu\tau$, $\psi\omega\mu\tau$
S, A ² (AP)	$\gamma\omega\mu\bar{N}\tau$, $\gamma\alpha\mu\bar{N}\tau$	A, A ² (Jo. Mani), F, B	$\gamma\alpha\mu\tau$, $\gamma\omega\mu\tau$
S, A, A ²	$\mu\bar{N}\tau-$	B, F	$\mu\epsilon\tau$, $\mu\epsilon\theta-$
S, A, A ²	$\mu\bar{N}\tau\epsilon$	B, F	$\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon$, $\mu\epsilon\theta\epsilon$

There are, however, a number of Sahidic and semi-Sahidic manuscripts, both early and late, where the \bar{N} is frequently omitted in $\tau\omega\mu\bar{N}\tau$, $\psi\omega\mu\bar{N}\tau$, $\gamma\omega\mu\bar{N}\tau$, and sometimes even in $\mu\bar{N}\tau-$; sometimes we find an ϵ in its place (see par. 82) or even an η (par.

83) and rarely an γ (par.86). The following is the evidence of early manuscripts: In the British Museum Ms. of Deuteronomy, Jonah and Acts (ed. Budge) $\gamma\omicron\mu\tau$ is found once: Acts XI, 11, elsewhere it is $\tau\omega\mu\tau$ Acts XXVIII, 15, $\gamma\omicron\mu\tau$ Deut. XVI, 16, XVII, 6, XIX, 15, Jonah II, 1, III, 3, 4, Acts VII, 20, X, 19, 40, XVII, 2, XIX, 8, XXVIII, 7, 11, 12, 17 (Thompson, The New Biblical Papyrus p. 13 is incorrect), $\epsilon\omicron\mu\tau$ Deut. XXIV, 10, XXVIII, 23, XXXIII, 25. In the Pistis Sophia we find $\tau\omega\mu\tau$, $\gamma\omicron\mu\tau$, $\epsilon\omicron\mu\tau$, and $\tau\omega\mu\tau$, $\gamma\omicron\mu\tau$, $\epsilon\omicron\mu\tau$ side by side (cf. Index) and three times we even find $\tau\text{-}\mu\tau\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$ 187¹⁷ (see A/C), 188²³, 189¹⁵. The Berlin-London Ms. of the Apocalypse, I John and Philemon (ed. Goussen, Studia Theologica I and Delaporte, Rev. Bibl. 1905, 377ff.) seems to read always $\gamma\omicron\mu\tau$ e.g. Apoc. IV, 7, VIII, 7-13 (passim), IX, 18, XI, 9, 11, XVI, 13 and $\epsilon\omicron\mu\tau$ e.g. Apoc. IX, 20. Other instances are the following: Si. (Lagarde) XXVIII, 21, L, 3 $\epsilon\omicron\mu\tau$ (but ib. XXIX, 13, LI, 32 $\epsilon\omicron\mu\tau$); Berl. Psalter (ed. Rahlfs) p. 37: $\epsilon\omicron\mu\tau$ XVII, 35, cf. ib. VII, 13, LXVII, 3 $\epsilon\omega\mu\tau$; Br. 230 $\gamma\omicron\mu\tau$ (but ib. 233 $\gamma\omicron\mu\tau$); Sah. Elias 7²⁹ $\gamma\omicron\mu\tau$, Semi-Achm. Luke (BIFAO VIII, 76ff.) I, 56 $\gamma\omicron\mu\tau$; BG e.g. 21¹³ $\gamma\omicron\mu\tau$; Bal. 17, Heb. VII, 1 $\tau\omega\mu\tau$. In the Paris Magical Papyrus (PGM IV)¹⁰⁹ we have $\epsilon\omega\mu\tau$; in the Glossary to Hosea and Amos (ed. Thompson and Bell, JEA XI, 241ff.) Hos. VII, 16 $\tau\mu\tau\text{-}\alpha\tau\epsilon\beta\omega$. In late manuscripts we often find $\gamma\omicron\mu\tau$ e.g. Matth. XVII, 16, 20, 23, XII, 40, XVI, 21, $\epsilon\omicron\mu\tau$ Matth. X, 9, and $\tau\omega\mu\tau$ Matth. VIII, 34, al. pl. (all in Horner's edition).

From non-literary texts examples can be cited for all regions, but it may be noted that $\gamma\omicron\mu\tau$, $\epsilon\omicron\mu\tau$ are far more frequent at Thebes than elsewhere:

B $\gamma\omicron\mu\tau$ e.g. BM 529¹; $\gamma\omicron\mu\tau$ Stern, AZ XXIII (1885) p. 39.

C $\gamma\omicron\mu\tau$ Ryl. 129^{vo}, 139, 207, BM 1169³, MIF LIX, 100, BMO. 6201B1; $\epsilon\omicron\mu\tau$ Ryl. 153, BM 1157^{2,4}; $\mu\tau\eta\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$ Kropp⁷²; $\mu\tau\omicron\mu$ Jern. 1, BMO. 6201B 227²; $\mu\tau\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\epsilon$ Ryl. 280^{1,2}, BM 473, 1145^{2,8,11}, BMO. 6201B130²; $\mu\tau\epsilon$ Ryl. 157.

Bal.291³; λακτηρ βελαχε Bal.322¹¹; ἀριη[μ]εεγε πατινοντε WS 41; ὑπεν-
βενθυκωτ WS 112; προστβου πειισταλμα P.Lond.IV 1553^{vo.7}; παραρ^x τυκοου
P.Lond.IV 1572¹⁷.

E After ουρε J.2^{57,367,75,76,487,88,1991,97}, VC 21, CO 168² al.; τβου
πειεγραφον J.11²²; τοπος ετοααβ πειλιος απα φοιβαμμων J.74⁵⁸, si-
milarly J.65^{44,52,53,82,91,96,77}¹⁰, al., εμμε καμουλ J.5^{vo.16};
ετωε καε MH 61¹⁴; after λιτμς J.20^{119,121,129,132}, al.; πνοντε-
αυρηεμ KZ XXXIV, 85ff..

d) The particle *ν* which connects adjectives is sometimes omitted.

Crum, Dictionary p.494a already noted that in early texts ουωτ is
often connected with the preceding noun without *ν*; to the ex-
amples cited there add: PS 96¹⁶, Sa(Lagarde)7³, Berlin Psalter(ed.
Rahlfs) see p.36, Wessely, Sah.Gr.Ps.Fragmente p.76(XXIV,16), 106
(XLVII,4), Berlin Or.408(ed.Delaporte, Rev.Bibl. 1905, 377ff.) I John
I,5, IV,9. Cf.also Br.52²⁶ τυωρη προβωλν. In non-literary
texts *ν* is sometimes omitted with κοι and νοβ, rarely otherwise;

C τιμε ουωτ Ryl.127⁵; κοι_σων (et sim.) MIF LIX, 212, Ryl.287, 386,
BM 1064²⁰, BMOr.6201A120b, B45; λααν_διοικης Ryl.295; πιτω ουωτ
Worrell, Coptic Texts III, 21; ενδοξοτατος Χοεις Ryl.321⁴; πιλα^xτος
ηρεβιτ BM 1044¹⁰.

D κοι_σων Bal.303B¹⁰, WS 102; κοι_γισ Bal.278³; κοι_ουρε Bal.245⁸,
P.Lond.IV 1554¹⁰; κοι_βαμουλ Bal.249¹¹; νοβ_σων P.Lond.IV 1643, WS
29⁷; ηρη_ας WS 90, 91; εγγιετ_ιγη ρωμολογια P.Lond.IV 1511¹³.

E νοβ_ρωμε ST 225³; υμη_ταριχε RE 33⁶; ελαχ_ρης J.4^{87,1993}, al..

e) With numerals the *ν* is sometimes omitted. In Late Egyptian and
Demotic it is regularly omitted with the numerals 3 - 9, but not
with the others, cf. Sethe, ZDMG LXXIX p.294f.. Two early exam-
ples: Manik 25²⁶ ητου_ουρε, 101¹⁸ μαε_του_ρωβ; cf. TU 43, IX, 13 ποτων
νωε_μν ποτων Χουωτ.

C σου_ρολοκοτμς BM 1060⁶; σο_κιρατν Ryl.125; αμουν_ροκτ Ryl.124^{vo.}
снау_уо колаθон BM 1041².

D $\sigma\omicron\gamma\chi\omicron\upsilon\tau\eta$ $\pi\alpha\omicron\pi\epsilon$ Bal.301³; $\eta\tau\omicron\gamma$ $\kappa\epsilon\rho\alpha\tau\eta$ Bal.331⁴; $\eta\tau\omicron$ $\lambda\omicron\eta\chi\epsilon$ WS 145;
 $\mu\eta\eta\eta\tau\eta$ $\rho\omega\mu\eta\epsilon$ P.Lond.IV 1554¹⁰, 1561⁷.

E $\eta\tau\omicron\omicron\gamma$ $\epsilon\omicron\lambda\omicron\gamma$ MH 72; $\sigma\omicron\gamma\chi\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$ $\pi\alpha\omega\eta\epsilon$ MH 50⁹; cf. $\epsilon\eta\tau\epsilon\mu\alpha\chi\epsilon$ MH 50^{4f}.

f) The dative particle η is sometimes omitted; some early examples:
 Achm.Elias 3¹⁴ $\pi\alpha\chi\epsilon\iota$ $\eta\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$, sim. Achm.Zech.I, 19; BG 130¹⁴ (see Schmidt, Die alten Petrusakten) $\chi\epsilon$ $\omicron\alpha\tau\omicron\beta\omicron\mu$ $\alpha\eta$ $\eta\epsilon$ $\eta\lambda\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$; Br.250¹
 $\epsilon\eta\tau\alpha\gamma\epsilon\alpha\iota$ $\eta\pi\omega\mu\epsilon$. In the non-literary texts this is found a
 number of times after $\epsilon\alpha\iota$, rarely otherwise:

B After $\epsilon\alpha\iota$ Kr.116, 117, al..

C After $\epsilon\alpha\iota$ J&C 1920, BM 1102 (both of the 4th century), Ryl.117,
 BM 1056⁷, Kr.7, 91, BMEA 10135, 10460, 10462, al.; $\tau\iota$ $\omega\omicron\mu\epsilon\tau$ $\eta\epsilon\tau\alpha\gamma\omicron\varsigma$
 $\tau\eta\eta\eta\beta\iota\chi$ Kr.7.

D After $\epsilon\alpha\iota$ Bal.134¹, P.Lond.IV 1572¹⁶.

E $\tau\alpha\alpha\epsilon$ $\eta\alpha\iota\alpha\gamma$ BKU 127.

g) The negative particle $\eta(-\alpha\eta)$ is regularly omitted in Achmimic, cf.
 Till, Achm.Kopt.Grammatik par.205 and note. In the Subachm.St.
 John it is sometimes omitted, e.g. XVI, 9, 10, 26 (but $\eta(-\epsilon\eta)$ XVIII, 39,
 XIX, 6, XX, 25); it is also omitted in BG 129¹², 130¹⁴ (Schmidt, Die
alten Petrusakten), Sir. (Lagarde) XXIII, 18(23), BHom.7, al..

C $\chi\epsilon$ $\epsilon\eta\epsilon\eta\omicron\iota$ $\eta\epsilon\alpha\iota\alpha\eta$ Ryl.165; $\tau\iota\alpha\lambda\gamma\eta\iota\alpha\eta$ Ryl.332.

h) The preposition η in its instrumental, temporal and adverbial use
 is sometimes omitted; some early examples: In the Berlin Psal-
 ter (ed. Rahlfs) $\omicron\gamma\omicron\epsilon\iota\gamma\eta\eta\mu$ occurs regularly for $\eta\omicron\gamma\omicron\epsilon\iota\gamma\eta\eta\mu$ (p.36),
 similarly in Wessely, Sah.Gr.Ps.Fragm. p.100 (XXXVI, 17) and p.114
 (L, 3); cf. also Achm.Hosea IV, 8, IX, 7, XIV, 3 $\omicron\gamma\chi\iota$ $\beta\alpha\eta\epsilon$; Achm.El-
 ias 22⁴ $\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\iota\pi\epsilon$ $\mu\eta\alpha\gamma$ $\omega\mu\mu\omicron$; $\tau\epsilon\epsilon$ varies with $\eta\tau\epsilon\epsilon$ in Achmimic, cf. Till,
 Achm.Kopt.Grammatik par.33g; $\tau\omega\epsilon$ (= $\eta\tau\omega$) Achm.Ex.IV, 24; similarly
 P.Gol.47 $\delta\alpha\kappa$ = $\eta\tau\alpha\kappa$.

A Cf. $\tau\omicron\kappa$ (= $\eta\tau\omicron\kappa$) Krall, Rec.VI, 63ff. papyrus III¹⁰.

B $\theta\epsilon$ (= $\eta\theta\epsilon$) Kr.116¹⁵.

C $\theta\epsilon$ (= $\eta\theta\epsilon$) Ryl.203, BM 1041⁷, 1053⁶; $\tau\omicron\omicron\tau$ = Ryl.122⁸, P.Černý (ined.);

πooy (= nπooy) KroppD^{1,9,66} (but nπooy ib.⁹⁴); oyoic nιιι MIF LIX, 232; μετχοει ιωτ Ryl. 332 (4 times); ειωρκ ηνοντε BM 1044⁶; τηωοον γετε-
μοc Kr. 7⁷; τε- (= nτε) JEA XIII, 19f. (4th cent.); cf. τοκ (= nτοκ) Ryl. 122⁶, P. Černý (ined.), KroppD^{72,74,77} (but nτοκ ib. 76, 105-110).

D ειωρκ ηραν ηνοντε P. Lond. IV 1518¹⁷; ντε[n]ωοον γετεμοc Bal. 118³.

E πeο[ν]οειω ετμμαγ J. 16⁶²; ηκαστρον ηχημε ηπαμοc ητηολιc J. 5⁴; αισα
τειβλχε ταβιχ (et sim.) ST 52, Tor. 12¹², J. 20¹²⁹, al.; ηγογοι τκαμρε
J. 4^{54f.}; ηοωμο J. 12^{40,13}³⁵; μευνοι cαι J. 3^{69,14}⁹³, al.; τοοτc
CO 113²; τηι (= nτηι) V. C. 21.

- i) ca = nca. In Achmimic we regularly find ce for nce, cf. Till, Achm. Kopt. Grammatik par. 172, though nce is sometimes found as in the Achm. Minor Prophets (Index). In Subachmimic we find ca in the Manichaean texts and the Gospel of St. John (usually), and nca twice in the Gospel of St. John and regularly in the Acta Pauli. ca- is also found in BM 1223, BG 129⁴ (Schmidt, Die alten Petrusakten) and a few times elsewhere, e.g. BHom. 3; cf. also Crum, Dictionary p. 314 a and references there.

B Kr. 116¹⁰.

C Ryl. 271 (4th cent.), 316, 320, 361.

D Gloss. 248, Bal. 263¹, P. Lond. IV 1639, P. Mich. 1190 II, 3 (Ora. IV, 8).

E See Ep. I p. 244 citing ST 101, 442.

F VC 5^{passim}.

- j) The n indicating the object after verbs is sometimes omitted. In Achmimic and Subachmimic the absolute form is often used instead of the construct in certain classes of verbs and Till (Aegyptus VIII, 255f.) already pointed out that in these cases there could be no question of an omission of the 'nota accusativi'; cf. also Till, Achmimisch-Kopt. Grammatik par. 99b and in particular chapter IX pp. 202f. and 214 below. Certain early Sahidic texts which are influenced by Achmimic or Subachmimic sometimes show the same phenomenon: Sah. Elias 4³⁰ βαιε nca βεογε, 9⁹ ωων ηεηνα, 10¹⁵ μογρ nαι-

καίος, 10²⁶ ζωτβ δίκαιος, 8²⁰ αω λουλαι, 12²⁰ αω εροου; Br. 239 ενταγκω πινε, 48²⁴, 49^{11, 18} εμπατγταγο προβαλη, 128³ ντετγταγο πεσραλν, 260 ενταγουνη πτηρμ; Sir. (Lagarde) XXVII, 6 ουωνε φητ, XLVI, 11 αωε ερατου, Lagarde, Aegyptiaca p. 207 (Ps. CI, 10) αιογωμ κρμς; Sap. (Lagarde) XIV, 17 αγταμιο ουεικων; Berlin Or. 408 (ed. Delaporte, Rev. Bibl. 1905, 377ff.) I John III, 15 (bis) ρεγζωτβ ρωμμε; PS 89²⁰ ουωνε πεκζο; Wessely, Sah. Gr. Ps. Fragmente p. 13 αηπωρω ουκλωε (CIV, 39), αηχπιο γενερωου (CIV, 14) τωρη νεγζιςε (CVIII, 11); Pro. (Worrell) XXIX, 4 τογνος ουχωρλ. Certain non-literary texts show the same peculiarity:

C κω πηι, κω παμ, κω πτηγε, κω ζητ BMO. 6201A84a, 163, B53, 138a, 163.

D κου πεκζω P. Lond. IV 1642; cf. αιωζε ερατ BP 11349¹⁸.

E See Ep. I p. 250 and references there, adding κω παζητ V. C. 101¹³ and πεντααταμιο τπε, πεντααγουζμ δαμηνλ XZ XXXIV, 85ff. lines 31, 32, 24.

There are, however, a number of instances where it is clearly the 'nota accusativi' which is omitted: Achm. Hosea II, 18 τα-σμινε νεγ ουδιαθνηκη, VI, 7 εγπαρβα ουδιαθνηκη; Achm. I Clem. (Schmidt) 77³¹ κτε νεα ουζομονοιδ. Similarly in non-literary texts:

C απαρακαλει παιωτ BMO. 6201B47¹²; ταπροκυνει παχοεις BMO. 6201B 163.

E τασπαζε πεζλοб BKO 301; αισζαι τεπρασις J. 3⁸¹, similarly ST 52⁷.

k) Varia. Achm. Hosea VIII, 13 νε θυςια, IX, 7 νβι ζοογε, Mich. III, 7 μπετν[α]ςωτμε, IV, 11 τωαζ (= τνωαζ), Soph. I, 15 νκραρμ (= νκραρμ); Br. 55¹⁶ εγμντ1β (= εγν-μντ1β as ib. 55¹⁴); Berlin Psalter (ed. Rahlfs) p. 36 τωον XXVI, 12, LIII, 5 (both corrected), εο[γ]δικ[α]ιουσνη XCV, 13; P. Mich. 136²²⁹ (Ora. IV, 28) εχ ζενωε; Pro. (Worrell) XXIV, 53 ντσοογ αν.

B Cf. Crum, Dictionary p. 215a (seven examples, all final ν omitted).

l) τνωογ for τνωοογ. In the Pistis Sophia τνωογ occurs side by side with τνωοογ, and τνωογ occurs once in P. Mich. 136¹⁸⁵ (Ora. IV, 25) and as τνωγ once in ManiP 39¹. In the non-literary texts this marks a fundamental difference between texts from Thebes and those from Achmim to Ashmunein. At Thebes the word is almost inva-

riably spelt correctly $\tau\eta\eta\sigma\sigma\upsilon$, whereas in the texts further north it occurs usually as $\tau\eta\sigma\sigma\upsilon$:

C $\tau\eta\eta\sigma\sigma\upsilon$ J&C 1922^{7,10,18}, Ryl.313 (both of the 4th century), Ryl.289, BM 1139⁶.

$\tau\eta\sigma\sigma\upsilon$ Ryl.301 (4th century), 321², 326, 327, 334, 336, 342, 347, 350, 352, 356, 358, 360, al.pl..

D $\tau\eta\eta\sigma\sigma\upsilon$ Bal. cf. Index p.840, never in non-literary texts.

$\tau\eta\sigma\sigma\upsilon$ Bal. cf. Index, 30 examples from non-literary texts.

E $\tau\eta\eta\sigma\sigma\upsilon$ Ep. cf. index 95 out of 104 examples, al.pl.

$\tau\eta\sigma\sigma\upsilon$ Ep. 149⁴, 242², 283¹¹, 320⁴, 330⁶, 333⁵, 525⁴, 544¹², J.42¹¹, 115⁵, RE 33⁷, TurO 15, Bku 300¹⁰.

- m) $\eta = \eta\eta$, $\mu = \mu\mu$. Apart from $\tau\eta\sigma\sigma\upsilon$ there are numerous examples where η is omitted when preceded or followed by another η (μ). In many cases it is the genitive η , but examples in all categories listed above occur. The following is a list of examples which I have collected from literary and non-literary texts:
- Achm. I Clem. (Schmidt) 43, 28; Achm. Elias 14¹⁶, 17¹⁷, 30¹⁷, 36¹⁷; Achm. II Macc. VI, 1; Achm. Ex. VI, 29; Achmimic Minor Prophets (34 examples) Hos. IV, 8, 19, V, 10, VI, 4, VII, 2, VIII, 13, IX, 4 (bis), 9, XI, 4, XIII, 7, XIV, 4, Joel I, 14, II, 7, 8, Amos II, 2, VI, 7, IX, 4, Mich. I, 14, II, 9, IV, 5, V, 6, VII, 18, 19, 20, Naum I, 7, III, 18, Hab. III, 8, Soph. III, 18, 20, Zech. II, 8, VIII, 6, 11, XII, 4, XIII, 2, XIV, 12; Subachm. St. John XII, 19, XVIII, 28, 36; Manik 223²⁰; Sah. Elias 4², 18, 27 (bis), 5²⁰, 8³¹, 11²², 13⁶; Si. (Lagarde) XXIV, 23 (24), XXXI, 21 (19), al.; Br. 58¹⁶, 86⁷, 108¹⁸, 116²⁶, 134¹⁹, 267; PS 10⁵, 35⁷, 36²¹, 38¹⁶, 48¹², 65¹⁶, 118¹⁷, 166⁸, 188¹¹, 192²⁴, 193¹³, 257^{1,24}; Pro. (Worrell) IV, 18, V, 16, IX, 13, XIV, 8, 24, XVIII, 22, XXI, 4, 19, XXVI, 7, XXVIII, 28.
- C JEA XIII, 19ff. lines 5, 6; BM 1032⁷, 1033⁶, 1035¹⁰, 1041^{2,6}, 1043¹³, 1044^{8,9,10}; Ryl. 157, 202, 273, 288, 319, 320, Kropf⁸⁴, Kr. 7⁹, al. pl..
- D Bal. 102⁴, 114¹¹, 119¹¹, 134³, 152⁶, 188³, 189^{2,4} (bis), 193⁷, 199⁵, 201⁵, 206⁹, 216¹⁴, 218⁶, 220¹, 228¹¹, 264⁴, 273², 291⁸, 303B⁹ (bis), WS 29⁷, 106,

112,174, P.Lond.IV 1509<sup>11,16,19,1510⁴,1512^{23,35},1518^{15,17,18},
1521¹⁸,1528¹⁵,1578fr.2⁶,1584^{11,14},1586²,1596¹²,1610^{36,45},1611fr.2,
1633,1642, P.Mich.1190²², II³² (Ora.IV,5ff.).
E CO 71¹⁵, ST 41, J.2⁵⁵, 3^{74,76,77,78}, 4^{29,87,90,92,93}, 81³⁶, al.pl.</sup>

(mostly +ω μντρε).

81) α = Ν; cf.next and par.21.

D λααυ αρωμε P.Lond.IV 1553^{5,15}.

82) ε = Ν; cf.especially paragraphs 80,81,83,86,91,93.

Ν is frequently omitted, cf.par.80, but much more common is its substitution by ε, especially in texts from Ashmunein, yet it is practically unknown at Thebes. Examples for this from early literary texts are extremely rare; Crum in JRAS 1925 p.759 has drawn attention to a few instances in the Pistis Sophia: 55¹⁴ πραν επνουτε, 88¹⁹ †ναβοϊλε επαπνα ενεκβιχ, 118¹³ αυχι γαρ ετοοτς, 200¹¹ ειγαν χιτηντν επτοπος εφαε μπαρστανς (ib.line 12 μφαε !), 279¹⁶ πετναχι εουμυστηριον, add 47²⁰ εμπρ λααυ ναυ επεθοου; only a few other examples are known to me: Sah.Elias 10¹⁰ ετοκ, 12¹⁷ μμου εθαλασσα, Manik 117²² Νυρρρο ζε τσαρζ.

a) ε for Ν is found in certain verbal prefixes: ετα- = ντα- (par.132), επε- = μπε- (134), επερ- = μπερ- (137), ννετε- = ννετν- (142), cf. also the possessive adjective τετε- = τετν- (142).

b) Replacing a double consonant, cf.paragraphs 65C,74B,74C,83,86,99, 102.

D βενε WS 106, ST 329 (this region ?); ωεμο P.Lond.IV 1565³⁵.

c) ε for Ν in ωμετ, μετρε, μετ-, cf.paragraphs 80b and 83.

A μετρε RAC pap.du Louvre 4 - 7, 10.

B Frequent, cf.CMSS index p.89 (μετ-) etc..

C ωμετ Ryl.116,164,279, MIF LIX,34², Kr.7¹², etc.; μετρε Ryl.137, 144¹⁴,146,203, BM 1035⁹,1047¹², etc.; μετ-, e.g. μετχοεις, JEA XIII, 19ff. (μετ νηντ), Ryl.283,332, etc.; ωμετ Kr.75.

D ωμετ Bal.138³,139⁴,309³, P.Lond.IV 1514⁷, WS 138; ωμετ Bal.322²²;

μετρε Bal.115⁹, 124⁶, 175^{3,4}, 288¹⁷, P.Lond.IV 1509^{24,25}, 1511¹⁵, 1512³³,
1512^{37,40}, 1515^{16,17,18,20}, 1518^{30,32}, 1519^{22,23}, 1521^{29,31,33}, 1565¹⁰,
1565⁵⁶, 1573³⁰, 1591⁷, 1592; μετ-, e.g. μετχοεις, Bal.202⁷, 205⁴, 216²,
WS 109, P.Lond.IV 1554^{vo.34}, 1578, 1638(ter), 1643.

Ε ζομετ CO 48¹³.

d) ε for N in the genitive particle.

A εμπεραν επνονυτε RAC papyrus du Louvre 2,7.

B Frequent, e.g. νσαπεснт ετκαταγραφη Kr.3³.

C Very frequent, e.g. εппοуу επνονυτε BM 1041, Ryl.384, al.; εμπεραν
επνονυτε Ryl.285, 384, Kr.2 al.; φωη επτιμε Ryl.329; ρτοу εсоу Kr.77⁷,
Ryl.267; νεουη επηι BM 1064²⁰⁻²⁵; λακον εημх (et sim.) Ryl.115¹,
122¹³, 129, 130³, 181, 206, 267, 279, 291, 316, BM 1043⁹ al.; πεухαι ενет-
архей Ryl.144 al.; зитоотв εφιβαμουη (et.sim.) Ryl.123, 299, 315, 358;
etc..

D εппοуу επνονυτε Bal.216¹¹, P.Lond.IV 1639; ροουу εηмон Bal.188⁹;
λογос επνονυτε Bal.188¹⁰; πεухαι ετεκμηт Bal.216¹²; εпоу εсоу Bal.
240⁷; ηхοεβол ετзιοιгеис Bal.301¹; εртоу εсоу P.Lond.IV 1631;
επισταλμα εηηхоеис P.Lond.IV 1496¹³, 1567⁵.

e) ε for the N connecting adjectives.

C λααу еρωме Ryl.277⁷; ηηоб еρωме Kr.92⁹; ηευηρη емисε KroppD⁷⁶;
ηελαχιστος ελιαу Ryl.122³, 123; al.pl..

D λαау еρωме P.Lond.IV 1560²⁴; μεριτ есон Bal.216¹³; ηоб еρωме Bal.
129²; ηηоб етаио , ηηоб еуωме Cramer, Kopt.Inschr.K.F.Museum Berl.
9691^{6,33} (A.D.799-805).

Ε ηαμεριτ есон Ep.290.

f) ε for the N connecting numerals.

C Б етнве, тв емазе Kr.2^{2,6}; снау етремхин Ryl.181; уоμεт ебаμου Ryl.
279; al..

D μητι еρωме P.Lond.IV 1563²².

g) ε for N dative.

C After сзай Ryl.115, 123, BM 1046, 1048², al..

D After ε2αι Bal.215⁵; τ2αc ενδcον WS 96.

h) ε for instrumental, temporal and adverbial (etc.) N .

A ωρκ επνουτε RAC papyrus du Louvre 2⁴.

C ωρκ επνουτε Ryl.128,144,191,196,205, BM 1036⁹, 1043¹⁰, 1060⁷; επνοy Ryl.339; νcονχιτy ε6ονec BMOr.6201B67; νcονπολδoy εβολ επεyδιαγραφον Ryl.285; αienty εχοτι (= νχoyτη) ντερεαμ Ryl.298; al..

D τεnτα2αy ε2ραι ετεμοcιον Bal.103⁶ (= ν2υμοcιον Bal.102⁹).

i) ετοκ for ντοκ etc..

C ετοκ Ryl.282, BM 1065⁵; ετοοτy Ryl.324; εcω= Ryl.153,385; εcαθη- Ryl.144; ε6ι Cramer, Totenklage 1¹⁰; εθe BM 1055⁸; εcαβ Ryl.356; επμτο βολ KroppD⁹⁹; al..

D ετοοτη P.Lond.IV 1519⁸; εcω= Bal.179⁴, 251^{2,3}; ενβολ P.Lond.IV 1565², 1566¹, 1594; επμτο εβολ P.Lond.IV 1611¹¹.

E 2υπετετη τηy ST 56.

j) εμο= for μμο=. This is extremely common at Ashmunein, but I can find only one example from texts further south; ε for ν accusative is otherwise very rare, an example is Ryl.409 ενε ερωμε .

C εμο= Ryl.118, 119³, 126, 129^{vo}, 144^{10,16}, 152, 185, 191, 199, 296, 301 (4th-5th.centuries), 324, BM 1055⁸, 1059²⁶, 1061¹⁰, al.pl.; cf. ετεμαy Ryl.188¹⁶.

D εμοc Petrie, Memphis I pl.LIII.

k) Varia. Cf. με-, 2ε-, εχε- passim in the early P.Mich.3565 (Ora.IV, 14f. from Ashmunein ?).

B με(vb.and part.) BM 531⁵, CMSS Index p.89; 2ε- BM 619, 644, Kr.25, CMSS index p.91; εχε- Kr.16, 17(ειχε-), al.; 2ειχε- Kr.21, 33, al..

C με Ryl.381, MIF LIX, 448, al.; 2ε- P.Černy^{4,6} (ined.), al.; εχε- BM Or.6201B163; 2χε- MIF LIX, 142⁴; ενενεφhy Ryl.144⁶, al.; μνεcωι Ryl.188¹³, al..

D με- Bal.188¹², 259⁵, P.Lond.IV 1635, 1640; μεcωc WS 93; 2ατε WS 133.

E 2ε- VC 10³; 2ατε αnνα J 106²³³.

l) A rare example of ε for ν negative is BM 1123^{vo.8} νετεcecooyν...αν.

m) ϵ for $\epsilon\eta$; cf. Achm. Hosea VIII, 13 $\eta\epsilon\epsilon\text{-}\theta\gamma\iota\alpha$.

C $\tau\epsilon\mu\alpha\delta\gamma$ MIF LIX, 484.

D $\eta\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$ Bal. 192¹⁴; $\tau\epsilon\mu\alpha\delta\gamma$ WS 29, 30, 48, Ann. Serv. XVI, 98, XXII, 50f. no. 3², Petrie, Gizeh and Rifeh pl. XXXIX (from Bala'izah); $\eta\epsilon\chi\theta\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ P. Lond. IV 1553^{vo. 7f.}.

83) $\eta = \eta$; cf. especially paragraphs 80, 82, etc..

This peculiarity is really an extension of paragraph 82 with η substituted for ϵ , cf. paragraph 22; again the absence of examples from Theban texts may be noted (one exception).

a) $\beta\eta\eta\epsilon$ for $\beta\eta\eta\epsilon$; cf. paragraphs 65C, 74B, 74C, 82(b), 86, 99, 102.

B $\beta\eta\eta\iota$ Kr. 3, Stern $\ddot{A}Z$ XXIII (1885) p. 39.

C $\beta\eta\eta\epsilon$ BM 1137¹⁰, BM Or. 6201B136²; $\gamma\epsilon\beta\eta\eta\epsilon$ Ryl. 217.

D $\beta\eta\eta\epsilon$ P. Lond. IV 1631.

E $\beta\eta\eta\epsilon$ CO 495.

b) $\psi\omega\mu\eta\tau$ for $\psi\omega\mu\eta\tau$, etc..

C $\psi\omega\mu\eta\tau$ Ryl. 334, BM 461³, 1127⁹, BMEA 10140; $\mu\eta\tau\epsilon$ (rare) Ryl. 191, BM 1047⁹; $\mu\eta\tau$ -, e.g. $\mu\eta\tau\chi\theta\epsilon\iota\varsigma$, Ryl. 216, 317, 331, 358, 409, BM 1013¹¹, 1165³, Kr. 102; cf. $\mu\eta\tau\varsigma\eta\theta\omega\upsilon\varsigma$ Kr. 77⁶, BM 461; $\mu\eta\tau\alpha\gamma\tau\epsilon$ Kr. 60⁶.

D $\psi\omega\mu\eta\tau$ WS 92, P. Lond. IV 1509¹⁶, 1522²⁹, 1565²⁰, al., 1610, 1631; $\epsilon\omega\mu\eta\tau$ P. Lond. IV 1631; $\mu\eta\tau\epsilon$ Bal. 176, 288^{13, 14, 18}, P. Lond. IV 1494³⁸, 1497²⁴, 1515²¹, 1565⁵⁴, 1588¹⁴, 1595(bis), 1619; $\mu\eta\tau$ -Bal. 154¹⁴, 216^{7, 12, 13}, WS 38⁸, P. Lond. IV 1494³³, 1554^{32, 34}, cf. vo. 4, 1631.

c) Varia.

B $\beta\eta$ -, $\beta\eta\tau$ - Kr. 3⁴, BM 583⁷; $\mu\eta$ (vb.) Krall, MR V, 43.

C $\mu\eta$ -('and') Ryl. 139, Ann. Serv. XV, 124; $\eta\theta\omega\tau\gamma$ Ryl. 339; cf. $\eta\eta\mu\eta\tau\eta$ Ryl. 316, BM 1041³.

D $\eta\tau\alpha\eta\varsigma\mu\eta\tau\gamma$ P. Lond. IV 1553^{vo. 34}.

84) $\iota = \eta$; cf. paragraphs 80 - 83, al..

a) ι is often found for η , cf. Crum, Dictionary pp. 643b and 683f..

Some early examples: Acts (Budge) XVI, 32, PS 382¹, Pro. (Worrell) IV, 14, 27, XI, 20, XXIV, 43, XXV, 24, XXVI, 24, etc.. For examples from

non-literary texts cf. Jern.6 and note, cf. also Junker, Koptische Poesie p.89; the following examples may be cited:

B Kr.61, BM 585⁸, 592¹⁵, 604¹², 630³, Ryl.374(late).

C Jern.6, Jernstedt in Aegyptus III, 282ff. line 6, Ryl.329, 382(late).

D P.Lond.IV 1494¹⁴, 1495¹¹, 1503², cf. Jern.6 note.

b) Varia.

B αβιτοϋ , ανιτοϋ (for ντϋοϋ) BM 585⁸, 597.

C βιθε (= βν-θε) BM 1123³¹ (4th cent.); ιταβν (= νταβν) BM 1124¹; μιτρε BM 1048^{14, 16}.

E ειca (= νca) V.C.10; cf. mincwc J.2⁶.

85) μ = ν ; cf. paragraph 76.

Some early examples: Achm.I Clem.(Schmidt) II¹⁰ μνννομος; Achm.Amos II, 10 νντερημος μμε νεραμε; Achm.James V, 7 μμχαεic; Br.83²² ετ-μμντε; Sah.Elias 7¹⁹ μμcιov; Crum's fragment of St.John(see p. 241 below) XX, 19, 25 μμεμντε, μνευβix; Berl.Psalter(ed.Rahlfs)p. 37 μετμμαδε (77¹, 93⁹), αμ μεθρογ(9²⁷), μμεριτ (= νεμεριτ 83²); BG(Schmidt, Die alten Petrusakten) 138¹³ νμ μετνανογou, 140⁵ ανον μων εμμεεε; I John III, 21(in Berl.Or.408, ed.Delaporte, Rev.Bibl. 1905, 377ff.) μμαρικε (= βν-αρικε), so also LAP.II, 11¹⁰.

B εκκω μαι εβαλ BM 589⁸.

C μετποlic BM 1065¹⁰; μεμογτε (n.pr.) Ryl.134¹⁸; μγοpη Baouit p.6; μει μαγωne MIF LIX, 466; αμοκ Cramer, Totenklage 1¹².

D μμμαινογτε (= νεν-μαινογτε) Bal.107³; μιν (= νιμ) Bal.278¹; μμοβ ν-ρωne Bal.312⁸; πωαχε ντεμμντελαχιcтoc Brunton, Matmar p.95; νετ-σοομ μμοi Cramer, Kopt.Inscr.K.F.Museum Berlin 9691³¹.

E Cf. Ep.I p.244, also εμογ (n.pr.) J.20⁶⁴; ομ (= ον) J.20¹⁰⁹; εμcoγ-χογτε παωne MH 50⁹; εμxηne MH 59.

86) γ = ν ; cf. paragraphs 65C etc., 80-84, 36, al..

B εχyβρεει , εχycoγa Kr.11^{3, 5} (cf. εχω βρεει ib.⁴).

C βγνε (= βννε) Ryl.353, BM 1087; εγγμογν (= ννγμογν) Ryl.305.

D βγνε Bal.310 ; αβγνε (= αβννε?) Bal.291 ; γωγyт P.Lond.IV 1588.

87) ω = Ν .

This peculiarity occurs only in the construct of εχΝ and ϷχΝ, and is found only in late texts, eighth century or later, cf. Crum, Dictionary pp. 757b and 759a, also Ermann, Bruchstücke kopt. Volks-litteratur p. 58. . Except for BM 1115², Kr. 32, Kr. 8, it always occurs before a consonant, cf. Ryl. 106^{12, 48f, 58} Ϸχω- before a consonant, but ib. ^{41, 43} ϷχΝ- before a vowel. Cf. also εχοу-μακαρε in P. Gol. 47 (5th century !), cited Crum, Dictionary p. 757b.

B εχω- Ryl. 374 (late), Kr. 32; Ϸχω- Ryl. 374, BM 661, Kr. 8, 18, 225¹⁵, 233²⁹, V. C. 49, BKU 1²⁶, CMSS XVIII note, XXIII¹⁹ (Ϸχο-).

C εχω- BM 1115², 1117¹⁴, Ryl. 282, 346, 353 (late), BMor. 6201A168 (bis), B41, BMEA 10579 (this region ?); Ϸχω- Ryl. 377 (late), 464 (A. D. 1006-7), Worrell, Coptic Texts III, 16, Ryl. 106^{12, 48f., 58} (this region ?).

D εχω- Bal. 189³⁰, P. Lond. IV 1639³; Ϸχω- Bal. 188⁷, 189⁹, Grohmann, Ar. Pap. in the Eg. Library III, 167⁵ (read Ϸχω- νναμipa cf. par. 90 below).

87A) ΝΑ = Ν .

This occurs only in the dative preposition Ν ; it is extremely common at Thebes, but only two examples can be cited from elsewhere, probably both due to scribal errors.

B ΝΑΑΝΑ BM 529, P. Mich. 606 (cited Crum, Dictionary p. 216b).

E Passim, cf. CO index p. 119, J. index p. 373, Ep. vol. II index p. 358, al. pl..

88) ΝΕ = Ν ; cf. paragraphs 93, 95, al..

The definite plural article Ν is sometimes written ΝΕ not only before a double consonant (cf. Stern par. 228), but before a single consonant and even a vowel. This is very common in late literary texts, e.g. J. Drescher, Apa Mena.

B Frequent, e.g. ΝΕΕΚΚΛΗCΙΑ Kr. 3¹⁸; ΝΕΛωμ BM 661³.

C Frequent, e.g. ΝΕΒΗΝΕ BMor. 6201B136; ΝΕΕΙωγε Ryl. 323; ΝΕΚΟΥ BM 1064; ΝΕΜαγε Kr. 91; ΝΕΝΕΕΒ BMor. 6201B1, 14; ΝΕΝΟΥΒ Ryl. 117³; ΝΕΠΗΥΕ Kropp D¹⁰⁴; ΝΕΡο Ryl. 357; ΝΕΡωμε, ΝΕΡωμ, ΝΕΡα- Ryl. 129, 319, 323, Kr. 5, al.;

νεοϣωζε Ryl.283; νεϣε BM 1055¹; νεϣωϣ Ryl.409; νεαγγελος KroppD⁸⁴;
 νεγεϊτνια Ryl.171; νεζιερεϣς Ryl.278; νεκολασις KroppD⁸⁷; νεφορος
 Ryl.181.

D νεκυρωμε (= n-ke-ρωμε) P.Lond.IV 1639; νεκοιε P.Lond.IV 1574¹⁶;
 νεοεκ P.Lond.IV 1501⁴; νεπενινε WS 90; νερωμε ,νερωμ- Bal.291¹³, 312²²,
 P.Lond.IV 1574^{16,24}; νερωμε Bal.51⁷; νερωμπε Bal.55⁷; νεογοιε Bal.
 154¹⁰; νεϣωμο P.Lond.IV 1565⁴⁴; νεϣωος Bal.307¹; νεϣωϣνε Bal.51⁶;
 νεζιце Bal.243⁸; νεδαμουλ WS 93; νεβοηθος Bal.154²; νεδημοσιον P.
 Lond.IV 1583², Bal.133², 135²; νελιφανον Bal.193⁷; νεμονα^x Bal.235³;
 νετομος Bal.187⁵.

E (rare) νελωϣк CO 41¹² (cf. ib. νεpncωωz, νεziβoλ); νερωμε CO 70³;
 νεϣηpe BKU 105.

89) NH = N ; cf. paragraphs 88 and 22.

C ннnoyy , ннpωme , ннт-εϣnooye Ryl.284.

D ннneϣ WS 118; cf. ннϣmo (= ннϣωmo) P.Lond.IV 1565⁵⁰.

90) NN = N ; cf. paragraphs 73A etc., 77, 79A, al..

This peculiarity is found already in our earliest Coptic manuscripts; it occurs mostly in the preposition and particle *н*, in *en* and rarely otherwise. In most manuscripts it is found only before a following vowel, but in some it occurs also before consonants; *enn* occurs only before the indefinite article *oy*. In certain manuscripts, mostly Fayyumic, of a late period it occurs frequently and almost regularly, cf. JKP, Asmus 41, 72 and in general Crum, Dictionary p. 215a.

- a) Before a vowel, mostly *oy*. Early examples: preposition and particle *н* doubled, e.g. *αϣoϣ neϣ нnoϣπαpαβoλn* Achm. Luke (Muséon LXII, 199ff.) XVIII, 1; similarly Achm. Psalm fragment (ed. Crum, Miss. LXVI, 73ff., late 3rd. century) Ps. LXVI, 5, Achm. Abdias 12, Achm. Naum II, 8, Achm. Soph. III, 18, BM 1223⁴, Subachm. John XIV, 23, XVIII, 10, Berlin Psalter (ed. Rahlfs) p. 33 (twice), BG (in Schmidt, Die Alt. Petrusakten) 128⁵, 129¹³, 137¹¹, also 125 (Crum, Dict. p. 215a), Br. 242, 254, Wessely,

Sah.-Gr.Ps.-Fragm. p.98(36²⁹), 100(36¹⁴), 115(50⁷); Acts(Budge) III, 25, VII, 17, 20, XIX, 8, XXVIII, 10, Didache(ZNTW XXIV, 81ff.) I, 25, II, 22, 31, Bal.30^{39,43,61,66}.

nn- for n- before the indefinite article ον-: Achm.Luke(Muséon LXII, 199ff.) VII, 35, XVIII, 2, BG 123(cited Crum, Dict. p.157b), Berlin Psalter(ed.Rahlfs) p.33(once), Pro.(Worrell) p.99, Didache(ZNTW XXIV, 81ff.) II, 10, 16, 26, III, 5.

NETNN OYPT E Achm.Mal.IV, 3; μnn OYNOY & Achm.Zech.VI, 11; εxn-
αφxγ Berlin Psalter(ed.Rahlfs) p.33.

A nn- RAC papyrus du Louvre III^{2,7,8,15,21}.

B Frequent, cf. CMSS index p.90.

C nn- Ryl.115, 207(ter), 209, 288, Kr.6^{1,5,6}(A.D.596), BM 1031^{11,14,vo.}, 1043⁶, MIF LIX, 59³, 210, KroppD⁸³, BMor.6201A59a, B184, 249. εnn- BMor.6201B105, 126; εtnn- BMor.6201A110a; μnn- MIF LIX, 149; cf. εxι nn εατ μnn αηα κipe BMor.6201A108d.

D nn- Bal.154¹⁴, 260^{12(bis)}, P.Jkow(often), P.Lond.IV 1536³⁹, 1634¹², 1641; εnn- WS 31¹³, Brunton, Qau and Badari III, pl.LV no.II⁹; netnn-
ογω P.Jkow.

E nn- CO 48⁵⁻⁶, 60¹¹, 75^{9,15}, 93⁸, 138⁴, 311⁴, Ad.14^{5,6}, V.C.43^{2,5}, 74^{vo.}, 80⁷, 99⁴, BM 458⁵, MH 51^{7,9}, 53⁴, 58⁶.

b) Before a consonant. Early examples: Achm.Jonah IV, 11 nnτβα; Achm. Mich.V, 4 nnγην; Achm.Luke(Muséon LXII, 199ff.) XVIII, 11 nnτοοτκ; PS 57² nnnoyτε, 167²⁰ nnτπictic; Br.236 ποα ποα nnμμντειωτ; Sah.Elias 1³³ nnθε, 1³⁰ μnποα, 11²³ μnκων6, 12²⁰ εixμnκa2; Berlin Psalter(ed.Rahlfs) p.33 citing: ογwn nppωγ, nnγnpe, μα nnγωnε, μα nnωτn, nnεnτε, netnnεnτ, nnεωκ.

C nnηxοεic Ryl.165; εvo nnτnτ[ne]μne Ryl.296; nnγnpe BMor.6201A160a.

D nnα P.Jkow.

E nnτετnαfωcynn CO 93⁵; nnpta8 CO 129¹¹; nnεnτγ MH 58¹⁵.

c) Varia. Early examples: nnα, nnny occurs Achm.Elias 2¹, 43¹⁶,
Subachm.Acta Pauli and John(passim, but nny John IV, 21, cf. ^(sc!) nny IV, 25)

also ManiH(once), Achm.Zech.VIII,22, Sa.(Lagarde)I,8, Sir.(Lagarde)XXVII,27, XXVIII,13, XLIII,22, al. and Didache(ZNTW XXIV,81ff.) I,29, III,10. Other instances: Deut.(Budge)XII,11, Acts(Budge) IV,32, XI,10(corr.H.T.), BAp.5 NNIM ; PS 32²⁵ NNEYNATAKO , 243²³ OYNNTE NTONOC ; BG(in Schmidt, Die alten Petrusakten)129¹³ NNEPE ; Didache(ZNTW XXIV,81ff.)I,20, II,2,19, III,4 NNE -(fut.); Sah. Elias 5²⁴ NNEYMACEON , 5¹⁸ NNA -(fut.), 13²⁶ NNA -'my', 12²², 13¹ NNAON , 10¹³ NNY6ONT (conj.), 7²¹ NNTOK , 10⁶ TOYNNOC . Cf.also Ep.I p.246.

C N2WY NNIM XPOPPD ⁹⁵; NETNNEMEY , ANNEOY , CANEY J&C 1922; TENN (= NTN -conj.)BM 1118⁸.

D NNEP -P.Lond.IV 1564⁴; YANN -Bal.260⁸; cf. NNY6OON , NNEPE -Bal.34¹⁹, 34³⁵.

E ANNP -CO 257; NNTAYEI EPIC CO 321³; ENNW (= EN-O) CO Ad.14⁵; NNA -(fut.) CO 128, MH 58¹⁵; NNTOY (vb.) Ep.314; ANNOK Ep.86; ANN2 CO Ad.4; NNIM CO 279¹¹; TWANA BMEA 44809; TONNOY ST 289; NNAEK BKU 299⁸, MH 58⁶.

91) $\epsilon = \text{NN}$; cf.paragraphs 82 etc..

D MECWC WS 93¹³.

92) $\text{N} = \text{NN}$; see above paragraph 80 l,m.

93) $\text{NE} = \text{NN}$; cf.paragraphs 82,88,al..

This peculiarity occurs only in late manuscripts and is evidently a combination of N omitted(par.80), $\epsilon = \text{N}$ (82) and $\text{NE} = \text{N}$ (88). It may be noted that in certain literary manuscripts of a late period it becomes almost regular, see JKP p.92('fast ausnahmslos') I have not been able to find any examples of this in Theban texts. In all examples the NN are the particle N followed by the plural definite article.

B Frequent, e.g. before NAB Kr.3¹¹, CE2 Kr.3¹³.

C Frequent, e.g. before ANMOOION Ryl.324, PAM Ryl.122⁵, 155, 321⁵; COYO Ryl.162; OYOOEI Ryl.127²; YMMO Ryl.277; BAMOYL Ryl.356; al..

D Before BEXE WS 95; ANMOOION Bal.291⁹, P.Lond.IV 1565²⁰, 1572¹⁸, 1575, 1576; LIFANON Bal.196⁶; MA WS 95; MATOI Bal.291²⁷; MONACHOC Bal.

290^{6,9,12,15}; $\mu\gamma\sigma\tau\eta\rho\iota\omicron\nu$ Bal.234²; $\nu\omicron\upsilon\beta$ Bal.240⁵; $\nu\omicron\beta$ Bal.103³, 108²; $\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$ P.Lond.IV 1574¹⁵, 1615; $\tau\omega\beta\epsilon$ Bal.241⁶; $\psi\omicron\sigma\sigma\upsilon$ WS 135; $\varepsilon\omega\gamma$ Bal.140²; $\beta\alpha\mu\omicron\gamma\lambda$ Bal.303B³.

94) π omitted; cf. especially paragraphs 78B, 96A, 80, 110.

a) The article π is sometimes omitted, though in some cases this seems due to preceding or following μ (see paragraphs 78B and 96A). In the following examples it is not due to μ ; some early examples: Till, Oster.A³⁰ $\alpha\beta\alpha\lambda$ $\varepsilon\tilde{\nu}\sigma\omega\mu\alpha$; Achm. Mich. V, 3 $\psi\alpha\omicron\upsilon\alpha\epsilon\iota\omega$; Br. 227⁴ $\pi\alpha\iota$ $\pi\epsilon$ $\epsilon\pi\iota\sigma\kappa\omicron\pi\omicron\varsigma$; PS 169¹ $\epsilon\rho\epsilon\omega\lambda\alpha\tilde{\nu}$ $\psi\omicron\mu\tilde{\nu}\tau$ $\tilde{\nu}\omicron\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\iota\gamma$ $\chi\omega\kappa$ $\epsilon\beta\alpha\lambda$; Pro. (Worrell) XVII, 16 $\epsilon\tau\beta\epsilon$ $\omicron\upsilon$ $\omicron\upsilon\tilde{\nu}\tau\epsilon$ $\alpha\tilde{\nu}\tau$ $\chi\rho\eta\mu\alpha$; cf. P. Mich. 3565 (Ora. IV, 13ff.)^{7,14} $\epsilon\rho\epsilon$ $\varsigma\alpha\gamma\omicron\upsilon$ $\pi\tilde{\nu}\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$ $\nu\alpha(\epsilon)\iota$; cf. also TU 43, V¹ \dagger $\nu\alpha\delta\omega\lambda$ $\nu\eta\tau\eta\epsilon$ $\alpha\beta\alpha\lambda$.

C $\psi\omega\mu$ $\alpha\tau\eta\epsilon\rho\omega\beta$ Jern.1⁴ and note; $\tau\iota\epsilon\lambda\pi\iota\varsigma\epsilon$ $\epsilon\tilde{\nu}\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$ BM 1133⁷; $\alpha\rho\iota\omicron\upsilon$ $\nu\alpha\alpha$ $\nu\iota\mu\alpha\tilde{\nu}$ $\tau\eta\rho\tilde{\nu}$ $\nu\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$ $\gamma\alpha\mu\tilde{\nu}$ MIF LIX, 131; $\kappa\omicron\varsigma\mu\alpha$ $\delta\iota\omicron[\kappa\eta\tau\eta\varsigma]$ Ryl. 116²; $\omicron\upsilon\chi\alpha\iota$ $\gamma\epsilon\tilde{\nu}\chi\omicron\iota\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ Peremans-Vergote, Papyrologisch Handboek pl. XI.

D $\epsilon\tau\beta\epsilon$ $\psi\eta\mu$ $\nu\epsilon\omega\gamma$ $\nu\beta\iota\chi$ Bal. 260⁵; $\varsigma\gamma\omicron\upsilon\rho\alpha\epsilon$ $\psi\epsilon$ $\nu\alpha\lambda\omicron\upsilon\alpha\varsigma\epsilon\lambda$ P.Lond. IV 1521¹⁰.

E $\epsilon\mu\pi\rho\alpha\tilde{\nu}$ $\mu\pi\epsilon\iota\omega\tau$ $\mu\tilde{\nu}$ $\psi\eta\rho\epsilon$ CO 140; $\mu\omega\gamma\epsilon\tilde{\nu}$ $\psi\eta\rho\epsilon$ $[\nu]\delta\alpha\gamma\epsilon\iota\alpha$ CO 311¹, sim. J. 1¹¹⁸; $\alpha\zeta\alpha\rho\iota\alpha\varsigma$ $\psi\omega\varsigma$ Worrell, Coptic Texts IV, 6⁵; $\pi\psi\eta\rho\epsilon$ $\nu\epsilon\sigma\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\theta\iota\omicron\upsilon$ $\alpha\rho\chi\eta\rho\epsilon$ J. 3⁸⁰; cf. $\pi\epsilon\tau\alpha\psi\omega\rho\epsilon\mu$ ST. 41.

b) $\pi = \eta\pi$; Some early examples: TU 43, 35¹⁵ $\pi\eta\tilde{\nu}$ $\tilde{\nu}\pi\alpha\tau\omega\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\epsilon\tau$ again 36², ib. 40⁴ $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha$ $\tau\epsilon\epsilon$ $\epsilon\tau\alpha$ $\pi\rho\omicron[\phi\eta\tau\eta\varsigma]$ $\chi\omicron\omicron\varsigma$; Achm. Elias 4¹, 10³ $\pi\chi\alpha\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ $\pi\alpha\tilde{\nu}\tau\omicron\kappa\rho\alpha\tau\omega\rho$; Achm. Haggai II, 20 $\alpha\gamma\gamma\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma$ $\pi\rho\omicron\phi\eta\tau\eta\varsigma$; Achm. Mal. III, 12 $\pi\chi\alpha\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ $\pi\alpha\tilde{\nu}\tau\omicron\kappa\rho\alpha\tau\omega\rho$; Manik 43⁵, 49²³ $\pi\tilde{\nu}\epsilon\chi\mu\alpha$, 61²³ $\pi\lambda\alpha\sigma\mu\alpha$, 135²⁵ $\tau\epsilon\iota\kappa\omega\tilde{\nu}$ $\tilde{\nu}\pi\rho\epsilon\varsigma\upsilon\tau\eta\varsigma$; PS 4⁵ $\nu\tau\omicron\gamma$ $\pi\epsilon$ $\pi\lambda\eta\rho\omega\mu\alpha$, 215¹⁷ $\alpha\pi\omega\rho\chi\omega\mu\epsilon$; Bal. 47^{53,76,91} $\pi\lambda\alpha\sigma\mu\alpha$.

C $\pi\tilde{\nu}\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$ $\pi\alpha\tilde{\nu}\tau\omicron\kappa\rho\alpha\tau\omega\rho$ BM 1060⁷; $\epsilon\tilde{\nu}$ $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\delta\iota\varsigma\omicron\varsigma$ Kropp¹⁰¹; $\alpha\pi\alpha$ $\theta\epsilon\omicron\delta\omega\rho\epsilon$ $\pi\rho\omicron\tilde{\nu}\omicron\eta\tau\eta\varsigma$ BM 1043², sim. 1031^{vo.11}, 1055².

D $\pi\tilde{\nu}\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$ $\pi\alpha\tilde{\nu}\tau\omicron\kappa\rho\alpha\tau\omega\rho$ P.Lond. IV 1596; $\pi\omega\epsilon$ $\mu\mu\alpha\kappa\alpha\rho\epsilon$ $\pi\rho\epsilon\varsigma\upsilon\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma$ Bal. 152².

E $\pi\tilde{\nu}\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$ $\pi\alpha\tilde{\nu}\tau\omicron\kappa\rho\alpha\tau\omega\rho$ CO 48¹⁴, J. 5²⁰, al.; $\iota\omega\epsilon\lambda\eta\tilde{\nu}$ $\pi\rho\epsilon\varsigma\upsilon$ CO 40¹⁰, 139³, Ad. 8^{3,6}; $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\gamma\alpha\iota$ $\nu\pi\epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\alpha\beta$ $\nu\iota\omega\tau$ CO 48³.

94A) $\pi\iota$, \dagger , $\nu\iota$ as definite article.

In certain early Sahidic, Achmimic, as also in Old Coptic texts, the

definite article often appears as $\alpha\iota$, $\tau\iota$, $\nu\iota$ as in Bohairic, cf. chapter IX p.246. Crum, Dictionary p.258a already mentioned some examples from the Pistis Sophia, the Berlin Gnostic and the Achm. Elias, also from the Old Coptic texts. Further examples may be cited from the following texts, though a more systematic search would probably reveal further texts: Till, Oster. (see p.5), Semi-achm. Luke (BIFA0.VIII,76ff.) I,52; Sah. Elias 1³², 8⁹, 9¹¹, 12¹⁸, 13²⁷, 13^{28,32}; Deut. (Budge) VII,19, XXX,13, al.; Br.80⁴, 14, 22, 81⁶, 264 (ter), 266, al.; Sa. (Lagarde) VI,2, Si. (ib.) XXXIX,1,3,5, XL,15(17), al.; the two old Vienna Psalters (Wessely, Sah.-Gr.Ps.-Fragm. pp.13f. and 65ff.); Pro. (Worrell) V,14 al.; the new Gnostic manuscripts, cf. The Manchester Guardian 24-6-49; Bal.52^{30,31}; also P.Mich.3565 (Ora.IV,13ff.) lines 3,11. From non-literary texts a number of examples can be cited, but often $\alpha\iota$, $\tau\iota$, $\nu\iota$ might indicate the demonstrative pronoun and it is difficult to distinguish between the two.

C $\alpha\iota\epsilon$ $\alpha\iota\iota\gamma\mu\alpha\alpha$ Ryl.292(4th-5th century); $\alpha\iota$ and $\nu\iota$ in KroppD lines 3, 15,16,25,28,47,50,54,68,71,97,112,125.

D $\alpha\iota\omega\tau$ $\alpha\iota\omega\eta\epsilon$ Brunton, Qau and Badari III pl.LII(top left) line 2.

94B) $\mu = \pi$; cf. paragraphs 65,76A,77A,78B,94C,96A,96B.

a) $\mu\alpha\chi\epsilon$, $\mu\epsilon\chi\epsilon$ are sometimes found for $\pi\alpha\chi\epsilon$, $\pi\epsilon\chi\epsilon$ etc., cf. $\mu\pi\alpha\chi\epsilon$ for $\pi\alpha\chi\epsilon$ (par.94C); Crum, Dictionary p.285a has already cited most of the examples known: Achm. Zeph. I,2,3 $\mu\alpha\chi\epsilon$.

B $\mu\epsilon\chi\epsilon$ RChamp.543; $\mu\epsilon\chi\epsilon\gamma$ CMSS XXIV,28.

C $\mu\alpha\chi\epsilon$ Ryl.396(bis, cf. Crum, Dict. p.285a); $\mu\epsilon\chi\alpha\gamma$ BM 1118⁴, BMor.6201 B38,163; $\mu\epsilon\chi\epsilon\delta$ Ryl.352; $\mu\epsilon\chi\epsilon\gamma$ Ryl.349²⁷.

D $\mu\epsilon\chi\epsilon$ Russian Acad. Nauk 1924,99; $\mu\epsilon\chi\alpha\gamma$ BMor.6201B58(this region?).

E $\mu\epsilon\beta\epsilon$ ST 227¹¹, cited Ep. I p.243.

b) Varia. Achm. Hosea VII,2 $\alpha\iota\pi\mu\mu\epsilon\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$; PS 46³ $\alpha\epsilon\iota\epsilon\ \epsilon\ \beta\omicron\lambda\ \epsilon\mu\pi\epsilon\sigma\tau\omicron\pi\omicron\varsigma$ $\mu\epsilon\epsilon\gamma\mu\pi\tau\alpha\gamma\omicron\mu\tau\epsilon\ \bar{\alpha}\alpha\omega\bar{\nu}$, 199³ $\mu\mu\alpha\ \bar{\rho}\mu\ \bar{\nu}\omicron\gamma\omicron\epsilon\iota\bar{\nu}$; P.Mich.3565¹² (Ora.IV,15) $\pi\kappa\alpha\mu\bar{\nu}\omicron\varsigma\ \bar{\nu}\kappa\omega\bar{\tau}$.

C εγωπε μεεχλ παειν ερω Ryl.292(4th-5th cent.); πμα νθοιτε νμτοου
 ντινεγει MIF LIX,34(bis); cf. N = π : παγωμο πελαχ^x νπρ⁶ νγε νπμακ...
 BM 1041⁷, similarly 1043².

94C) μπ = π; cf. last etc., also paragraph 79A.

a) μπαχε occurs four times in the Acta Pauli (ed. Schmidt) for παχε which also occurs. In LAP.I μπεχε is used almost invariably for πεχε (see l.c.p.512); Crum, Dict. p.285a also cited μπεχαυ BM 483 (from Achmim?), and μπεχε-, μπεχευ Mor.30^{12,29}, and νπεχαυ Mor.36⁸. Cf. μεχε = πεχε etc. (par.94B).

b) Varia. Achm.Zeph.III,5 μηχαεις δε ουακαιος πε; Achm.Zech.X,3 αηχαεις ννβαμ βνπγινε μπγοε μμηι νιογδα; Sah.Elias 10³⁰ νσα μπθε, 11²⁹ εωυν εμμια; PS 190²² ετε κκαε μπογοειν πε μπεφνσαυρος. Cf. also μπαρα, μπρος above par.79A d.

95) πε = π; cf. paragraph 88, etc..

Just as νε- is sometimes found for ν-, the definite article ν- is sometimes irregularly spelt πε-. Sah.Elias 1⁴ πεειβτ; cf. a Sahidicism in Achm.Michah VII,14 πεδρυμος. A more systematic search would probably reveal further examples of this in both literary and non-literary texts.

C ε]νπετρν- Ryl.184.

D πεχιοορ Bal.291³; πεουχα P.Lond.IV 1513⁶.

E πεεηκε CO 75⁸.

96) ππ = π; cf. paragraphs 73A,75A,77,90,102A,105,114.

Achm.Zech.I,16 παχε ππχαεις.

C ππρωμε Ryl.144²; ππσαννεε BM 1049³.

D ππι παρακριτικη εομολογια (3 times) P.Lond.IV 1573^{29f.}.

E See Ep.I p.246(3 examples), adding ωαηηηαβ] CO 152⁴.

96A) μ = πμ; cf. especially paragraph 94, also 65,77A,B,79,94B,C,96B.

a) The definite article π is sometimes omitted before following μ, cf. above par.94; some early examples: Achm.Zech.XIV,16 ωαερνι
αμα πτηγλη; PS 19³ μν μυστηριον; Sir.(Lagarde)XIV,3 πεερμεεε; cf.

P.Mich.3565¹⁶ (Ora.IV,15) εκελοχοκου εμα νεκοτκ.

C νωε νμακαριος πεβε BM 1031¹⁷, sim.1044^{9,10}; αριμεεγ(ε), αριμεγ MIF LIX,145(bis),307; κα παρμε(εγε) ετηκ MIF LIX,232.

D ντου μοναστ[η]ρι[ον] Bal.188¹³ (cf.note); τας μμεριτ νσον Bal.242¹⁰; ταρεσει εμα νιουλε Brunton, Matmar p.95; νωε νμακαριος ιωεαννης P.Lond. V 1709³.

Ε βωκ εμα νηνοβ νρωε BKU 38.

96B) π = πμ; cf.last, etc..

PS 331^{10,13} παμωνας.

97) ψ = πς.

D ανοκ ψεαε απακυρε Bal.215⁵.

97A) φ = π; cf.paragraph 117.

BM 1223 εεφ (4 times); Br.234 νςφινθμρ.

98) ρ omitted.

For the omission of ρ in the verbal prefix τρε- see par.146 below.

D ει εεαι (twice) WS 93.

Ε νταιωπτασσε, πενταωυπεεαι J.7^{30,59}.

99) η = ρ; cf.paragraphs 65C,74B,74C,82(b),83,86,102.

This peculiarity occurs only in βηρε for βρε and is confined to texts of the eighth century and later. Two examples from the 10th-11th centuries: ΑΖ LXXVII(1942)p.106,no.3, Muséon LXV,161 2⁵.

C Ryl.207, BM 1031⁷, Kr.59, Cramer, Totenklage 6^{1,7} (this region?).

D [νβηρε ερε ουνοβν] a Bala'izah fragment Ms.Copt.d 111f.

100) λ = ρ; cf.paragraph 75.

This is the well-known Fayyumic peculiarity, but the examples listed below demonstrate that it was by no means confined to the Fayyum. Cf.Crum, Dictionary p.134a. Two early examples: Subachmimic Acta Pauli(ed.Schmidt)19⁶ λ-βαλ; Sir.(Lagarde)XXXVIII,28 (33) πλ-ζωε; cf.PS 284⁹ παλαλημπτωρ.

B Passim.

C υακηλχρια BM 1103²⁹; εαπεωβοε Kr.106; cf.ακελον (= ακυρον) BM 1037⁹;

αμεχιμνον BM 1025⁸; ανιcχγλον BM 1037⁹; παλα BM 1103^{17,19}; παλα-
καλει BM 1163⁸; πλνλoγ BMOr.6201A107.

D ταλι- (=ταρε-) P.Lond.IV 1587²¹; ελ- Bal.241³, Schmidt, *AZ* LXVIII, 60f.
line 28; αλε- (=αρι-) *Ann.Serv.* XV, 114; ελλαι, λουι, λουπι P.Lond.IV
1561^{18,16,17}; λοετε P.Lond.IV 1631 Col.1⁷; εοετε P.Lond.IV 1610³⁸;
ακελα (=ακυρον) Kr.120^{vo}; ηλοοc (=ηρος) P.Lond.IV 1521²⁸; παλακαλει
P.Lond.IV 1573, 1622.

E See Ep.I p.243, mostly in Greek words; a few more could be cited.

101) N = P .

Cf. Crum, *Dictionary* p.214b; παντοκρατων is also found in PcodMor.
(communicated by J.Drescher).

D παντοκρατων Bal.114⁹.

E Ep.I p.243 cites σποντιων J.67¹²¹.

101A) ου = P .

A πουρο for η-ρο (Bohairicism) RAC papyrus du Louvre 5,7, Krall, *Rec.*
VI, 63ff. papyrus III.

102) υ = P ; cf. paragraphs 65C, 74B, 74C, 82(b), 83, 86, 99.

D βυρε for βρε Bal.335^{2,3}.

102A) ρρ = P ; cf. paragraphs 73A, 75A, 77, 90, 96, 105, 114.

In the Subachm. Acta Pauli (ed. Schmidt) (but not in the Manichaean
manuscripts), as also sometimes in Achmimic ρ is doubled in ρρeie
(also once in Sahidic, Crum, *Dict.* p.267); similarly it is doubled
in ρρe-, ρ(ε)ρρ in the Subachm. St. John (but not in Acta Pauli and the
Manichaean texts), sometimes in Achmimic and once in the Greek-
Coptic Glossary to Hosea and Amos (ed. Bell and Thompson, *JEA* XI, pp.
241ff.), cf. Crum, *Dict.* p.156b.

C ηεμερριτ nīwt MIF LIX, 153; αρι ηρραονα J&C 1922.

103) P = ρρ ; cf. paragraphs 74, 80, 92, 106, 107.

Achm. Zech. XI, 5 ανρ̄μαο .

D Jωι Nβρε WS 149.

104) z = c ; cf. paragraphs 69,106.

Br.232 τεσφραγiz ; P.Mich.1190 (Ora.IV,5ff.) lines 21 ενεζητ,25
πεζηπρ,27 εβεζωκ,II,37 πεζηπαρον,vo.9 ζαυγ.

C νεζηνη Baouit (MIF XII)p.10 no.XXXV; ζαυγ BM 1103⁹; ζωωε ερουν
(= σοουε ερουν) BM 1147⁶.

D соυμενταζε Bal.133²; νζου κζ νεατζωρ Cramer, Kopt.Inschr.K.F.Mus.
Berlin 9676⁶ (v. plate 1); cf. ζω[μα]τιε Bal.120¹¹; προζοπιον P.Lond.IV
p.XLVII.

E See Ep.I p.244, all but one Greek; more examples could be cited.

104A) τ = c.

E τριμητε ST 96 cited Ep.I p.244.

104B) ω = c ; cf. paragraph 118A.

Cf. Crum, Dictionary p.540b. Some early examples: Bal.22 James
III,14 εγωωε; Pro. (Worrell) X,5 (bis) ωωσμ (= σωσμ), XXIII,24 ωωω;
RChamp.539 ετωελπic, ακηντω, κντω, κωεαωε.

C ωαωοωμντ νφαρμοωθi Ry1.193; σωωω MIF LIX,149,150 (= ωωωc ib.151).

E A few examples, see Ep.I p.244.

104C) ε = c.

Pro. (Worrell) IX,12 αωω εψητ νεαζενεαλατε.

D ηπισωτω εαζητ ου[α]ε εαρnc Brunton, Matmar p.95 lines 13f. (collated
in the British Museum, now 63719).

104D) χ = c ; cf. paragraph 123H.

E ανσοτμεс εχηнк εβoλ J.3⁶¹ (collated); cf. εχοoc for εcχοoc Pro. (Wo-
rrell) XXIV,51.

104E) δ = c.

P.Mich 136¹⁰⁷ (Ora.IV,22) εψητ εαζητ νσωω εψητ εαρnc (collated).⁽¹⁾

105) cc = c ; cf. paragraphs 73A,75A,77,90,96,102A,114.

D Cf. προccουπωω P.Lond.IV 1536³³.

E A few examples Ep.I p.246, add νεccκнуε VC 85⁹.

106) z = cc ; cf. paragraphs 69,104,107 etc..

D Cf. сυνтазе Bal.197⁷.

E See Ep. I p. 244 citing $\lambda\lambda\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon$ ($\lambda\lambda\lambda\sigma\sigma\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon$), $\alpha\pi\omega\tau\alpha\epsilon\epsilon$, $\tau\alpha\epsilon\epsilon$.

107) c = cc; cf. paragraphs 74, 80, 92, 103, 106.

Achm. Amos I, 12 $\mu\eta\epsilon\sigma\alpha\beta\tau\epsilon$; Pro. (Worrell) VII, 21 $\mu\epsilon\sigma\mu\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon$, IX, 13 $\mu\sigma\sigma\upsilon\eta$, XXIX, 32 $\epsilon\sigma\omega\upsilon\epsilon$.

C $\mu\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon\chi\epsilon\epsilon\mu$ [oc] Ryl. 199; $\epsilon\omega\sigma\beta\omicron\upsilon\iota$ BM 1065⁵; $\chi\epsilon\sigma\mu\alpha\upsilon$ (= $\chi\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon\mu\alpha\upsilon$) Ryl. 123, 124^{vo.1}.

D $\mu\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon\chi\epsilon\epsilon\mu\mu\omicron\sigma$ Bal. 120⁷, P. Lond. IV 1619^{4,6}; cf. $\delta\epsilon\sigma\mu\alpha\pi\iota\sigma$ Bal. 116¹⁰.

108) c = c2; cf. especially paragraph 123 (2 omitted), also 109.

A surprising number of examples can be cited from non-literary texts where 2 is omitted after c in $c\epsilon\alpha\iota$ and $c\epsilon\mu\epsilon$. $c\mu\epsilon$ for $c\epsilon\mu\epsilon$ occurs also once in the Paris Magical papyrus (PGM IV) line 100 and three times in the Manichaean Psalmbook (ed. Allberry) index p. 25*; cf. PS 255⁷ $c\epsilon\alpha\iota\sigma\upsilon$. Cf. also Crum, Dict. pp. 381b, 385a, 631b.

A $c\alpha\iota$ RAC papyrus du Louvre 7¹⁰.

B $c\alpha\iota$ CMSS 41³, BM 1227^{1,8} (= Crum, Copt. Doc. in Gr. Script IV), $c\epsilon\iota$ Kr. 23, BM 584^{vo.}, CMSS 22¹⁰, $c\mu$ (= $c\epsilon\alpha\iota$) Jern. 15³;

$c\mu\iota$ CMSS Ap. ro. 40, Kr. 22, BP 5717 (cited Crum, Dict. p. 631b).

C $c\alpha\iota$ Ryl. 268 (4th century, but ib. $c\epsilon\alpha\iota$), Jern. 8², MIF LIX, 232, BMor. 6201A168, B65⁵;

$c\epsilon\mu\epsilon$ Ryl. 361¹³, $c\mu\epsilon$ MIF LIX, 245, BMor. 6201A29 (twice).

D $c\alpha\iota$ P. Jkowi, BMor. 6201B46, Bal. 132¹, 138⁸, 216¹², P. Lond. IV 1593^{17f.};

$c\mu\epsilon$ P. Jkowi, BMor. 6201B46, Gloss. 94, Bal. 152⁵, P. Mich. 1190¹² (Ora. IV, 7).

E $c\alpha\iota$ CO 207², J. 7⁵⁹, 62^{3,9,11};

$c\mu\epsilon$ Ep. 344, 454, 470, 531^{pass.}, 545⁸, ST 101², 356², RE 5⁴⁹, MH 84,

cf. Ep. I p. 245.

109) 2 = c2; cf. last.

In Achm., Subachm., Fayy., Sah. manuscripts and in the Old Coptic Horoscope (AZ XXXVIII, 71ff., see p. 80 note) $\epsilon\mu\epsilon$ is often found for $c\epsilon\mu\epsilon$, see Crum, Dictionary p. 385a. In non-literary texts this is comparatively rare; we also find $\epsilon\alpha\iota$ for $c\epsilon\alpha\iota$ (and $\epsilon\mu$ for $c\mu$ [or?]).

B $\theta\eta\mu\mu\omega\upsilon\sigma$ (= $\tau\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon\mu\mu\mu\mu\omega\upsilon\sigma$) AZ XXIII, 34 no. 5².

C $\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon$ Ryl.353(late), $\phi\iota\mu$ (=τ- $\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon$) Kr.248^{2,3,5}, Ryl.305.

D $\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon$ Bal.187^{1,2(bis)}; $\epsilon\iota\mu$ [for $\epsilon\iota\mu\omicron\gamma\tau$ (?) Bal.197⁴; cf. $\eta\tau\alpha\iota$ (ε) Bal.41⁴⁴.

E $\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon$ CO 443, J.67¹¹³, $\phi\iota\mu\epsilon$ for τ- $\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon$ Ep.99^{4,5}, CO 289⁴, MH 152¹²;
 $\epsilon\iota$ RE 10^{vo.}.

110) τ omitted; cf. paragraphs 80, 94, 115A, 116A, B, C, 120.

a) A considerable number of examples can be cited where τ is omitted in $\mu\eta\tau$, usually the nominal prefix $\mu\eta\tau$, but it occurs also in the construct of the numeral 10 $\mu\eta\tau$, and rarely in $\psi\omicron\mu\eta\tau$, $\tau\omega\mu\eta\tau$, and $\mu\eta\tau\epsilon$. Achm. Amos III, 4 $\mu\eta\omicron\gamma\iota\beta\epsilon$; Achm. Mich. VII, 10 $\mu\eta\chi\alpha\chi\epsilon$; Achm. Zech. XII, 12 $\mu\eta\iota\omega\tau$; Till, Oster. II, 31 $\mu\eta\epsilon\mu\eta\mu\omicron\varsigma$; Pro. (Worrell) X, 4 $\mu\eta\epsilon\eta\kappa\epsilon$, XIII, 22, XIX, 1 $\mu\eta\epsilon\mu\mu\alpha\omicron$; Br. 124⁶ $\tau\eta\eta\iota\beta$ $\eta\lambda\gamma\eta\mu\iota\varsigma$, 124²³ $\tau\eta\eta\iota\beta$ $\mu\mu\alpha\phi\eta\eta\tau\iota\varsigma$, 134¹ $\tau\eta\eta\iota\beta$ $\eta\lambda\iota\omega\eta\eta$; PS 19⁶ $\epsilon\mu\eta\mu\epsilon\tau\mu\eta\psi\omega\mu\tau\epsilon$; Sah. Elias 13^{16f.} $\mu\eta\eta\eta\alpha\epsilon$ (= $\mu\eta\tau\alpha\epsilon$); Acts (Budge) IX, 9 $\psi\omicron\mu\eta\eta$ $\delta\epsilon$ $\eta\lambda\epsilon\omicron\gamma$; cf. (?) P. Mich. 1190 II³¹ (Ora. IV, 9) $\epsilon\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ $\tau\epsilon\gamma\mu$ $\cdot\iota\beta$ $\mu\eta\iota\alpha\lambda\epsilon$...

A $\phi\omicron$ - $\mu\epsilon$ RAC papyrus du Louvre 4⁹.

B $\mu\epsilon\chi\alpha\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ ÄZ XXIII, 28 no. 2^{1,2}.

C $\tau\alpha\mu\eta\lambda\alpha\chi$ Ryl. 292^{1,12} (4th cent.); $\mu\eta\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ Ryl. 385, BMO. 6201B41^{2,8};
 $\mu\eta\tau\epsilon$ (= $\mu\eta\tau\epsilon\epsilon$ - $\mu\eta\tau\epsilon\epsilon$) Kr. 59²⁹.

D $\mu\eta\iota\omega\tau$ WS 112; $\mu\eta\iota\omega\eta$ Brunton, Matmar p. 95; $\mu\eta\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ P. Lond. IV 1634¹, 1634^{14,18}; $\mu\eta\chi\alpha\chi\epsilon$ (= $\mu\eta\tau\chi\alpha\chi\epsilon$) P. Lond. IV 1554^{vo.4}; $\mu\eta\tau\epsilon$ Bal. 116²⁴.

E $\mu\eta\epsilon\iota\omega\tau$ CO 40⁶, 129⁵, V. C. 107²; $\mu\eta\epsilon\lambda\alpha\chi$ CO 285¹; $\mu\eta\mu\alpha\iota\eta\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon$ V. C. 71³;
 $\mu\eta\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ J. 7³⁶, RE 18(bis), V. C. 82³; $\epsilon\omicron\mu$, $\psi\omicron\mu$ (both = $\psi\omicron\mu\eta\tau$) Ep. 543⁶, 543^{10,11,14}; $\tau\omega\mu\eta$ $\eta\lambda\gamma\eta\tau\epsilon$ Worrell, Coptic Texts IV, 8¹⁰; $\psi\omicron\mu\eta\eta$ $\eta\lambda\alpha\kappa\eta$ ST 125^{2,7}.

F $\mu\eta\mu\alpha\iota\eta\omega\mu\epsilon$ V. C. 5¹².

b) τ omitted in the stat. pron. of $\tau\omega\tau\epsilon$, $\tau\omicron\omicron\epsilon$ for $\tau\omicron\omicron\tau\epsilon$.

B Frequent: $\eta\tau\alpha\alpha\iota$ (= $\eta\tau\alpha\alpha\tau$) Kr. 22³; $\eta\tau\alpha\alpha\kappa$ Kr. 8², 21³, 25⁸, 27², 61², 151⁴, 159¹; $\eta\tau\alpha\kappa$ Kr. 33³, 70²; $\tau\alpha\kappa$ Kr. 65², 69²; $\eta\tau\alpha\alpha\beta$ Kr. 225⁵; $\tau\alpha\eta$ Kr. 72⁵;
 $\epsilon\tau\alpha\alpha\eta$ Kr. 194^{3,5}, $\eta\tau\alpha\eta$ Kr. 35⁸.

C $\eta\tau\omicron\omicron\kappa$ Kr. 91.

D $\eta\tau\omicron\omicron\omicron$ Brunton, Matmar p. 95; $\epsilon\iota\tau\omicron\omicron$ Ryl. 124; $\epsilon\iota\tau\omicron$ Bal. 338³.

Ε ΝΤΟΟΚ ST 103³; ΕΤΟΟΚ BKU 286; ΖΗΤΟΚ VC 10²; cf. (?) ΝΤΑΛΥ, ΝΤΑΛΥ
JAOS XLVIII, pp. 148f. (but ΕΤΟΟΤΚ in the same document).

- c) The article τ is sometimes omitted, cf. paragraphs 53, 80, 94. Paris
Magical papyrus (PGM IV)⁷⁷ ΕΤΕ ΖΝ_ΠΕ; Achm. Zeph. I, 5 Ν_στратеиα; Achm.
II Macc. V, 27 Ν^(sic!)ε; Lagarde, Aegyptiaca p. 208 ps. CI, 20 ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ_ΠΕ;
PS 49¹⁴ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΑΥΛΙ Ν_ΜΝΤΝΑΗΤ; Br. 112¹ ΕΖΟΥΝ Ν_ΜΝΤΕΡΟ.
- d) Remarkable is ΝΑΖΑΠ ΝΑΝΟΜΟΣ for ΝΑΤΖΑΠ ΝΑΤΝΟΜΟΣ in BMO. 6201A29,
but cf. ΝΑΥΩΛΥ J. 14¹⁰ (see par. 115A) and ΑΧΟΜ (= ΑΤΘΟΜ) Till, Schutzb.
85¹⁰ (see par. 116B), both from Thebes.
- e) Varia. Achm. Mich. III, 2 ΝΕ_μαστε; Lagarde, Aegyptiaca p. 208 Ps. CI,
23 ΖΗΠ_ΡΕ ΝΛΑΟΣ ΩΟΥ_2; Acts (Budge) XVII, 9 ΩΠ_ΩΡΕ; PS 117¹ ΕΖΜΤΠΑΡΦΕΝΟΣ;
Pro. (Worrell) XVIII, 22 ΟΥΑΘ_Η ΠΕ, XXVIII, 25 ΠΕ_ΚΩ ΔΕ ΝΖΤΗΥ; cf. P. Mich.
136¹⁴⁷ (Ora. IV, 24) ΝΕΠΑ_2ΟΥ; P. Mich. 1190 II, 1 (Ora. IV, 8) ΕΤΖΑ ΕΡ_4;
P. Mich. 3565¹² (Ora. IV, 15) ΚΩ_2 (= ΚΩ_2Τ).
C Ε^(sic!)ΒΕ J&C 1921^{4, 7, 10}, ΕΝΚ (= ΕΝΤΚ) ib. ⁴; ΕΠΑΜΕΡΙ_ΝCΟΝ Peremans-Vergo-
te, Papyrologisch Handboek pl. XI (4th cent.).
- D ΕΙΡΟΟΥΤ ΝΘΕ ΝΟΥΩΗΝ ΕΥΡΟΥ_ ΕΡΕ... Cramer, Kopt. Inschr. K. F. Mus. Berlin
9691²⁰.
- Ε ΜΠΡΚΑΔ_ V. C. 101⁹; CΟΥΧΟΥΩ_ΨΙC BKU 70⁶; ΠΕΝΕΙΩ_ ΠΕΠΙCΚΟΠΟΣ CO 188⁶.
- f) Τ = ΤΤ. Achm. Hos. IX, 6 ΖΝ_ΤΑΛΑΙΠΩΡΙΑ; Achm. Mich. III, 5 ΕΤΑΥΕΔΕΙΩ;
Achm. Elias 22⁸ ΕΤΑΧΡΑΕΙΤ; Sah. Elias 13⁷ ΤΕ_6CΕ (= ΤΤΕ_6CΕ), 13⁹ ΠΕ_†CΩ;
Pro. (Worrell) XXVI, 8 ΠΕ_† ΕΟΟΥ; P. Gol. 47 †ΤΕΡΚΟ Ν_ΤΡΙΑC.
- C ΝΙΜ ΕΤ_ΩΟΥΝ ΕΧΩΝ Ryl. 288.
- D ΕΤ_ΔΙΜΟΥ Bal. 206⁴.
- Ε ΖΑ_†ΜΗ BKU 281³; Τ_ΙΜΗ ΤΕ ΤΩΙ J. 5³².

111) Δ = Τ; cf. paragraph 68.

This peculiarity is comparatively rare except in Greek words, cf.
Crum, Dictionary p. 49a. Some early examples: Achm. I Clem. p. 8¹⁰
(Schmidt) ΟΥCΑΡ_Σ ΔΕ ΑΒΑΛ ΖΝ_ΤΑCΑΡ_Σ; Achm. Ex. I, 26 ΕΖΩΠΕ ΔΕ ΟΥC_ΖΙΜΕ ΔΕ;
Sah. Elias 1^{16, 18} ΔΕ = ΤΕ (copula), 11¹⁶ ΕΔΕΡΕ, cf. 1⁹ ΖΩCΔΕ; PS 120⁸
ΝΤΟC ΔΕ ΤΘΟΜ, 140¹⁰ ΗΝΔΕ (= ΝΤΕ gen.); P. Gol. 47 ΔΔΚ (= ΝΤΔΚ).

A Διο Νμετρε RAC pap. du Louvre 7⁹, 9^{11,13}; μνδρε ib. 9^{9,10}, Krall, Rec. Tr. VI, 63ff. pap. 2^{9,10,11}.

C Δι (vb.) BM 1032⁷; διασφαλια Ryl. 137; εδε-(rel.) BM 462; ανδωλ μν-
νερηу BMOr. 6201A29; al., often in Greek words.

D Δι- (1st. pres.) Bal. 175³; Δ-πολις Bal. 152³; Δι (vb.) Bal. 103⁵, 217⁸,
265⁴; Διμε Bal. 127¹; σηνδε (= σντε) Bal. 260⁷; ετδαιμν P. Lond. IV
1641^{vo}; Διρομπε Δαι, εδωωτ, (pass.) Ryl. 124; cf. Δον θυου Bal. 152¹;
ΔεκΔιδανος (= ἰνδικοτόνος) Bal. 102¹⁴; σδμηχε Bal. 133³; δεσαρις Bal.
116^{6,10}; τογδ εστιν WS 87; παδμη (n. pr.) Bal. 291²⁵.

E Δι- (1st. pres.) CO 195, 254, V. C. 82³; Δι- (dem. pron.) CO 254; Δ-εξετρα
V. C. 13²; εδι-, ηδн (= ετε rel.) CO 254, TurO 7¹⁹; σδιωζε CO 139⁸; Δι
(vb.) CO 195; δμηγ J. 69²¹; al., often in Greek words.

111A) θ = τ .

LMisc. L γθαρτρε; P. Mich. 1190² (Ora. IV, 6) εταζεραθγ.

B πθουτογω, πθουενης Kr. 116.

C Cf. πρμαθρηβε MIF LIX, 452.

111B) κ = τ ; cf. paragraph 71A.

E A few examples, see Ep. I p. 243.

112) π = τ .

Acts (Budge) VIII, 20 γαν for γαντ, XXIV, 10 ογμπον for ογμτον; Pro.

(Worrell) XVIII, 4 πεμπι μρωμε, cf. XVIII, 22 ογαθι πε.

D πεπδμηχε Bal. 133³.

113) τ = + .

D χε εγδγτ нас P. Lond. V 1709; cf. P. Mich. 3565³ (Ora. IV, 14) τ-ωрк .

114) ττ = τ ; cf. paragraphs 73A, 75A, 77, 90, 96, 102A, 105.

Acts (Budge) IV, 3 ττασογ; RChamp. p. 539 εττι νεε.

C ειτ[θ]οττ JEA XIII, 19ff. ⁹ (4th. cent.); μνττρε Ryl. 200; πεττνχωλε Ryl.
409; εττσογτων MIF, LIX, 46^{4,9} (note 1).

D μνττρε Bal. 288^{13,14,18}, P. Lond. IV 1595; ετ[θ]οττ Bal. 188⁴.

115) χ = τс ; cf. paragraph 124B.

E See Ep. I p. 245.

115A) ω = τω; cf. paragraphs 110, 119B.

Pro. (Worrell) IX, 7 εγροοπ .

C νεγρηρπсгв BM 1060⁹.

E н-αγολγ J. 14¹⁰.

116) χ = τω; cf. paragraph 124C, also 116A, B, C, 119, 119B, 123K, 124D, al..

For early examples see Crum, Dictionary p. 745a, adding: Achm. Ex. I, 15 χωτε corrected to τγωτε; Manik 81²⁴ μνχμην; Manih 68¹⁵ γμχε; P. Gol. 47 χε- (9 times).

C χε- Kr. 81¹; χηλι MIF LIX, 167; ναχαγ Ryl. 361; μνχμηνε BM 1027³; χουχουτε Kr. 6³, 40³, 48⁵.

D χηρωμε (= τγωε ηρωμε) Gloss. 25; μεχουτε Bal. 339¹; χουχμηνε Bal. 55¹⁰; χελεετ Bal. 59⁶; μενχαναζηθε Cramer, Kopt. Inschr. K. F. Mus. Berl. 9694.

E Frequent, see Ep. I p. 245 and references there; more could be cited.

F χε- Morgensen, La Glyptothèque NY Carlsberg p. 110 (this region?).

116A) χ = τχ; cf. paragraphs 124D and 110, also 116 etc..

A few examples in Crum, Dictionary p. 745a, add: Achm. II Macc. VI, 5 νεχαζωθ; BM 1223 νεχηνυ νβονс; P. Gol. 47 εχηνυ; Pro. (Worrell) XXIV, 40 νεχμιο; see also paragraph 110 above.

D ζνχηρε Bal. 103⁸; cf. χκοογ for τχκοογ, see P. Lond. IV pp. xlviiif.

116B) χ = τβ; cf. paragraphs 110, 116 etc., 127, al..

E αχου for ατβου Till, Schutzbr. 85¹⁰ cited also Ep. I p. 245.

116C) β = τβ; cf. paragraphs 127B, 116B etc..

Sir. (Igarde) XXIX, 21(24) ταρχη ββινωνζ νε; cf. Cramer, Totenklage 3², 4², 4², 7², 4² βινβωκ, βινπλεα.

116D) θ = φ.

E θεβρωνια J. 17³⁰ cited Ep. I p. 244.

116E) π = φ; cf. paragraph 97A.

Cf. Crum, Dictionary p. 258a; P. Mich. 1190 II^{31, 34} (Ora. IV, 9) πιαλε .

C ιωсηη Worrell, Coptic Texts III, 6 (early), MIF LIX, 324; πιβαμογ ib. 161, twice.

117) πφ = φ; cf. paragraphs 70, 118, also last etc..

Cf. Crum, Dictionary p. 258a; cf. also Berlin Psalter (ed. Rahlfs) p.

33 φεηκε (XXXIII, 7).

D ε-πφηβαιων Bal. 192¹⁶.

E Cf. Ep. I p. 246.

117A) ρ = χ; cf. next.

E ελαρηστος CO 165 cited Ep. I p. 243.

117B) κ = χ; cf. paragraphs 72, 117A.

E A few examples in Ep. I p. 243.

117C) χ = χ; cf. paragraph 123J (χ = χ).

For this phenomenon see in particular the discussions by Sir H. Thompson, The Gospel of St. John p. XIX and note 2, and Crum, Dict. pp. 516a and 745b. The following is the full evidence as far as known to me, but further examples will no doubt come to light after a more systematic search.

In Coptic words this occurs three times, all in the Achmimic Minor Prophets: Jon. II, 4, Zech. X, 11 ϣ'χ (= ϣ'χ - ϣ'κ₂) and Hos. III, 1 ραχη, cf. Crum, Dictionary p. 294a. All other examples are from Greek words, names or place-names.

In the Achm. Minor Prophets we find: Hos. V, 10 αρχων; Naum I, 14, Hab. II, 18 χωνεϋτον; Hab. I, 6 ν-χαλδαιος; Hab. II, 15 αχνημο-συνη; Zech. VII, 8 ζαχαρις; Zech. XII, 5 ν-χιλιαρχος. Achm. Elias 1¹² μηχανη, 11⁷ παχειρογραφον, 19¹³, 20⁵ αιχμαλωσια. Achm. Exodus IV, 6 χιων. Achm. I Clem. (Schmidt) 11²¹, 25²⁷ χιων. Semi-Achm. Luke (BIFAO VIII, 76ff.) I, 46 ψυχη.

In the Subachmimic St. John we find: αρχιερεϋς, πασχα, εχικια, χιλιαρχος, χιμαρρος (see l. c. p. XIX and index). In the Subachm. Acta Pauli αντιοχια (index p. 79). Crum, Dict. p. 516a cites from Mani 2 αιχμαλωτος.

Crum, Dictionary p. 745b cites two examples from the Hamburg old Fayyumic text: Lam. II, 14 εχμαλωσια, Cant. VII, 2 τεχνητης.

From early Sahidic manuscripts the following may be cited:
 Acts(Budge)XXI,31,32,33,37, XXII,26-29, XXIII,10,17,18,19,22 all
 ⲁⲓⲗⲓⲁⲣⲭⲟⲥ, see Thompson, The New Biblical Papyrus p.41, cf. ib. p.
 45 perhaps ⲁⲣⲭⲓⲁⲣⲣⲉⲗⲟⲥ. Pistis Sophia ⲁⲣⲭⲓ, ⲁⲣⲭⲓⲁⲙⲙⲟⲛⲓⲟⲛ, ⲙⲉⲗ-
 ⲁⲓⲉⲗⲉⲕ see index and Rahlfs, Die Berliner Handschrift des Sahidi-
schen Psalters p.34. Lagarde, Aegyptiaca Sir. XL, 16(18) and p.207
 (Ps.101⁵) ⲭⲟⲣⲧⲟⲥ. Berlin Psalter(ed. Rahlfs) p.34 ⲁⲓⲙⲁⲣⲣⲟⲥ (Ps.
 XXXV,9, LXXXII,10). Bruce Codex 42¹⁴ ⲭⲟⲓⲕⲟⲥ.

It may be noted that while most of the examples have ⲭ fo-
 llowed by (ⲉ) or ⲙ, cf. Thompson l.c. p. XIX note 2, the number of
 instances where this is not the case is still considerable.

Only two examples are known to me from non-literary texts:

D ⲁⲛⲁⲉⲛⲱⲭ Ann. Serv. XV p.179.

E ⲁⲣⲭⲉ J.18⁸ cited Ep. I p.245.

118) ⲛⲭ = ⲭ; cf. paragraphs 70, 117.

C ⲧⲉⲛⲭⲓⲭⲏ BIFA0 III p.85 no.29, Cramer, Kopt. Inschr. K.F. Mus. Berlin
 9694 (but provenance of both uncertain).

D ⲁⲛⲟⲗⲗⲱ ⲛⲭⲓ[ⲟⲛ] Bal.363⁸.

E ⲛⲭⲁⲛ CO 301⁸ cited Crum, Dictionary p.258a.

118A) ⲥ = ⲱ; cf. paragraphs 104B, 119A.

In Subachmimic(except AP), Middle Egyptian and Middle Egyptian
 with Fayyumic influence we find ⲥ for ⲱ before ⲭ and ⲱ in the
 following words ⲥⲉⲭⲉ, ⲥⲁⲭⲛⲉ, ⲥⲱⲭⲏ, ⲥⲱⲭⲉ agreeing with Bohairic,
 see chapter IX p.215, and in general cf. Crum, Dict. pp.313a, 540.
 BG(Schmidt, Die alten Petrusakten) 137⁵ ⲥⲱⲭⲉ, but ib. 135¹⁷ ⲱⲭⲉ.

C ⲥⲉⲭⲉ JEA XIII, 19ff.⁷ (Melitian letter); ⲁⲓⲁⲥⲙⲁⲗⲉ (= ⲧⲛⲁⲗⲙⲁⲗⲉ) Ry1.
 296; ⲟⲩⲟⲓⲥ ⲛⲓⲙ MIF LIX, 232; ⲛⲥⲱⲱⲱ MIF LIX, 149, 150 (= ⲧⲛⲱⲱⲱ ib. 151);
 ⲕⲱⲣⲏⲥ (= ⲕⲱⲣⲱ) BMOr. 6201A79b (Arab period).

E A few examples in Ep. I p.244.

118B) ⲭ = ⲱ; cf. paragraphs 119, 117C, 123J, K.

E A few examples in Ep. I p.245, cf. Crum, Dict. p.516a; not elsewhere

118C) 4 = ʿ; cf. paragraphs 122A etc..

Pro. (Worrell) XV, 25 ʾpɛɣɣɣ.

118D) 2 = ʿ; cf. paragraphs 123D, etc..

This peculiarity is almost entirely confined to Thebes and is one of the most important witnesses for the localisation of Achmimic at Thebes. It may be noted that the Achmimic letter ʿ only occurs in literary documents, the Aberdeen magical papyrus (ed. Crum R. Champ. 539) and in graffiti from the neighbourhood of Achmim (see p. 199 n. 8); cf. paragraph 123C and Chapter IX p. 198.

In most of the examples listed below it corresponds to Egyptian ʿ = Achmimic ʿ = Subachmimic etc. ʿ. Early literary examples for this are extremely rare. In BM 1224 (semi-Achmimic, cf. p. 239 below) ʿβʿκ and ʿαʿκ occur side by side, also we find ʿωπʿ (both in Egyptian ʿ, Achm. ʿ). Acts (Budge) XX, 7 πωʿ μπωʿεκ, XX, 11 ʿαπωʿ (but πωʿ also occurs, e.g. I, 18; Achm. would be πωʿ); Sap. (Lagarde) XII, 24 ʿτʿνʿ corrected to ʿτʿνʿ (Achm. would be ʿτʿνʿ). Remarkable, however, is ʿον for ʿων in the Hamburg old Fayyumic text (Eccl. II, 7, but ʿων is regular), also ʿαʿωʿ side by side with ʿαʿωʿ, cf. Crum, Dictionary p. 541a and Worrell, Coptic Sounds p. 121. It may be noted that in this text also ʿ varies with ʿ.

a) ʿ for ʿ where Egyptian is ʿ, Achmimic ʿ and Subachm. etc. ʿ.

E Cf. Ep. I pp. 244f., J. index p. 388, ST index p. 146. πωʿ ST 233⁵; παʿ Ep. 351⁴, BP 908 (cited Ep. 351 note 2); ʿωʿ Ep. 348¹⁴; ʿιʿ CO Ad 49¹⁰; ʿαʿβʿ CO 459¹⁴, Ep. 532³⁸, 537¹³; ʿωʿ ST 55⁶; ʿ- (vb.) ST 59⁶, 97⁸, 395⁶, J. 19^{57, 77}, 98^{12, 39}, cf. ʿωʿ Ep. 261; ʿωʿ J. 95²⁶; ʿνν ST 134², 145⁷ (but ʿνν ib.⁹); ʿνν^(ν) J. 21⁶; ʿωνν Ep. 364⁵, 543^{10, 11} (ʿωνν = ʿωνν ib.^{6, 14}), CO 320⁷, MH 191⁶ (?); ʿωʿ J. 61⁵; ʿαʿ ST 240, BMEA 44808 (cited Ep. I, 245); ʿωʿ Cairo 44674 (cited Ep. I, 245); ʿτʿτʿτʿ ST 335.

F ʿνν ST 116¹².

b) ʿ for ʿ where Egyptian is ʿ, Achm. and Subachm. ʿ, Sah. etc. ʿ.

E Cf. Ep. I p. 244 etc.. $\mu\omicron\epsilon$, $\mu\alpha\epsilon$ ST 228²², 231², 359¹, J. 68¹⁶, 71²⁰, VC 6^{ro.6,7}, MH 61⁷.

c) ϵ for ω where Egyptian is ξ , Achmimic etc. ω .

E Cf. Ep. I p. 244 etc.. $\tau\alpha\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon$ CO 469⁸; $\tau\alpha\epsilon$ VC 80⁷ (but $\pi(\tau)\alpha\omega$ ib. 11, perhaps from Ashmunein ?); $\eta\delta\epsilon\epsilon\eta\epsilon\epsilon$ J. 7⁴³, 115¹²; $\epsilon\alpha\eta\epsilon$ ST 199⁸; $\epsilon\epsilon$ (vb.) CO 321³; $\epsilon\iota\tau\omicron\upsilon$ J. 7³¹; cf. also $\epsilon\omicron\mu\alpha\epsilon$ (n.pr.) J. 7^{23,27,70}.

119) $\times = \omega$; cf. paragraphs 118B, 123K, etc..

This is found a few times after τ . Berlin Psalter (ed. Rahlfs) LXVIII, 3 $\eta\epsilon\tau\chi\eta\kappa$; ManiK 108³, al. $\mu\eta\tau\chi\mu\eta\eta$; P. Mich. 136¹⁷⁴ (Ora. IV, 25) $\eta\epsilon\tau\chi\omega\eta\epsilon$ (sic l.); further examples Crum, Dictionary p. 541a.

C $\mu\eta\tau\chi\mu\eta\eta$ Ryl. 161, 209, BMor. 6201B269³; $\mu\eta\tau\chi\epsilon\mu\omicron$ (= $\mu\eta\tau\chi\mu\omicron$) Kt. 102; $\epsilon\tau\chi\alpha\tau\epsilon$ Ryl. 343.

D $\chi\omicron\upsilon\tau\chi\omicron\mu\epsilon$ Bal. 55¹⁴; $\eta\omicron\mu\tau\chi\omicron\mu\epsilon$ $\eta\kappa\omicron\iota$ P. Lond. IV 1494²⁸; $\chi\omicron\upsilon\tau\chi\mu\eta\eta$ P. Lond. IV 1565⁵⁰.

119A) $\epsilon\omega = \omega$; cf. paragraphs 118A, 124A.

C $\tau\alpha\epsilon\iota\epsilon\omega\eta\epsilon$ BM 1035⁸.

E $\epsilon\alpha\epsilon\omega\eta$ $\eta\alpha\rho\chi\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ ΛZ XXXIV, 85ff..

119B) $\tau\omega = \omega$; cf. paragraphs 115A, 124D, 127B.

C $\eta\eta\epsilon\tau\omega\lambda\upsilon\tau\alpha\kappa\omicron$ JEA XIII, 19f. (Melitian letter).

119C) $\omega = \omega\epsilon$; cf. paragraphs 104B, 118A, 119A.

E $\omicron\omega$ for $\omega\epsilon\varsigma$ J. 3⁶⁰, 68⁹⁷, cited Crum, Dictionary p. 540b.

119D) $\tau = \omega\tau$; cf. next.

E $\alpha\iota\chi\omega\tau$ $\mu\mu\omicron\kappa$ BKU 290.

120) $\omega = \omega\tau$; cf. last, also 110.

D $\alpha\iota\mu\omicron\upsilon\eta$ $\eta\epsilon\omega\eta$ $\alpha\iota\beta\epsilon\eta\tau\epsilon$, $\epsilon\kappa\omega\beta\omega\eta$ $\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\eta$ $\epsilon\alpha\pi\alpha\lambda\omicron$ P. Lond. IV 1639.

121) $\beta = \gamma$; cf. paragraph 66.

This peculiarity is extremely common in texts from Achmim northwards, especially at Ashmunein and in the Fayyum, but hardly known at Thebes except for $\beta\iota = \gamma\iota$ which occurs frequently there as elsewhere. In Subachmimic the Manichaean texts always write $\beta\iota$, $\beta\alpha\iota$ -, $\beta\omega\epsilon$, $\beta\omega\tau\epsilon$, $\beta\epsilon\beta\epsilon$ (ManiK 89), but $\gamma\tau\alpha\upsilon$ not $\beta\tau\alpha\upsilon$, whereas the

Subachmimic John, Acta Pauli like the other literary dialects always write γ , $\gamma\omega\epsilon$, etc.. A few early examples for $\beta = \gamma$ can be cited, in particular from the Paris Magical Papyrus (PGM IV), see below; cf. also Crum, Dictionary pp.27a, 619a.

- a) β for γ in verbal prefixes, e.g. $\alpha\beta-$, $\epsilon\beta-$, $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\beta-$, $\epsilon\beta\alpha-$ (= $\epsilon\gamma\alpha-$), etc.

Paris Magical papyrus lines 96, 110; BM 1224 ($\beta-\omega\gamma$).

A RAC papyrus du Louvre 6⁷; Kr.228^{vo.3,5}; al..

B BM 530^{8,15}, 545(2)^{12,14}, 549⁴, 583^{pass.}, 584^{pass.}, 651, 653, 661⁶, 665³, Kr.225¹⁶, 232⁵, 236¹², al..

C Ryl.123, 128, 134, 179, 191, 199, 277^{21,24,30}, 281, 321, 329, 340, 341, 352, 355, 357, 369, BM 1023⁶, al.; 1013²⁷, 1036¹¹, al., 1042¹⁸, 1044¹¹, 1053, 1072¹⁵, 1122^{vo.3}, 1124^{4,6}, 1153⁴, MIF LIX, 27^{16,17}, 199, 283, al.pl..

D Bal.134², 142², 147³, 202¹⁵, 210², 264¹, WS 29¹⁴, P.Lond.IV 1499⁹, 1512³², 1522³¹, al., 1554^{2,31}, 1561¹⁷, 1593¹⁸, 1643, P.Lond.V 1709^{40,57}, al.,

Brunton, Matmar pl.LXVIII, 14(bis), Cramer, K.Inscr.K.F.Mus. 9691², al.

E $\chi\epsilon\beta\alpha\pi\chi\pi\epsilon\iota\alpha$ BKU 262¹⁰, $\alpha\gamma\omega\beta\chi\iota\omega\gamma\epsilon$ BKU 274¹², both cited Ep.I p.242.

- b) β for γ in the possessive adjective $\pi\epsilon\beta-$, $\tau\epsilon\beta-$, $\nu\epsilon\beta-$. Once in the Paris Magical papyrus line 111; also LMisc.L (bis).

B BM 582¹⁰, 653, 658⁶, 665³, al..

C Ryl.377, 385^{vo.}, BM 1072¹⁰, 1122⁴, 1127⁴, 1147^{9,10}, MIF LIX, 283(bis), BMOOr.6201B53, al..

D Bal.51³, 55⁵, 252⁶, WS 36⁸, 71, 74, 103, 174(bis), P.Lond.IV 1536³, 1552²⁴, 1561¹⁵, 1622.

- c) β for γ in suffixes, e.g. $\nu\alpha\beta$, $\epsilon\rho\omega=\beta$, $\mu\mu\omega=\beta$, $\epsilon\alpha\rho\omega=\beta$, $\epsilon\iota\tau\omega\omega\tau=\beta$, $\tau\lambda\alpha=\beta$, $\chi\iota\tau=\beta$, $\epsilon\tau\eta\alpha\eta\omega\gamma=\beta$, etc.. Paris Magical papyrus line 111 ($\rho\epsilon\tau=\beta$);

Pro.(Worrell)XVII, 18, XXVIII, 11, XXXVIII, 9(bis) all $\omega\gamma\alpha\alpha=\beta$; P.

Mich.1190⁸(Ora.IV, 6); P.Mich.3565¹⁴(Ora.IV, 15).

B BM 545(2)^{12,14}, 546⁹, 549⁵, 580^{pass.}, 582(2)^{12,13}, 647⁹, 652, 653^{pass.}, 658⁶, 665³, Kr.225^{pass.}, al..

C Ryl.123, 155, 191, 277¹⁹, 203, 281, 299, 352, 385, BM 1013²⁷, 1014³, 1023⁷, 1028¹⁴, 1036^{6,11}, 1079a^{3,4}, 1127¹⁸, 1145⁶, Kr.80², BMOOr.6201B53^{pass.}, al..

D Bal.192²², 205³, 262⁵(bis), 265², WS 36⁷, P.Lond.IV 1494³³, 1512³²,
1522^{25,30}, 1536, 1560^{7,11}, 1561⁸, 1593¹⁷, 1595, 1646, P.Lond.V 1709⁴⁰.

d) & for & . Once in the Paris Magical papyrus line 126.

A Kr.228⁶, 15, 16, vo.6.

B BM 529^{4,9}, 546⁶, CMSS index p.91, al..

C Ryl.165, 258, 282(bis), 288, 321, 361, Kropp.D³⁴, al..

D Bal.51⁹, 233², 209², 218⁶, 216¹⁴, 325¹, WS 93, P.Lond.IV 1500¹, 1594, P.
Lond.V 1709^{21,76}, Gloss.223, 224(& and &-).

E Frequent, see Ep.I p.242 adding: BKU 125, 306, ST 56, VC 12¹, 13³, 32⁴,
36⁴, 70¹³, 80¹⁰, 85⁹, 113⁸, al..

e) & for & . Once in LMisc.L.

C Ryl.164, 185, 189, 190, 206, 207, 339, BM 1043⁴, vo., 1052⁷, al..

D WS 35⁹, 88, 107, P.Lond.IV 1505⁴, 1565¹⁷, 1570¹⁷, 1596⁵

f) Varia. Paris Magical papyrus line 18 τβαττωϣ , 113 ϣνοβ ; Br.118¹⁵
ετϣτνβωδε ; Wessely, Sah.Gr.Ps.Fragm. p.124(LV, 5) αϣωτε ; Pro.(Wor-
rell)IX, 12 οϣωωβε ; BM 1224 αβεϣκ (but ib. αϣϣκ) ; P.Mich.136⁹⁰
(Ora.IV, 21) πβντ , ib.⁹² ϣμβε .

B λεβπωϣ Kr.index p.222; νημβ BM 546⁶.

C μνταβτε BM 1079a³; ϣαυβε BM 1065²⁰, KroppD⁶⁴; βωτϣ Ryl.371; νεεβ
Ryl.299, BM 1110¹; νιβε KroppD⁸⁹; εϣαβ (=νϣαϣ) Ryl.355; ϣμβε KroppD⁵⁸,
al..

D ϣαυβε WS 38⁹; νεεβ WS 104.

E μνταβτε ST 309⁶ (cited Ep.I p.242); ϣαεβε Ep.532³⁸, 537¹³.

121A) π = ϣ ; cf.paragraph 65A.

PS 195² ετϣοτπ.

C ϣαυπε BM 1031^{vo.2}.

122) γ = ϣ ; cf.paragraph 60B.

A few examples may be cited where this occurs in the verbal auxi-
liaries in some early texts: Acts(Budge)VIII, 39; PS 220²³, 221^{3,6,7},
225²¹; Br.242; Achm.Elias 13¹; al.. In non-literary texts the
two letters are often so alike that it is difficult to distinguish

between them and it seems wiser not to cite examples; one may however be noted:

C NEEY BM 1162¹⁰.

D NEEY P.Lond.IV 1497^{5,15}; cf. $\epsilon\iota\gamma\tau$ for $\epsilon\iota\epsilon\delta\tau$ P.Lond.IV 1528¹.

122A) ϵ = η ; cf. paragraphs 123E, also 118C and 150A.

Roesch, Vorbemerkungen zu einer Grammatik der achm. Mundart p.27 mentioned $\epsilon\phi\sigma$ for $\epsilon\phi\sigma\eta$ in the Paris Magical Papyrus (PGM IV) line 25 and cited one instance (p.181) where the Achm. $\epsilon\tau\alpha\epsilon$ was written for $\epsilon\tau\alpha\eta$ (I Clem. Berl. 14¹⁵). To these the following may be added: Acts (Budge) IV, 36 $\epsilon\phi\alpha\gamma\alpha\epsilon\mu\epsilon\epsilon$; Didache (ZNTW XXIV, 81ff.) col. III last line $\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon\iota\eta$; cf. also Achm. Amos I, 11 $\tau\mu\alpha\epsilon\tau\sigma\epsilon$ and ib. I, 3, 9 $\tau\mu\alpha\eta\sigma\epsilon$ both for $\tau\mu\alpha\epsilon\eta\sigma\epsilon$. For the Achmimic verbal prefix $\epsilon\tau\alpha\epsilon$ which in some manuscripts varies with $\epsilon\tau\alpha\eta$ see the full discussion in paragraph 150A below.

123) ϵ omitted; cf. paragraphs 108 and 123A, 127F.

The irregular omission, addition (par. 123A) or metathesis (par. 127F) of the letter ϵ to a greater or lesser extent characterises most of the early Coptic manuscripts, and the final standardisation of the correct use of this letter can hardly have taken place much before the early fourth century. The principal reason for this is probably the fact that the letter was weak, and perhaps in some districts was hardly or irregularly pronounced. On the other hand, it ought to be borne in mind that when Coptic was first used by Christians the use of the additional Demotic letters was disputed at least in some circles; and in particular, as is also shown by parts of the Paris Magical Papyrus (PGM IV lines 94 - 131, 138 - 143, 147 - 153) the question must have been raised whether, instead of employing the Demotic letter ϵ , the 'spiritus asper' used in Greek manuscripts should be taken over. This could then be omitted quite regularly on the analogy of those Greek manuscripts which were written without accents. Thus,

the Coptic glosses in the Chester Beatty Isaiah manuscript, probably the earliest example of Coptic used by Christians, are written without any of the Demotic letters and, while ω is represented by c , γ by B , and χ by χ , the z was naturally omitted altogether. For the problems involved see below chapter IX especially p.244 and note 1; cf. also Worrell, Coptic Sounds pp.109f. and Crum, Dictionary p.631.

Manuscripts in which the omission of $z(\epsilon)$ is particularly frequent, though often the letter was added subsequently, are the Achmimic Minor Prophets (ed. Till and Malinine), the Berlin Psalter, the Chicago manuscript of Proverbs (ed. Worrell), P. Mich. 1190 (ed. Worrell, Ora. IV, 5ff.), also the Berlin Gnostic (a small part published by Schmidt, Die alten Petrusakten) and the Hamburg old Fayumic text (unpublished); to a less extent the z is omitted in the Turin Wisdoms (ed. Lagarde, Aegyptiaca) and the semi-Achmimic Luke fragments (BIFAO VIII, 76ff.). Among the examples listed below I have not included references from the Hamburg old Fayumic text and the unpublished part of the Berlin Gnostic.

- a) κ for $z\kappa, z\eta$. This occurs frequently in early manuscripts, but often it is impossible to distinguish between the correct use of either preposition. The following are examples where instead of κ we should clearly expect $z\kappa$, or where the $z(\epsilon)$ has subsequently been added: Achm. I Clem. (Schmidt) omitted: 77⁶, added: 69¹⁸; TU 43 added: vii⁴; Achm. Minor Prophets, omitted: Naum III, 4, added: Joel III, 18, Mich. I, 4, Jon. II, 3, Hab. I, 8, Soph. II, 7, Hag. II, 3, II, 18, Zech. VI, 15(bis), X, 2, XII, 11; semi-Achm. Luke (BIFAO VIII, 76ff.), omitted: I, 15, 39(?), 41, 67, added: I, 39; Sah. Elias, omitted: 8¹²; Berlin Psalter (ed. Rahlfs), omitted: 37⁴, 43⁴, 74⁹, 76³(2), 15, 89¹⁴, added: 18⁶, 22⁶, 25⁵, 27³, 93⁸, 105⁴; Sap. (Lagarde), omitted: 2⁵, 7²², 8¹³, 9³, 10¹⁷(bis), 12⁵, etc., added: Sir. 27²¹; Deut. (Budge) IX, 10, omitted; PS omitted: 112²¹, 180¹⁶, added 3⁶, 4¹; Worrell, Proverbs see p. XIV;

P.Mich.1190³² (Ora.IV,7) omitted.

- b) $\alpha\pi\epsilon\epsilon$ for $\epsilon\alpha\pi\epsilon\epsilon$. In some early Sahidic manuscripts we frequently find $\alpha\pi\epsilon\epsilon$ for $\epsilon\alpha\pi\epsilon\epsilon$, perhaps due to influence of the sub-dialects (Achm., Subachm., Mid.Eg., Fayy., Boh.) all of which omit the ϵ . Sap. (Lagarde) 6⁴⁽⁵⁾, 10¹, 14¹⁶, 17¹⁶⁽¹⁵⁾, 19⁶, Sir. (ib.) 17¹¹, 22²⁶⁽²⁹⁾, 27(30), 28²⁶, 29¹, 32¹, 39³, 41¹⁴, 42¹⁴, 44²⁰; Berlin Psalter 70¹⁰, 78¹, added in 77¹⁰ (elsewhere in the manuscript $\epsilon\alpha\pi\epsilon\epsilon$); Berlin Ms.Or.408 (Rev. Bibl.1905, 377ff.) I Jn.II,4; BG (in Schmidt) 139⁹ ($\epsilon\pi\epsilon\epsilon$); Ryl.6 (bis).
- c) ϵ is sometimes omitted in $\epsilon\pi\alpha\iota$ ($\alpha\pi\alpha\iota$, $\alpha\pi\eta\iota$, $\epsilon\lambda\eta\iota$). Achm. Psalm-Fragment (ed. Crum, Miss. LXVI, 73ff., 3rd century) $\alpha\pi\alpha\iota$; Muséon LII, 2 (line 7) $\alpha\pi\alpha\iota$; Achm. Jonah II,7, Zech.II,3 $\alpha\pi\eta\iota$, $\pi\eta\iota$ (ϵ added in both); Berlin Psalter 21⁶, 29³, 30¹⁸ $\epsilon\pi\alpha\iota$ (ϵ added in all three); Worrell, Proverbs, see p.XIV; P.Mich.3565^{10,14} (Ora.IV,15) $\epsilon\pi\alpha\iota$.
B $\epsilon\pi\alpha\iota$ BM 583¹⁸, $\epsilon\lambda\eta\iota$ ÄZ XXIII (1885), 42 (no.XII) lines 1,10 (ib.2 $\epsilon\lambda\eta\iota$).
C $\epsilon\pi\alpha\iota$ Ryl.409, BM 1125^{2,4,6,9}.
- d) For $\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon = \epsilon\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon$ see paragraph 108 above.
- e) ϵ omitted at the beginning of words: TU 43 iii¹¹ $\pi\text{--}\alpha\alpha\epsilon$; Achm.II Macc.VI,9 $\pi\epsilon\tau\alpha\gamma$; Achm.Minor Prophets, Hos.VI,8 $\epsilon\pi\alpha\omega\beta$, IX,4 $\pi\text{--}\eta\beta\epsilon$, Naum I,7 $\pi\text{--}\eta\gamma$, Zeph.I,17 $\epsilon\pi\alpha\iota\pi\epsilon$, Hagg.II,2 $\gamma\alpha\alpha\pi$ for $\epsilon\gamma\alpha\alpha\pi$ (!), Zech.VI,13 $\gamma\text{--}\mu\epsilon\sigma\tau$, cf. $\alpha\gamma\alpha\mu\alpha$ Naum III,2, Hag.II,22, and $\epsilon\pi\alpha\alpha\pi\alpha\alpha$ Naum III,3; Luke (BIFA VIII, 76ff.) I,38,48 $\tau\text{--}\mu\alpha\lambda$; Berlin Psalter 104¹⁷ $\epsilon\gamma\mu\alpha\lambda$; PS 55¹² $\alpha\gamma\text{--}\mu\epsilon$; Berlin-Lond. Apocalypse X,10 $\mu\epsilon\gamma\alpha\lambda$; P. Gol.47 $\epsilon\pi$ (5 times); BM 1224 $\omega\beta$; P.Mich.1190²⁷ (Ora.IV,7) $\pi\tau\epsilon = \pi\tau\epsilon\epsilon$; subsequently added: Achm.I Clem. (Schmidt) 12⁹ $\alpha\pi\epsilon\tau\alpha\gamma$; Achm.Minor Prophets, Hos.III,3 $\mu\epsilon\sigma\tau$, XI,12, Joel II,8 $\epsilon\pi\omega\gamma$, Jonah II,6, Hab.I,3 $\epsilon\pi\text{--}$ (indef.pl.art.), Naum II,5 $\epsilon\pi\alpha\beta\eta\epsilon$ (!), II,11, Hab.I,15, III,2 $\alpha\alpha\gamma\alpha$, Zeph.I,13 $\pi\text{--}\alpha\gamma$, II,7 $\text{--}\chi\omega\alpha\gamma$, Zech.I,6 $\epsilon\pi\alpha\gamma\omega\alpha$, II,5 $\text{--}\eta\alpha\omega\pi\epsilon$, III,9 $\alpha\gamma\text{--}\epsilon\iota\tau$, VI,3 $\epsilon\pi\alpha\omega$, XII,6,13 $\epsilon\pi\alpha\pi\alpha\alpha$, XII,12 $\alpha\pi\alpha\alpha\alpha$, cf. Hos.X,13, Naum II,5 $\alpha\mu\alpha$, Naum II,4 $\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha$, III,3 $\alpha\gamma\text{--}\mu\epsilon\gamma$ (μ), Hab.II,8 $\alpha\epsilon\theta\alpha\alpha$; Subachm. John III,3 $\alpha\mu\mu\alpha$; Berlin Psalter 4³ $\alpha\gamma$, 14⁴ $\epsilon\iota\tau\alpha\gamma$, 35¹⁰ $\alpha\gamma\tau\eta\kappa$, 43²⁵ $\mu\epsilon\alpha$; PS 42¹⁸ $\mu\epsilon\gamma\alpha\alpha\gamma\mu\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$.

C ωϣ Worrell, Coptic Texts III, 6³.

D αη WS 48; τεκειρ αη εχων P.Lond.IV 1639.

E μζαλ R.Champ.495, TurO 7²⁵; αρεε TurO 20²⁷; cf.Ep.I p.245.

f) ε omitted at the end of words: Achm.Psalm Fragment(ed.Crum, Miss.

LXVI, 73ff) κα_ ; Achm.Minor Prophets, Joel I, 19 αγα_χερο, Am.I, 3, 9 τμα_γτοε, IX, 5 πετ_χω_αпкаε, Jon.II, 11 αγοα_αζνε, Hab.II, 16 μογ_, Soph.II, 11 ογαν_γ, Zech.XII, 7 νετογ_μ_ε_ν_θ_ι_λ_η_μ_ ; ManiK 7⁶ αιογαν_с ; Acts(Budge)VII, 8 πμα_αμoγ_μ_ (= πμε_αμoγ_μ_); PS 179¹⁵ μογ_ε_πτηρ_γ ; Wesley, Sah.-Gr.Ps.-Fragmente p.114 (Ps.I, 6) нсеoγoγ_εβoλ ; Worrell, Proverbs κα_, μογ_, ογω cited p.XIV, cf.ζαρεροс (= ζαρεε εροс) IV, 13; P.Mich.136²²⁵ (Ora.IV, 27) εγμοке_ ; P.Mich.1190 II⁷ (Ora.IV, 8) тме_тв_ ; P.Mich.593 (AJSL XLVI, 245) ογω_н_εpок. Subsequently added: TU 43 ix⁸ ενт_н_ нκlooε; Achm.Ex.IV, 19 пка_μμααiaμ ; Achm.Minor Prophets Joel II, 5 ογωα_нкаετ, II, 10, Naum II, 5 σωγ_, Jon.IV, 9 αγκα_нзнт, Naum II, 13, Zech.V, 11 π-ка_, Naum III, 3 ογω_, Soph.I, 10 τμα_снтε, III, 8 μακω_пкаε, Hag.II, 23 αιογ_к, Zech.XI, 11 ετογερ_αγ_γ ; ManiK 60²⁷ εтан_, 136¹⁵ εγογαν_нзнт_γ ; PS 269⁸ πме_снaγ .

C пса_λoγλoγ BMO.6201A68.

D προσθε εссн_μμoс P.Lond.IV 1518²⁷.

E See Ep.I p.245 (ογω_п_).

g) ε omitted within words: Achm.Minor Prophets, Jonas II, 5 на_п_нκεo,

Soph.II, 7 з_пoγ_ε ; Sir.(Lagarde)XXXIV, 14(15)ζε_ε_ε_ε ; Worrell, Pro-

verbs p.XIV αμα_τε, so also LAP.II, 8^{vo}; subsequently added:

Achm.Minor Prophets, Hos.VI, 1 πα_тне, Mich.VI, 15 та_ск, Naum II, 2

пет_пoγ_με, II, 4, Zech.II, 5 κω_т, Naum III, 5 не_т_и_па_oγ, Hab.I, 7

oγzнω_ω_ε_не, Zech.I, 12 с_βε (= сaεβε), Hag.II, 9 т_ε_о ; Subachm.

John XII, 25 αν_η_ε, Luke(BIFA0 VIII, 76ff.) I, 48 з_и_с_н_и_т_ε ; Berlin

Psalter 36⁸ cω_γ_к, 89⁴ нна_пак, cf.86⁴ па_в ; Sir.(Lagarde)X, 26(27)

зо_ε_ε, XLVII, 24 нне_ке_т_ε .

E A few examples Ep.I p.245, add: т_м_т_γ_α_λ_α_т_н_γ BKU 318; на_п_н MH 73²⁴.

123A) z added; cf. last, etc..

For this peculiarity see in particular Crum, Dictionary p.632a, also JEA XIII, 21 note 6 and Till, Achmimisch-kopt. Grammatik par.27; for the problem in general see par.123 above, cf. also the verbal prefix za- which probably belongs here, see par.150 below.

- a) Just as n̄- is often found for z̄n̄-, so z̄n̄- is sometimes written for n̄-: Achm. I Clem. (Schmidt) 31¹¹, 65²²; TU 43, vi¹⁰; Achm. Sir. XXXIII, 4; Achm. Zech. VI, 13, IX, 11, XII, 1, 10; Berlin Psalter (ed. Rahlfs) 48⁴; PS 7²¹, 42², 56¹; Deut. (Budge) XXXIII, 14. Cf. Piehl, Sphinx V, 89ff..

D noʃvB ei etootB z̄n̄ iwct[ine P. Lond. IV 1595.

- b) Varia: Achm. Pro. VIII, 28 na-zwʁ; Achm. I Clem. (Schmidt) 54¹⁷ netna-zp- nicteye; Achm. Sir. XXII, 29 na-zapez (Sahidicism); Achm. Elias 8¹⁸ n̄zwze, 13⁵ n̄zoyz̄bc̄oy; Achm. Hos. VI, 5 azwc̄z; Achm. Zech. III, 1 ca-zoy neū, III, 3 z̄izw̄oy; Luke (BIFAO VIII, 76ff.) I, 48 z̄ic̄z̄h̄nte, I, 52 net- z̄bz̄i hoʃ, I, 65 ayzote ze z̄ez̄n̄ (Sah. is ez̄n̄-); Lagarde, Aegyptiaca p. 208 (Ps. CI, 28) na-zoywz̄; Acts (Budge) II, 5 zenz̄p̄w̄me; PS 269¹⁴ z̄az̄ep̄at̄y, 367¹¹ oyz̄an̄p (both deleted in Ms.); Wessely, Sah.-Gr. Ps. Fragm. p. 13 z̄pek̄rike.

B ta-z̄eiantif̄wn̄hic̄, enca-z̄ei, poz̄ba-z̄ei Kr. 116; eica-z̄ei Kr. 117.

C ca-z̄ei BM 1123², 18, 23, vo. 6; z̄m̄m̄ooy, z̄m̄p̄-, z̄m̄ton, oyz̄wn̄z̄, boz̄ȳētic̄ (= βοηθός), em̄z̄maʃ (= μμοʃ) ib. (4th century).

D anok ez̄eida pol̄boʃ, etna-z̄en̄-neica, ek̄ax̄eiz̄ neica P. Jkōw (Cairo).

E See Ep. I p. 245.

- c) For oyaz̄eet̄ = oyaeet̄ see Crum, Dictionary p. 740; oyaz̄e(ē)̄ also ManiK 98¹⁹, 126², 147⁵ (but oyae(ē)̄ ib. 96⁷, 98²⁰, 100²⁴, al.).

123B) z = z̄.

A iazan̄ec̄ (= iwz̄ann̄hic̄) Quibbell, Sagqara III, 158⁹.

123C) x = z̄; cf. paragraphs 123F, 117C, etc..

This peculiarity is found in a number of texts, early and late, usually representing the Egyptian letter h = Achm. z̄ = Boh. h̄.

E A few examples in Ep.I p.244

123E) 4 = 2 ; cf.paragraphs 122A, etc.

Achm.Elias 12⁹ ἀμολυ ντοπος νιμ ; Br.234¹ πμεγγοου .

123F) X = 2 ; cf.paragraphs 123L(2 = X), 117C(X = X), 123C(X = 2).

TU 43 xxii² τετναχωνε corrected to τετναζωνε .

123G) K = X ; cf.paragraph 67A, also 126, al..

Wessely, Sah.-Gr.Ps.-Fragm.p.78 (Ps.XXV, 3) κε πεκνα.

E Two examples: κν-Ep.216note, ωρκ Hall p.100, see Ep.I p.243.

123H) c = X ; cf.paragraphs 104D, al..

E See Ep.I p.244 citing cε for Xε Ep.338, CO 244, BKU 42.

123I) τ = X ; cf.paragraph 126A.

Cf.Crum, Dictionary p.745a and references, especially αρητс Deut.

(Budge)XXX, 13, note ib.XXII, 19.

123J) X = X ; cf.paragraph 117C.

This peculiarity is found in the three earliest Coptic texts so far known: Chester Beatty Isaiah Glosses (Fayyumic) ανχ[42, εχω 31, cαχνι 7, χι 36, χιτβ 14, χιτс 40,].X 38; Bell and Thompson, A Greek Coptic Glossary to Hosea and Amos, JEA XI, 241f. ρεχναу Hos.IX, 2, cαχνε Hos.VII, 2; Achm.Psalm Fragment (ed.Crum, Miss.LXVI, 73ff.) Ps. XLVI, 9 ιχεν, 10 χωρε, 3 χαic, 10 χεicα (= Xεcι), but ib.Xε, εχεν, ιχεν, χαic, Xεcι . These texts are still from the 3rd. century; it also occurs in three texts from the 4th. century, but apparently not elsewhere, except in some names, cf.Crum, Dictionary pp.516 and 745b: TU 43 viii¹⁴ ατνχι, xxxv⁵ νχαιμαειт; Achm.Elias 15⁵ μεχ2, 22⁸ εταχραιοт, 6⁴ αχχωρμε; semi-Achm.Luke (BIFA0 VIII, 76ff.) I, 36, 60 Xε, I, 33 εχμ, I, 35 εχω, I, 50 χιν- .

123K) ω = X ; cf.paragraphs 119, al..

Acts (Budge) VII, 57 μαdyε, XXVII, 12 ωοyνε, II, 15, XXIII, 24 ωnyante, cf.Thompson, The New Biblical Papyrus p.13; Sir. (Lagarde) XLIX, 10 νnyaxε; Sah.Elias 9¹⁵ ceγei novvton; Cant.VI, 5 (Hamburg old Fayy.) ωνα; cf.Crum, Dictionary pp.541a, 745a.

С тγηνεσωρ Kr.125⁴ (cf. paragraph 124C).

E A number of examples in Ep. I p. 245.

123L) ε, ε = χ ; cf. paragraphs 123F etc..

Achm. Hos. VII, 15 αγταερε ; Achm. Mich. VI, 2 αβαλρε .

124) δ = χ ; cf. paragraph 127.

Achm. Elias 12¹³, 37¹⁰ δρο (but χρo ib. 13¹⁹) ; ManiK 31¹⁸ σεεε ; Acts (Budge) IV, 14 δω ; Worrell, Proverbs p. 22 κλβε , p. 89 ββεε, XXIV, 58 νεε ; cf. Crum, Dictionary pp. 745a, 801a.

A χιβ (= δ'χ) RAC papyrus du Louvre 2¹².

B δην (= χιν-) Kr. 158³ ; δωογ (= εχωογ) Kr. 116¹³ ; al..

C εγωρεβ ακ Ryl. 122¹⁵ ; ειβν- BMor. 6201B44 ; βπογ , βπο- KroppD^{4,5,82,83} ; Cramer, Totenklage 6¹¹ (this region ?) ; διβ J&C 1922¹⁹ ; χιβ (= δ'χ) Baouit p. 25 no. III ; cf. ατηνενοβτγ εβολ BMor. 6201A76 ; αδн- Kr. 62¹⁰ .
D νοβετ Bal. 188¹⁵ ; εβων Bal. 155⁶ ; βπο , βποκ Bal. 249⁵, 396^{5,14} ; διβ Bal. 189¹⁶ , χιβ Bal. 138⁸ ; cf. P. Mich. 1190 (Ora. IV, 5ff.) 7 ητετενωκ εβολ, 21 αβωε, 31, II, 32 χιβ ; соγδγωτ Ann. Serv. XXII, 50ff. no. 4¹⁵ .

E A few examples in Ep. I p. 245, add: αβωε Worrell, Coptic Texts IV, 8.

124A) сχ = χ ; cf. paragraph 119A.

E ρεγ]ρετβεχоеε CO 71²⁴.

124B) тс = χ ; cf. paragraph 115.

E ααατε ST 116 ; cf. Κοχοτсе Ep. 624 ; both cited Ep. I p. 244.

124C) тγ = χ ; cf. paragraph 116

Cf. Crum, Dictionary p. 745a citing πετбай for πεχαγ Paris Magical Papyrus (PGM IV) line 106 (cf. ? ib. 104), and:

E тγημε CO 165.

124D) тх = χ ; cf. paragraphs 116A, etc..

Berlin Psalter (ed. Rahlfs) IX, 27, XLIII, 13 ατχн- for αχн- ; ManiP 42¹⁸, 83³³ ηετχнγ ; PCodMor 17 ηετχε ; cf. Crum, Dictionary p. 745a.

D Cf. τχκωογ varying with χκωογ see P. Lond. IV p. xlviif.

E τχογтн ВКУ 45 ; cf. τχημε for χημε Ep. 169⁶, 236⁶, 270⁵, J. 13⁸¹, 82⁸, MH 134²⁰, al., cf. Ep. I p. 245, Ep. 236 note 2, 270 note 2.

125) Γ = δ ; cf. paragraphs 67B, etc..

E A number of examples in Ep.I p.243, adding $\pi\epsilon\gamma\gamma\omega\rho$ BKU 267; $\alpha\iota\gamma\eta\varsigma$ VC 41⁷.

126) Κ = δ ; cf. paragraphs 73,67B,etc..

Some early examples, it may be noted that all these examples are from Achmimic, semi-Achmimic or Theban manuscripts; nearly all the non-literary examples are likewise from Thebes. Achm.Psalm Fragment(ed.Crum, Miss LXVI,73ff.)Ps.XLVI,3 $\kappa\alpha\kappa$; Achm.Elias 23¹⁵ $\alpha\gamma\kappa\tilde{\eta}$ $\eta\epsilon\tilde{\iota}$; Sah.Elias 5¹² $\tau\lambda\kappa\omicron$,7²² $\tau\omega\kappa\epsilon$ (7¹¹ $\tau\omega\delta\epsilon$),cf.5²⁷ $\eta\epsilon\lambda\eta\kappa$; semi-Achm.Luke(BIFA0 VIII,76ff.)I,32 $\kappa\omicron\kappa$,I,48 $\alpha\gamma\kappa\omega\psi\tau$; Berlin Psalter(ed.Rahlfs)LXXIII,14 $\epsilon\kappa\omicron\omicron\psi$; Br.40¹⁷ $\alpha\eta\delta\omega$ $\eta\eta\kappa\alpha\alpha\mu$ (= $\delta\omega\mu$); several examples could be cited from the unpublished part of the Berlin Gnostic text. Cf.also Crum,Dictionary pp.90a,801a.

C $\sigma\omega\rho\eta\kappa$ (= $\pi\omega\lambda\delta$)Ryl.284, cf. $\pi\alpha\rho\kappa\epsilon$ BM 1116; $\kappa\iota\eta\zeta\omega\lambda$ P.Mich.601(this region ?).

E Numerous examples in CO index p.118, many more could be cited,cf. Crum,Dictionary p.801.

126A) Τ = δ ; cf. paragraphs 71A,111B,123I.

See the examples cited Crum,Dictionary pp.389,801.

126B) ω = δ ; cf. paragraph 123K,al..

Cf. Crum,Dictionary pp.541a,801b; of special interest are Deut. (Budge)XXVIII,22 $\eta\omicron\gamma\omega\varsigma$, Acts(Budge)I,16 $\omega\omega\eta\epsilon$ (= $\delta\omega\eta$); also Pro. (Worrell)XXI,6 $\omicron\eta\lambda\alpha\varsigma$ $\eta\omega\omicron\lambda$.

126C) ς = δ ; cf. paragraphs 123,123F,etc..

Pro.(Worrell)XXII,16 $\pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon\rho\omega\zeta$; cf.also Crum,Dictionary p.801b.

127) χ = δ ; cf. paragraph 124.

Achm.Elias 14¹ $\delta\eta\chi\alpha\mu$ corrected to $\delta\eta\delta\alpha\mu$; Acts(Budge)XIX,22 $\alpha\eta\chi\omega$; Berlin Psalter(ed.Rahlfs)XVII,47, XXXIX,13 $\eta\chi$ (elsewhere $\eta\delta$); Wessely,Sah.-Gr.Ps.-Fragm.p.12 citing Ps.CVII,2 $\delta\chi\eta\chi$; Pro.(Worrell)VI,5 $\chi\zeta\omicron\varsigma$; cf. Crum,Dictionary pp.745a,801a.

A $\chi\iota\delta$, $\chi\iota\chi$ (= $\delta\iota\chi$)RAC papyri du Louvre 2¹²,7¹⁰.

B ΝΑΧ BM 597,580³, MR V, 55; δαρεχ CMSS 6A^{ro.3}.

C Χιϛ (= διχ) Baouit p.25 no.III; χN-ϛe BM 1113⁸.

D αNχολγ εβολ Bal.223⁵; προς τεσχομ P.Lond.IV 1630; αiχωγτ εβολ Bal. 192¹⁹; NΓαχiϛ Bal.138⁸; βογχ Bal.310⁶ cf.βογ6 309⁹, 18, 29; cf.P.Mich. 1190 (Ora.IV, 5ff.) 1 νοχ , vo.13 †ναχινε μιχαηλ, 31, II, 32 χiϛ .

E See Ep.I p.245 citing χω Ep.244, χογγτ BP 1774, χiχ Tor.42⁵, cf. also χωτ for βωγτ BKU 290.

127A) τz = 6 ; cf.paragraph 115.

D τzinzopϛ, [τ]zinzopϛ (= ?) Bal.398; cf.τχαμουλ = βαμουλ (n.pr.) in P. Lond.IV (passim), also Crum, Coptic Documents in Greek Script p.4, etc..

127B) τ6 = 6 ; cf.paragraph 116C, al..

Berlin Psalter (ed.Rahlfs) XXV, 2 τ6λοτε, XXXIII, 10 τ6ρω2; for further examples cf.Crum, Dictionary p.801b.

127C) 6 = 6c ; cf.paragraph 119C.

Pro.(Worrell) XI, 9 ον6ορ6 ΝΝ..

127D) χ = 6χ .

Pro.(Worrell) VI, 15 ον6οχχ .

127E) The letter † .

Crum in JEA XXVIII, p.20 note 5 already noted: 'the syllabic † seems to have been devised in the Coptic period, whether it be a monogram of τ and ι, or dem.ti 'give', stylized; hence added last to alphabet. Found in no Q text; even omitted occasionally from the Coptic alphabet (Hall, pl.29).' It may be noted that already the earliest Coptic manuscripts, notably the Greek-Coptic Glossary to Hosea and Amos (ed.Bell-Thompson, JEA XI, 241ff.) of the late third century and the Hamburg Old Fayyumic text make use of this letter, and it must have been introduced at an early period; even P.Mich 136 (cf.p.254 note 5 below) uses this letter normally. Similarly it is found regularly used in the Melitian archive (J&C 1920-1922, JEA XIII, 19ff.) and in most of the fourth-fifth century

letters and magical texts, e.g. BM 1102, 1123, 1223, 1224, Ryl. 268, 269-274, 292, 311, 396, IMisc. L, P. Gol. 47, notably also the Bohairic letter ed. Worrell, Coptic Texts III, 3; exceptions are the Achmimic magical text ed. Crum in RChamp. 539 and Peremans-Vergote, Papyrologisch Handboek pl. XI (Louvain inv. 18b, probably 4th century, see p. 235 note 3). After the fifth century the letter is used normally and frequently only at Thebes and, to a less extent, in the Fayyum. In non-literary texts written north of Thebes and south of the Fayyum from the sixth century onwards the letter \dagger is so rare that its occurrence in these texts almost justifies a 'sic !' in each case.

- a) In some early literary texts \dagger is sometimes found for τ - ϵ , cf. Till, Achmimisch-Koptische Grammatik p. 10 and Sethe, ÄZ LXIV, p. 65, where also one late example is cited. The following early examples may be noted: $\epsilon\dagger\epsilon$ for $\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ Achm. Amos IX, 12, Mani K 108², Sir. (Lagarde) XXVII, 10, 27, L, 24, al., I John II, 17, 29, III, 4 (Delaporte, Rev. Bibl. 1905, 377ff.), al.; $\epsilon\dagger\eta\epsilon$ Achm. Zech. IV, 12, Sir. (Lagarde) XXVII, 9, XLV, 10, XLVI, 5, al.; cf. also $\dagger\rho\eta\eta\eta$ for τ - $\epsilon\rho\eta\eta\eta$.
- b) \dagger for \dagger . Greek-Coptic Glossary to Hosea and Amos (JEA XI, pp. 241ff.) Hos. II, 13 \dagger $\eta\epsilon\varsigma\beta\epsilon\chi\epsilon\epsilon\tau\alpha\varsigma$; Achm. II Macc. VI, 16 $\epsilon\tau\tau\iota\varsigma\beta\omicron\upsilon$. B $\chi\epsilon\ \eta\epsilon\tau\eta\eta\tau\iota\ \lambda\alpha\gamma\ \eta\alpha\beta\ \text{VC } 49$ ¹⁰. D $\dagger\eta\gamma\eta\epsilon, \dagger\eta\gamma\eta\eta$ (= $\dagger\eta\gamma\eta\epsilon$) Bal. 279^{2,6}. E $\chi\epsilon\ \dagger\epsilon\eta\epsilon\eta\tau\tau\epsilon\eta\epsilon\ \text{CO } 138$ ⁵; τ - $\dagger\eta\eta\eta$ J. 1⁶⁷; $\alpha\dagger\eta\omicron\mu\eta\epsilon\ \text{VC } 28$ ⁹; $\dagger\eta\omicron\gamma\ \text{VC } 84$ ⁶.

127F) Metathesis.

For this phenomenon in Coptic texts generally cf. Stern, Grammatik par. 61, Till, Achm. Kopt. Grammatik par. 41, Plumley, Introductory Coptic Grammar par. 13, Worrell, Coptic Sounds pp. 109f., Steindorff, Lehrbuch der Koptischen Grammatik par. 35 and Crum, Dictionary passim. A few examples which I have collected may serve to illustrate this phenomenon, but many more could be cited.

- a) Involving the letter α , cf. paragraphs 108, 123, 123A, al.. Paris

Magical Papyrus (PGM IV) line 18 $\epsilon\sigma\iota\mu\epsilon = \epsilon\zeta\iota\mu\epsilon$; Achm. Elias 16¹⁴
 $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\ \epsilon\tau\epsilon = \kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\ \tau\epsilon$; Achm. II Macc. VI, 8 $\omicron\upsilon\alpha\zeta\kappa\alpha\lambda\zeta\epsilon = \omicron\upsilon\alpha\zeta\kappa\alpha\lambda\zeta\epsilon$, 10 $\epsilon\iota\zeta\mu\epsilon$
 $= \epsilon\zeta\iota\mu\epsilon$, 16 $\epsilon\zeta\mu\epsilon = \zeta\epsilon\mu\epsilon$; Achm. Minor Prophets, Hos. IV, 1, 3 $\nu\epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\zeta\eta = \nu\epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\eta\zeta$,
 IX, 15 $\omicron\upsilon\zeta\omega = \omicron\upsilon\omega\zeta$, XIII, 4 $\omicron\upsilon\zeta\alpha\kappa = \omicron\upsilon\alpha\zeta\alpha\kappa$, IV, 2 $\sigma\alpha\omicron\upsilon\zeta\epsilon = \sigma\alpha\zeta\omicron\upsilon\epsilon$, IX, 16
 $\alpha\gamma\gamma\alpha\tau\pi\epsilon\omicron = \alpha\gamma\gamma\alpha\tau\epsilon\pi\omicron$, Joel. I, 17 $\beta\alpha\zeta\zeta\epsilon = \beta\alpha\zeta\epsilon$, II, 4 $\zeta\mu\alpha\iota\epsilon = \zeta\alpha\mu\epsilon$,
 Mich. III, 11 $\epsilon\zeta\tau = \zeta\epsilon\tau$, Hagg. II, 16 $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\zeta\ \bar{\nu}\epsilon\zeta = \bar{\nu}\epsilon\zeta\ \bar{\nu}\epsilon\zeta$, Zech. IX, 3,
 XII, 3 $\sigma\omega\zeta\omicron\upsilon = \sigma\omega\omicron\upsilon\zeta$; Luke (BIFAO VIII, 76ff.) I, 39 $\nu\epsilon\zeta\omicron\omicron\omicron\upsilon = \nu\epsilon\iota\zeta\omicron\omicron\upsilon$,
 I, 44 $\nu\zeta\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon\lambda\mu\lambda = \zeta\omicron\upsilon\upsilon\tau\epsilon\lambda\mu\lambda$, I, 65 $\epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\zeta\eta = \epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\eta\zeta$; BM 1223 $\nu\omicron\upsilon\zeta\zeta$
 $= \nu\omicron\upsilon\gamma\zeta$; Wessely, Sah.-Gr. Ps.-Fragm. p. 13 (Ps. CXX, 6) $\eta\alpha\gamma\omicron\upsilon\zeta\epsilon\kappa = \eta\alpha\gamma\omicron\upsilon\zeta\epsilon\kappa$;
 Worrell, Proverbs pp. 89, 90 $\eta\zeta\alpha\pi\alpha\gamma = \eta\eta\alpha\zeta\pi\alpha\gamma$ (twice); cf. JKP II, 46,
 48 $\sigma\omega\omicron\upsilon\zeta\alpha = \sigma\omega\omicron\upsilon\alpha\zeta (= \sigma\omega\omicron\upsilon\zeta)$.

C $\pi\tau\omicron\upsilon\zeta\eta = \pi\epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\eta\zeta$ KroppD¹⁰⁴; $\nu\epsilon\kappa\omicron\upsilon\zeta\omega = \nu\epsilon\kappa\omicron\upsilon\omega\zeta$ BMOr. 6201B155; $\zeta\sigma\alpha\epsilon\iota\sigma$
 $= \epsilon\zeta\alpha\epsilon\iota\sigma$ P. Mich. 594 (AJSL XLVI, 247).

D $\epsilon\iota\sigma\alpha\iota\zeta = \epsilon\iota\sigma\alpha\iota$ Bal. 137¹; $\nu\tau\epsilon\sigma\zeta\zeta\eta = \eta\theta\epsilon\epsilon\sigma\zeta\eta$ Bal. 138⁶; $\epsilon\iota\zeta\mu\epsilon = \epsilon\zeta\iota\mu\epsilon$
 P. Lond. IV 1646; cf. P. Mich. 1190 (Ora. IV, 5ff., 4th-5th century, prob-
 ably from Abydos) $\kappa\omega\tau = \kappa\omega\zeta\tau$ II, 5, 13, 33, vo. 10, $\mu\zeta\omicron\upsilon = \mu\omicron\upsilon\zeta$ II, 34,
 $\mu\zeta\eta = \mu\eta\zeta$ II, 31, $\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\pi\zeta\omega = \epsilon\kappa\epsilon\pi\omega\zeta$ 12, $\epsilon\tau\iota\alpha\epsilon\pi\alpha\tau\gamma = \epsilon\tau\alpha\zeta\epsilon\pi\alpha\tau\gamma$ II, 1, 3, 10,
 vo. 14, $\epsilon\beta\chi\zeta\alpha\mu = \epsilon\gamma\chi\alpha\zeta\mu$ 23.

E $\sigma\alpha\zeta\iota = \epsilon\zeta\alpha\iota$ CO 294²⁰; $\eta\epsilon\tau\sigma\zeta\eta = \eta\epsilon\tau\sigma\eta\zeta$ BKU 119; $\epsilon\gamma\omicron\upsilon\zeta\eta = \epsilon\gamma\omicron\upsilon\eta\zeta$ JAOS
 XLVIII, p. 149 no. 1^{vo. 10}.

- b) Not involving the letter ζ . Achm. Minor Prophets, Mich I, 13 $\zeta\epsilon\tau\gamma$
 $= \zeta\epsilon\gamma\tau$, Jon. IV, 10 $\beta\alpha\lambda\beta = \beta\lambda\alpha\beta$, IV, 11 $\mu\eta\sigma\tau\eta\alpha\gamma\epsilon = \mu\eta\tau\sigma\eta\alpha\gamma\epsilon$, Naum III,
 14 $\alpha\omicron\upsilon\omega\tau\beta\epsilon = \alpha\omicron\upsilon\tau\omega\beta\epsilon$, Zech. II, 4 $\tau\omega\tau\mu = \tau\omega\mu\tau$; ManiP 63³ $\gamma\alpha\pi\pi = \gamma\alpha\pi\tau$,
 167⁵⁹ $\chi\epsilon\gamma\tau\epsilon = \chi\epsilon\tau\gamma\epsilon$; BM 1223⁹ $\sigma\mu\pi\omega\sigma\mu = \sigma\mu\pi\omega\sigma\epsilon$; Sah. Elias 9⁷ $\sigma\epsilon\eta\alpha\tilde{\eta}\kappa\omicron\tau\kappa$
 $= \sigma\epsilon\eta\alpha\tilde{\eta}\kappa\omicron\tau\kappa$; BG (in Schmidt, Die Alten Petrusakten) 136¹⁰ $\eta\gamma\omicron\tau\omicron\gamma = \eta\gamma\omicron\tau\gamma$;
 Br. 277 (= Baynes p. X) $\epsilon\tau\pi\eta\pi\gamma = \epsilon\eta\tau\pi\eta\gamma$; Acts (Budge) III, 19 $\kappa\epsilon\tau = \kappa\tau\epsilon$,
 III, 26, VIII, 28, XV, 36, XX, 3 $\kappa\omicron\tau\gamma, \kappa\omicron\tau\eta = \kappa\tau\omicron\gamma, \kappa\tau\omicron\eta$.

127G) Change in gender.

- a) To express the neuter, Coptic, with certain exceptions, makes use
 of the feminine, cf. Stern, Kopt. Grammatik paragraphs 487, 497 and
 elsewhere. Crum, however, drew attention in Ep. I p. 252 to the

frequent Theban usage to substitute the masc.suffix -γ for the fem.suffix -c when the verb $\chi\omega$ is used, e.g. $\alpha\chi\omega\omega\gamma$ and even $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\ \theta\epsilon\ \eta\tau\alpha\iota\chi\omega\omega\gamma$. I have not been able to find any examples for this in non-Theban texts, but there are a few literary examples: Crum in Ep.I p.252 note 3 mentioned already PS 146⁷, to this may be added PS 52¹⁷ (corrected), Achm.Zech.III,4, IV,12, VI,4, VIII,18 (VI,4 corrected, cf.Malinine's note), Subachmimic St.John XI,42; cf. also similar examples in Achm.Elias, e.g. 11¹¹ $\alpha\iota\beta\eta\tau\gamma\ \epsilon\psi\eta\eta\epsilon$, also ib. 11^{14,18,12}.

b) Varia. Br.82²⁰ $\mu\alpha\iota\tau\epsilon\rho\omega$, 226 $\mu\omega\sigma\omega\rho\eta\ \mu\eta\eta\gamma\eta$, 227 $\mu\eta\eta\eta$, 232 $\mu\mu\alpha\iota\eta\tau\omega\rho$, 262 $\mu\sigma\iota\gamma\eta$; PS 43¹⁰ $\mu\chi\omega\upsilon\tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\epsilon\ \mu\pi\rho\omega\beta\epsilon\lambda\eta$.

D $\tau\chi\omega\kappa$ Ann.Serv.XI,243; $\sigma\upsilon\tau\rho\iota\mu\eta\sigma\iota\eta\ \dots\ \alpha\chi\epsilon\iota\ \epsilon\tau\omega\sigma\tau\ \epsilon\phi\omega\eta\eta\epsilon\upsilon\gamma\iota$ P.Lond.IV 1509¹⁴; $\epsilon\alpha\mu\rho\sigma\tau\iota\mu\omega\eta\ \dots\ \epsilon\sigma\rho\iota\epsilon\ \mu\mu\omega\varsigma$ P.Lond.IV 1519¹¹.

E See Ep.I p.250 (Bodl.Copt.Ostr.433 was published by Crum as VC102).

128) Omission of η in the first future; cf.paragraphs 80,129,130.

In some Subachmimic manuscripts and a few non-literary texts the η of the first future is sometimes omitted, e.g. $\tau\alpha$ - for $\tau\eta\alpha$ -, etc.. The same phenomenon may be observed in the relative future prefix ($\epsilon\tau\alpha$ - for $\epsilon\tau\eta\alpha$ -), and particularly in the second future ($\epsilon\iota\alpha$ - for $\epsilon\iota\eta\alpha$ -, etc.) where this occurs very frequently; for the significance of this see the following paragraph(129).

Already from the Subachmimic St.John one example may be cited: XIX,10 $\chi\epsilon\gamma\kappa\alpha\epsilon\chi\epsilon$ ^($\eta\epsilon$); in the Manichaean manuscripts this is quite common, cf.Polotsky, Manichäische Homilien p.XIX, and many examples could be cited from the Psalmbook and the Kephalalaia. Cf. also Achm.Asc.Isaiah (Muséon LIX,452ff.) X,11 $\kappa\alpha$ -; Achm.Minor Prophets, Zech.XI,8 $\tau\alpha$ -, Mich.III,2 $\gamma\alpha$ -, Hab.I,12, Zech.VIII,23 $\tau\eta\alpha$ -.

In non-literary texts it is found a few times in the sixth century Aphrodito papyri, but not in those of the eighth century, it also occurs a number of times at Ashmunein, here even at a later period:

C +a- for +na- Ryl.296,332,BMor.6201B37,163; ka- for kna- BMor.6201B138, Cramer, Kopt.Inschr.K.F.Museum, Berlin 9976³, 6a- for kna- Sphinx X, papyrus I; ya- for yna- Worrell, Coptic Texts III, 4^{4,5} (5th. century ?); ca- for cna- Sphinx X, pap. I; cf. (e)ka- (?) Ryl.352.

D +a- for +na- P.Lond.V 1709^{75,76}, ST 265; ka- for kna- P.Jkow Cairo.

E ka- for kna-BKU 141⁸; 6a- for yna- BKU 262¹⁰; za- for cna RE 10^{vo}.

129) Omission of N in the second future; cf. paragraphs 80, 128, 130.

When the first two Subachmimic texts, the Acta Pauli and the Gospel of St. John, were published, they were found to use a verbal prefix εεια-, εκα-, εყα-, εσα-, εya-, side by side with εεina-, εkna-, etc., and in the Gospel of St. John also eperna- side by side with etetna-. The editors Schmidt and Thompson, like the subsequent grammars of Till and Chaîne, identified this with the third future, Sah. eie-, eke-, etc., Achm. aia-, aka-, etc., which was otherwise not present in these texts. But Schmidt (AP p.19) and Thompson (John p.XVIII, esp. note 1) already noted that in Subachmimic the second future was frequently used where Sahidic would have the third future. Polotsky, however, in his Manichäische Homilien p.XIX drew attention to the fact that in the Manichaean manuscripts the prefix εια-, εκα-, etc., was, at least in a few instances, used for the second future.

On the evidence now available it seems probable that already in the Gospel of St. John, as in the other Subachmimic manuscripts, there was no real distinction between the forms (ε)εια-, εκα-, etc., and (ε)εina-, εkna-, etc. and that in Subachmimic the second and third futures had no separate forms. It is possible, and perhaps even probable, that originally Subachmimic used εεια-, εκα-, etc. only for the third future, but by the omission of the N, as in the first future and the relative future (see paragraphs 128, 130), the forms of the second and third futures became identical. As will be noted below, we can still trace some slight difference

in the use of the two prefixes in the Gospel of St. John, but there can be no doubt that even in this manuscript the two prefixes had largely become interchangeable.

(1) For Sahidic proper L.Th.Lefort, ⲭⲉⲕⲁⲥ dans le N.T. Sahidique (Muséon LXI, 65ff.) pointed out that in the New Testament ⲭⲉ final and ⲭⲉⲕⲁⲓⲕ were followed by the third future except where ⲭⲉⲕⲁⲓⲕ was separated from the verbal prefix, in which case the conjunctive would be used. Only in a few cases some manuscripts used the second future after ⲭⲉⲕⲁⲥ.

For Achmimic, however, it can be demonstrated that ⲭⲉ and ⲭⲉⲕⲁⲓⲕ ought properly to be followed by the second future, although some cases can be cited where the third future is used, presumably due to Sahidic influence. This will be obvious when we compare its use in the Achmimic St. John (ed. Rössch, Bruchstücke des ersten Clemensbriefes) which was clearly translated from a Sahidic original:

Achm. John:

Sahidic:

X, 10	ⲭⲁⲩⲛⲁ-	ⲭⲉⲕⲁⲥ ⲉⲃⲉ-
XI, 19	ⲭⲉⲕⲁⲓⲕ ⲁⲩⲛⲁ-	ⲭⲉ ⲉⲃⲉ-
XI, 55	ⲭⲁⲩⲛⲁ-	ⲭⲉⲕⲁⲥ ⲉⲃⲉ-
XI, 57	ⲭⲁⲩⲛⲁ- , ⲕⲁⲥ ⲁⲩⲛⲁ	ⲭⲉⲕⲁⲥ ⲉⲃⲉ- , ⲭⲉⲕⲁⲥ ⲉⲃⲉ-
XII, 7	ⲭⲁⲓⲛⲁ-	ⲭⲉ ⲉⲃⲉ-
XII, 9, 10	ⲭⲁⲩⲛⲁ-	ⲭⲉⲕⲁⲥ ⲉⲃⲉ-

Achm. Sirach

Sah. Sirach (Lagarde)

XXII, 25, 26 ⲭⲁⲕⲛⲁ-

ⲭⲉ ⲉⲕⲉ-

Achm. Elias 19¹²

Sahidic in Budge, Biblical Texts

ⲭⲁⲩⲛⲁ-

p. 270 ⲭⲉⲕⲁⲥ ⲉⲃⲉ-

Further examples in Achmimic where ⲭⲉⲕⲁⲥ is followed by the second future are e.g. Ex. I, 11, IV, 5, Achm. Elias 4¹⁰, 17², also 20⁵, 10 (both ⲕⲁⲥ ⲭⲁⲩⲛⲁ-), I Clem. (Schmidt) 56²⁷, 69²⁴, TU 43, 4³, 13¹², 28¹⁰, al.; ⲭⲉ with second future: II Macc. VI, 9, I Clem. (Schmidt) 16²⁰, 17²⁵, 26,

24²⁰, al.; $\chi\epsilon\kappa\alpha\varsigma$ with the third future, e.g. Ex. VI, 11, I Clem. (Schmidt) 25¹⁵ (= Ps. L, 4 !), Mich. VI, 5, Shepherd Hermas IX, 5, al.; $\chi\epsilon$ with the third future, e.g. Ex. IV, 23, al.. A systematic search for examples would probably reveal this difference between Sahidic and Achmimic much more clearly.

From the Subachmimic St. John we obtain the following picture:			
(a) After $\chi\epsilon\kappa\alpha(\alpha\epsilon)$		Subachm.	Sah.
4 ³⁴ , 5 ³⁶ , 10 ¹⁷ , 16 ⁷ , 18 ³⁷ , 39		$\epsilon\epsilon\iota\alpha\alpha-$	$\epsilon\epsilon\iota\epsilon-$
6 ³⁹ , 11 ¹¹		$\epsilon\epsilon\iota\alpha-$	$\epsilon\epsilon\iota\epsilon-$
17 ¹⁵		$\epsilon\kappa\alpha-$	$\epsilon\kappa\epsilon-$
3 ¹⁵ , 16		$\epsilon\gamma\alpha\alpha-$	$\epsilon\gamma\epsilon-$
4 ⁴⁷ , 6 ⁴⁰ , 8 ⁵⁶ , 10 ¹⁰ , 11 ⁵⁷ , 12 ²³ , 13 ²⁹ , 14 ¹⁶ , 15 ² , 13 ¹⁶ , 25 ¹⁸ , 19 ³⁸		$\epsilon\gamma\alpha-$	$\epsilon\gamma\epsilon-$
11 ³¹ , 12 ⁷ , 17 ²⁶		$\epsilon\kappa\alpha-$	$\epsilon\kappa\epsilon-$
6 ²⁸ , 30 ¹¹ , 16		$\epsilon\alpha\alpha-$	$\epsilon\alpha\epsilon-$
6 ²⁹ , 12 ³⁶ , 13 ¹⁹ , 34 ¹⁵ , 16 ⁴ , 32 ³³		$\epsilon\alpha\alpha-$	$\epsilon\alpha\epsilon-$
5 ²⁰ , 34 ⁴⁰ , 10 ³⁸ , 13 ³⁴ , 14 ²⁹ , 15 ¹² , 19 ³⁵ (?).		$\epsilon\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\alpha\alpha-$	$\epsilon\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon-$
6 ¹⁵ , 11 ⁵³ , 57 ¹⁷ , 13 ¹⁹ , 18 ²⁸		$\epsilon\gamma\alpha\alpha-$	$\epsilon\gamma\epsilon-$
4 ³⁶ , 9 ² , 39 ¹⁰ , 10 ³¹ , 11 ⁴² (?), 11 ⁵⁵ , 12 ⁹ , 10 ¹⁰ , 17 ¹³ , 21(bis), 18 ³²		$\epsilon\gamma\alpha-$	$\epsilon\gamma\epsilon-$
3 ²¹ , 9 ³ (both $\alpha\gamma\omega\alpha\alpha$)		$\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon-$	$\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon-$
3 ¹⁷ , 5 ⁷ , 23 ¹¹ , 4 ⁵⁰ , 12 ³⁸ , 13 ¹⁸ , 14 ¹³ , 15 ¹⁶ , 16 ²⁴ , 30 ¹⁷ , 19 ²⁴ , 36 ¹⁶ .		$\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon \dots \alpha\alpha-$	$\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon-$
(b) After $\chi\epsilon$.		Subachm.	Sah.
17 ¹⁵		$\epsilon\kappa\alpha-$	$\epsilon\kappa\epsilon-$
9 ²² , 11 ¹⁹ , 13 ^{1,2}		$\epsilon\gamma\alpha-$	$\epsilon\gamma\epsilon-$
8 ⁵⁹		$\epsilon\gamma\alpha\alpha-$	$\epsilon\gamma\epsilon-$
6 ⁶		$\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon-$	$\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon-$

In the Acta Pauli the position is very similar: After $\chi\epsilon\kappa\alpha\varsigma$ we find $\epsilon\epsilon\iota\alpha-$ 19¹⁹, $\epsilon\iota\alpha\alpha-$ 14²⁷, 29², $\epsilon\gamma\alpha-$ 34¹⁵, 48²⁵, $\epsilon\gamma\alpha\alpha-$ 7⁵, 30¹, 33²¹, 50², 55⁵, $\epsilon\kappa\alpha\alpha-$ 21¹⁸, 22¹³, 20⁴⁷, 17¹⁷, $\epsilon\alpha\alpha-$ 46²², $\epsilon\gamma\alpha\alpha-$ 37¹⁹, 41¹¹, 80⁹;

similarly $\chi\epsilon$ $\epsilon\gamma\eta\alpha$ - BM leaf(ed.Schmidt,Sitz.Preuss.Ak.Wiss.Berlin 1909,216ff.). The same is found also in the Manichaeian manuscripts, e.g. ManiK 105¹², 112²⁷, 117²⁶ $\chi\epsilon\kappa\alpha\alpha\epsilon$ $\epsilon\gamma\eta\alpha$ -, 119¹⁷ $\chi\epsilon\kappa\alpha\alpha\epsilon$ $\epsilon\gamma\alpha$ -, etc., cf. $\chi\epsilon\gamma\eta\alpha$ - ib.86³, 101⁵, etc.. I think that, especially in view of the fact that in the Gospel of St. John in nominal sentences all but two cases have $\chi\epsilon\kappa\alpha\alpha\epsilon$ $\epsilon\pi\epsilon$... $\eta\alpha$ -, we may safely conclude that in Subachmimic, like in Achmimic, $\chi\epsilon\kappa\alpha\alpha\epsilon(\epsilon)$ and $\chi\epsilon$ final are normally followed by future II; also, there seems no reason why in some cases the forms $\epsilon\epsilon\eta\alpha$ -, $\epsilon\kappa\eta\alpha$ -, etc., in others $\epsilon\epsilon\eta\alpha$ -, $\epsilon\kappa\alpha$ -, etc., are used. It also seems probable in view of the evidence available, that if some Sahidic manuscripts use future II after $\chi\epsilon$ final and $\chi\epsilon\kappa\alpha\alpha\epsilon$, this is probably due to Achmimic or Subachmimic influence, cf. e.g. BG(in Schmidt, Die alten Petrusakten, a manuscript well known for its achmimicisms) 129¹⁷ $\chi\epsilon\kappa\alpha\epsilon$ $\alpha\epsilon$ $\epsilon\pi\epsilon$ $\tau\epsilon\kappa\psi\chi\eta$ $\eta\alpha\pi\eta\theta\epsilon$. The non-literary texts, especially those from Thebes, provide numerous examples where $\chi\epsilon$ and $\chi\epsilon\kappa\alpha\alpha\epsilon$ are followed by future II, but I hope to deal with these in a later study.

(2) In the Gospel of St. John there is still some evidence that the forms $\epsilon\eta\alpha$ -, $\epsilon\kappa\alpha$ -, etc. originally were distinct from $\epsilon\eta\alpha$ -, $\epsilon\kappa\eta\alpha$ -, etc.; thus in questions, where all dialects require the use of the second future, the forms $\epsilon\epsilon\eta\alpha$ -, $\epsilon\kappa\eta\alpha$ -, are mostly used: 3⁴, 9⁶, 52⁷, 35⁸, 22¹², 33¹⁴, 32¹⁸, but we find $\epsilon\alpha$ - once 19²⁴ and $\epsilon\eta\alpha$ - twice 6⁵, 68⁶; it is interesting to note that 5⁴⁴, 47⁴⁷ $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\eta\alpha$ - not $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\eta\alpha$ - is used, cf. also 4²¹. In the Acta Pauli $\epsilon\kappa\alpha$ - occurs once 29⁶ where Sahidic would have $\epsilon\kappa\eta\alpha$ -. In the Manichaeian texts, however, the forms $\epsilon\eta\alpha$ -, $\epsilon\kappa\alpha$ -, etc. are frequently used where Sahidic would require $\epsilon\eta\alpha$ -, $\epsilon\kappa\eta\alpha$ -, etc., cf. Polotsky, Manichäische Homilien p. XIX, but perhaps even in these a complete analysis would show that in the majority of cases the forms $\epsilon\eta\alpha$ -, $\epsilon\kappa\alpha$ - occur in final clauses.

(3) Further evidence, that in Subachmimic the prefix $\epsilon\eta\alpha$ -,

εκα-, etc. represents, at least in some instances, the second future by omission of the Ν is provided by the fact that most of the manuscripts omit the future Ν also in the first future and in the future relative (see paragraphs 128, 130), although this is comparatively rare in the Gospel of St. John and does not seem to occur in the Acta Pauli.

Turning to non-literary texts we find the forms εια-, εκα-, εqa-, εca-, ενα-, ετετνα-, εya- occurring throughout Egypt, but there is an important distinction: At Thebes these forms represent the third future, corresponding to the Achmimic forms αια-, ακα-, etc., but elsewhere they almost invariably indicate the second future, corresponding to the forms in Subachmimic as noted above; this is of considerable interest for the localisation of Achmimic and Subachmimic, cf. chapter IX below.

- a) Representing the third future. In a number of early semi-Achmimic magical texts, BM 1223, 1224, L. Misc. L, P. Mich. 1523 (Ora. IV, 3f.) the Achmimic form of the prefix (ακα-, αqa-, ατετνα-, αya-) is still found, as also once in CO 168 αqa-, an instance cited Ep. I p. 249. The same prefix occurs as εκα- in two later magical texts which still show many Achmimicisms, the Carnarvon Papyrus (ed. Kropp K), and Bodl. Ms. Copt. c. 4 (ed. Crum, ÄZ XXXIV, 85ff.) (19 times !). Presumably all these texts come from Thebes, and in fact the Carnarvon papyrus was found in a jar at Deir el-Bakhit. Crum already in ÄZ XXXIV p. 86 note 2 commented on the frequent occurrence of this prefix in Bodl. Ms. Copt. c. 4, and noted that this also occurred several times in the Bruce Codex pp. 39ff. and 139ff. (the pages notable for their peculiar dialect). From non-literary texts the following examples may be cited:

C εκα- Ann. Serv. XV, 123; εca- Ryl. 329; εqca- (= εqe-) Ann. Serv. X, 275.

D εκα- Brunton, Qau and Badari III, pl. LII⁹, Murray, The Osireion at Abydos pl. XXVII (twice, numbers 6, 8).

E εϣα- BKU 66⁷,142¹,BIFAO III,208(this region ?); perhaps also εα- MH 97³, εα- ,εα- CO 482^{2,3}, εκα- RE 10^{vo.}.

- b) Following $\chi\epsilon$ final or $\chi\epsilon\kappa\alpha$ (α)c, representing the second or third futures, cf. above. Sah.Elias 12²⁸ εκα-(cf. also 3¹³,5²⁶); P. Gol.47 εκα-(passim).

C ST 184¹²(4th cent.), Ryl.127, BM 1113³, BMor.6201B159, VC 52³.

D WS 111(ΧΕΝΔΩΝΑ2).

E BKU 262¹⁰,299⁸.

- c) Representing the second future. Doubtful is P.Mich.136^{86,88}(Ora. IV,21) $\alpha\gamma\epsilon\omega\kappa\alpha\epsilon\tau\omicron\omicron\tau\epsilon\ \epsilon\tau\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \epsilon\pi\alpha\epsilon\iota\ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda\ \epsilon\mu\omicron\omicron\kappa\epsilon\ \alpha\gamma\epsilon\omega\kappa\alpha\epsilon\tau\omicron\omicron\tau\epsilon\ \epsilon\iota\pi\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\epsilon\ \epsilon\pi\alpha\beta\omega\kappa\ \epsilon\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\kappa\alpha\epsilon\tau\tau\epsilon\omega\ \dots$; it occurs also in BHom.2 $\omicron\upsilon\ \gamma\alpha\pi\ \kappa\epsilon\ \kappa\epsilon\tau\epsilon\pi\alpha\ \omega\ \alpha\alpha\gamma$, and often in late manuscripts, e.g.JKP p.90, BM 8,19,954. From non-literary texts the following may be cited; an interesting example is Bal.152⁹:

152⁸ $\epsilon\iota\gamma\alpha\kappa\omicron\upsilon\omega\omega\ \epsilon\chi\omicron\chi\epsilon\ (\text{leg. NO}\chi\epsilon)\ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda\ \epsilon\iota\kappa\alpha\tau\iota\ \dots$

152⁹ $\epsilon\pi\gamma\alpha\kappa\omicron\upsilon\omega\omega\ \epsilon\beta\omega\kappa\ \kappa\epsilon\ \gamma\alpha\pi\iota\gamma\alpha\pi\omicron\ \epsilon\pi\alpha\tau\iota\ \dots$

A εϣα-,εβα- = εϣνα- RAC pap.du Louvre 4,5.

B εκα- = εκνα- Kr.116¹⁰,BM 531(not fut.III as Crum supposed).

C (ε)ια- = εινα- Ryl.353,361,BM 1046⁴,1103²⁴,ST 172^{8,10,11}.

εκα- = εκνα- Ryl.200,277,352,359,385^{vo.(bis)},BM 1022⁷,1036⁵,1073⁴,1163¹,Kr.153⁶,VC 46¹⁵,BMor.6201A111,B74.

επα- = επενα- VC 52¹,BMor.6201A27².

εϣα-,εβα- = εϣνα- Ryl.130⁵,158³⁴,201,277²⁴,357,BM 1145⁶,1156¹,BMor.6201B14,44,126,170.

ενα- = εννα- Frequent, e.g.Ryl.291,etc..

εϣα- = εϣνα- BM 1022⁸,1060²,Kr.50¹¹,BMor.6201A27⁴.

D εια- = εινα- P.Lond.IV 1592 fr.4.

εκα- = εκνα- P.Jkow Cairo, Bal.214⁷,WS 103.

επα- = επενα- Bal.152⁹.

εϣα-,εβα- = εϣνα- P.Lond.V 1709^{27,82(?)},Bal.210²,P.Lond.IV 1578 2⁵.

εα- = ενα- Bal.245⁴.

ενα- = εнна- Bal.102²⁵, 186⁴⁸, 198, 224², 245³, 249¹⁹, P.Lond.IV 1518⁹,
1521⁸, 1552²⁶, 1553⁷, 17, 25.

E Perhaps εια- MH 97³, εια- , εια- CO 482², εια- RE 10^{vo}. (ib. za = cna- !),
cf. above.

130) Omission of N in the future relative; cf. paragraphs 80, 129, etc..

This is found a few times in the Subachmimic manuscripts: John
XIII, 6 η[ε]τα-εια, XVI, 26 ετα-εμωμ- (both cited by Thompson, l.c.p.
XIX), Acta Pauli 9¹⁴ ετα-κρине, ManiH (cited by Polotsky l.c.p. XIX)
53²⁷ μετα-ωντκ, 32¹¹ ετα-εμα-2τε, 31¹⁰ ετκα-6ντс, ManiK e.g. 86¹³, 204³³
ετqa-, cf. ib. 110^{3,4} νεка- = νεκна-, and in particular J&C 1921²⁶ (Sub-
achmimic !) ενεqa- = ενεqна-; see paragraph 129 above. From non-
literary texts the following examples may be noted:

C πετα- = πεтна Ryl. 353(bis), 361; ετεια- BM 1016⁴, πετεεια- BM 1017⁸.
D ετα- = εтна Bal. 102²⁴, 199⁵ (?), P.Lond.IV 1640; [η]τερα-χποу Bal. 46³⁴.
E παिता- = πεтна Ep. 102^{1,6}, нита- = πεтна ST 309; πετια- BM 488; (ε)τεα-
CO 181; all cited in Ep. I p. 249.

131) Omission of N in the second perfect; cf. paragraph 80.

Cf. Achm. Ex. II, 11 τα-γ+ετηγ δε

C αλλα τα-χοс JEA XIII, 19ff. (4th century), Ryl. 205, BM 1033⁵; та-γ-ε-α-
Ryl. 320.

D та- P.Lond.IV 1553^{vo.10}; та-γ- Bal. 277^{3f.}; та-с- Brunton, Qau and Ba-
dari III pl. IV no. 2⁵; та-γ- P.Lond.IV 1494³⁴.

E та- J. 16⁴⁸.

131A) Omission of N in the past relative; cf. paragraphs 80, 131, etc..

Cf. Achm. Elias 21¹⁸ νεi та-εiρε

A та- Krall Rec. VI papyrus III¹¹.

C та- Kr. 51³⁷, Ryl. 188²⁰, BM 1013³⁷; та-γ- Ryl. 200, 339; та-с- BM 1043¹³;
та-γ- MIF LIX, 238.

D та- Bal. 102²⁶; та-γ- P.Lond.IV 1512³⁸.

E та- VC 35²; та- BKU 274⁵; та-к- TurO 74¹⁶; та-γ- BKU 127.

F та-к-, та-γ- BM 446^{12,14}; та-н- VC 5⁸.

132) ε for η in the past relative; cf.paragraph 82 etc..

In Achmimic, Subachmimic (Mani only), Middle Egyptian, Fayyumic and Bohairic the past relative is ετα- for the Sahidic (ε)ητα-; in the Subachmimic St. John and Acta Pauli the use of the Sahidic ητα- is probably secondary and due to Sahidic, cf. chapter IX p.215 below. In the Subachm. St. John ετα- is found only once: III,11 ηεταννευ; cf. also Sah. Elias 10⁴ ετα-, 12²² ετακ-, 12³² εταυ-; Luke (BIFAO VIII, 76ff.) I, 55 κατα θε εταυ[α]χε; Sap. (Lagarde) IV, 16 ηδικαιος δε εταυμου; PS 103²¹ ηειπαχε εταυχοου ηβι σαλωμη. C κατα θε ετρωχοc J&C 1922⁷, ηετρωκω JEA XIII, 19ff.^{3,4} (both Melitian letters, 4th century); ηεταυτουνος KroppD¹⁰¹; ητωυ εταυτοκσυ BM 1073¹⁷; cf. τονου εταισωτη Ryl. 375. D ηετατηνχιτη (= ηετατηνχιτη) P. Lond. IV 1640;]εταυβωκ Bal. 233¹ (?). E κατα θε εταυχοc VC 84⁴. F ηαι εταυει BM 447⁷.

133) Omission of η in the first perfect negative; cf. paragraph 80, etc..

Achm. Mich. II, 1 χε πουγι; PS 45¹⁶ αυ ηε ηπειμε ηε χε, 141³ αυ πουγρ- λαυ, cf. 145¹¹ χε η(ηι) ηε ηπιστις σοφια ηηρεοτε. B ηε- BM 592¹¹; ηι- BM 593, 626; ηεκ- BM 595⁷; ηετην- VC 49; al.. C ηε- Ryl. 344; ηι- Jern. 8⁵; ηεκ- Ryl. 127⁴; ηυ- Ryl. 320; al.. D ηει-, ηι- ST 265^{4,5}; ηε- (= ηηι-) P. Lond. IV 1563²¹; ηεκ- Bal. 186⁵⁶, P. Lond. IV 1641; ηεν- P. Lond. IV 1553⁶, vo. 9, 1561⁵, 1565⁴⁷; ηου- P. Lond. IV 1599. E ηεγ- CO 136, cited Ep. I p. 249.

134) ε for η in the first perfect negative; cf. paragraph 82, etc..

C ηεκτηαυ Ryl. 358.
D εηην- (= ηηεν-) P. Lond. IV 1554^{31,32}.

135) Omission of η in ηατε-; cf. paragraph 80, etc..

D ηατη- P. Lond. IV 1646.
E ηατε- Bku 308; ηατα- Ep. 236¹³; both cited Ep. I p. 249.

136) np- for np̄-; cf. paragraphs 80, etc..

Achm. Hos. IV, 15 $\overline{\text{NTAK}} \Delta \epsilon \overline{\text{PM}} \overline{\text{L}} \overline{\text{PPATCAYN}} \epsilon$.

B BM 629, 597 (nελ-).

C Ryl. 320, 356, 393, BM 1119⁹.

D WS 106, ST 330⁶ (this region ?).

137) επερ- for np̄-; cf. paragraphs 82, etc..

D P. Lond. IV 1639.

138) Unusual forms of the conjunctive.

For the conjunctive in the literary dialects and its equivalent in Egyptian we have the following forms, cf. the grammars of Till, Chaîne, and especially Steindorff, Lehrbuch der Koptischen Grammatik par. 366, and for the Egyptian origin A. H. Gardiner in JEA XIV, 86ff.:

	Late Eg., Demotic	Bohairic	Sahidic	Fayyumic	Subachm.	Achmimic
nom.	mt(ω)	NTE-	NTE-	NTE-	NTE-	TE-
lsing.	mt(ω)-i	NTA-	{NTA- TA-}	{NTA- TA-}	{NTA- TA-}	TA-
2 m.	mt(ω)-k	NTEK-	NT-	N(ε)K-	NT-	K-
2 f.	mt(ω)-t	NTE-	NTE-	NTE-	NTE-	TE-
3 m.	mt(ω)-f	NTEY-	NTY-	N(ε)Y-	NTY-	Y-
3 f.	mt(ω)-s	NTEC-	NTC-	N(ε)C-	NTC-	C-
1 pl.	mt(ω)-n	NTE N-	NTN-	NT(ε)N-	NTN-	TN-
2	mt(ω)-tn	NTETEN-	NTETN-	NTET(ε)N-	NTETN-	TETN-
3	{mt(ω)-sn, mt(ω)-w}	{NTOY- NCE-}	NCE	NCE	NCE-	{CE- COY-}

Bohairic is the only Coptic literary dialect which has preserved not only the ancient τ in NTEK-, NTEY-, NTEC-, but also the two alternative forms for the third plural, cf. Polotsky, Études de Syntaxe Copte pp. 10f. and others. In Achmimic this has gone further and even the N is lost, though it is rarely preserved, cf. Till, Achm.-Kopt. Grammatik par. 139a. In Subachmimic the forms normally are the same as in Sahidic, but in the Gospel of St. John the Achmimic forms are found occasionally: K- V, 8, IX, 7, cf. V, 11

κ- corrected to $\bar{\kappa}$, similarly VIII, 50 q- corrected to $\bar{\eta}$ q-, $\tau\epsilon\tau\bar{\eta}$ -X, 38 cf. also Thompson, l.c.p. XVIII. The Achmimic form $\epsilon\epsilon$ for $\bar{\eta}\epsilon\epsilon$ occurs also once in the Berlin Psalter (ed. Rahlfs) LXXXIX, 30, cf. PS 14²¹ (preceded by $\Delta\bar{\eta}$). In VC 93^{4,9} $\epsilon\kappa$ seems to stand for $\eta\Gamma$ -.

Non-literary texts, however, have preserved important evidence that even in Upper Egypt the original forms with τ and the alternative form of the third plural $\eta\tau\omega\gamma$ - were still known and used in the daily language of the people. At Thebes the full forms $\eta\tau\epsilon\kappa$ -, etc. are sometimes found, but elsewhere they occur with the η omitted as in Achmimic. These forms, with or without the η , are also sometimes found in literary manuscripts of a late period, cf. Till, Heil.-u. Mär.-legenden I p. 39, Crum in JEA XXVII, 180 note 6, Till in AZ LXXVII (1942), 110ff., and JKP p. 93. In addition the η is also frequently omitted in the other forms of the conjunctive and $\eta\tau\omega\gamma$ - is often found for $\eta\epsilon\epsilon$ -. The following is the non-literary evidence:

- A $\tau\kappa$ - Krall Rec. VI, 63ff., papyrus II⁶.
- B $\tau\epsilon$ - = $\eta\tau\epsilon$ - BM 587³, 586¹¹
 $\tau\epsilon\kappa$ - = $\eta\Gamma$ - BM 545 II⁷,
 $\tau\epsilon\eta$ - = $\eta\eta$ - BM 545 II¹³, 530¹⁶,
 $\tau\epsilon\eta$ - = $\eta\tau\eta$ - BM 586¹¹, Kr. 116,
 $\tau\omega\gamma$ - = $\eta\epsilon\epsilon$ - BM 544^{20,28}
 $\eta\tau\omega\gamma$ - = $\eta\epsilon\epsilon$ - Kr. 3⁴, 38⁹.
- C $\tau\epsilon$ - = $\eta\tau\epsilon$ - BM 1060², Ryl. 277⁹, 331, Baouit (Mem. XXXIX) p. 31, MIF IIX, 49,
 127, 281, Cramer, Totenklage 2²⁷ (A.D. 765).
 $\tau\epsilon\kappa$ - = $\eta\Gamma$ - BM 1024^{5,15}, 1155⁶, BMor. 6201A59a.
 $\tau\epsilon\eta$ - = $\eta\eta$ - BM 1163^{3,4}.
 $\tau\epsilon\eta$ - = $\eta\tau\eta$ - Ryl. 144⁷, 207, 316 (bis), 320 ($\tau\eta\eta$ -), 323, Kr. 5¹⁶.
 $\tau\epsilon\tau\eta$ - = $\eta\tau\epsilon\tau\eta$ - Ryl. 287, 319, 334, BMor. 6201B52.
 $\tau\omega\gamma$ - = $\eta\epsilon\epsilon$ - Ryl. 331, 340, 369, BM 1174³, VC 52^{3,5} (this region?).
 $\eta\tau\omega\gamma$ - = $\eta\epsilon\epsilon$ - Ryl. 136, 285, 319 (ter), 323, 381, BMor. 6201B67, ST 172¹¹,

KroppD^{7,59,84}.

roy- = nce- Ryl.316,349,Kr.241⁴,P.Černý(ined.) line 8.

rey- = nce- Ryl.370(9th - 11th century).

D re- = nre- Bal.241¹¹,259³.

reK- = nr- Bal.100⁴,239⁴,P.Lond.IV 1637,1639.

reY- = ny- Bal.187¹¹,202¹⁴,239⁵,246^{3,10},249¹⁸,P.Lond.IV 1528¹²,
1634¹⁰,1639,1644.

reN- = NTN Bal.102²³,103⁶,154¹²,202¹¹,223¹⁰,226²,WS 161,P.Lond.IV
1494¹⁹,1495⁶,1509²⁰,1518^{12,16,18},1521^{13,15,21},1531¹²,
1532²,1533^{4(ter)},1573¹⁵,1641,1646,Brunton,Matmar p.95,
also Bal.45¹⁸.

reN(ε)- = nreN- Bal.223⁸,229^{5,6}.

coy- = nce- P.Lond.V 1709⁸³,P.Jkow Cairo(4 times),P.Lond.IV 1495,
1573¹⁵,1578,1593¹²,1633,1634⁹.

ncoy- = nce Bal.188¹¹,189^{11(?)},13,202²²,WS 174.

roy- = nce- P.Jkow Cairo(twice),Bal.187^{12,13},214¹⁸,P.Lond.IV 1494,
1639,1640.

E Most of the examples cited in Ep.I p.248.

nreK- = nr- ST 174,227²⁵,Louvre R 49.

rk- = nr- Hall p.127 inf..

reY- = ny- ST 178¹⁹,BMO.6943(12),VC 82⁹.

ry- = ny- CO 185¹⁶,Ad 27^{7(?)}.

rn- = NTN- BKU 262¹⁴.

ncoy- = nce- CO 284⁸,BKU 73³,Worrell,Coptic Texts IV,6(bis),BP 5182.

coy,co- = nce- CO 314¹³,ST 55¹¹.

roy- = nce- CO 484¹¹,Hall p.127 inf..

nre- = nce- RE 5.

Further examples could be cited for regions B and C. A remarkable form of the conjunctive occurs three times in VC 80^{10,11,18}, presumably from Thebes, εττα- for ντα-; very remarkable, too, is εnek- for nr- in RAC papyrus du Louvre 8, a text from Saqqara, sug-

gesting a pronunciation for the forms $\bar{n}r-$, $\bar{n}q-$, $\bar{n}c-$ which has been put forward by Till in his review of Plumley, An introductory Coptic Grammar in Orientalia XXI, 125; on the other hand, the forms $n\bar{r}-$, $n\bar{q}-$, $n\bar{c}-$ often occur as $nek-$, $neq-$, $nec-$ in non-literary texts, and in early literary texts like number 17 in the present collection the superlinear stroke $\bar{n}r-$, not $\bar{n}r-$, would seem to indicate a similar pronunciation.

139) oy for e in verbal prefixes; cf. paragraphs 28 etc..

a) In the conjunctive $noy-$ is frequently found for $nce-$, see paragraph 138.

b) It occurs a few times in the 1st. present: $coy- = ce-$.

Achm. I Clem. (Schmidt) 19^{30, 31}.

C Ryl. 129, 136, 137, 321, BM 1107⁴, 1158¹, Kr. 5²⁸, 139¹², VC 46¹⁸, al..

D Bal. 239⁶.

E CO 467⁷, Ep. 398⁸, TurO 7⁹, cf. Ep. I p. 249 note 2.

c) Sah. Elias 3³⁰ $coyna- = cenā-$, ib. 11³¹ $troy- = trey-$.

d) Closely allied to $noy- = noy- = nce-$ (par. 138), and perhaps by false analogy are certain forms $toy-$ and $toyna-$ for $ce-$, $cenā-$ to which Crum has drawn attention in JEA XXVII, 180 note 6 in a few Bohairic, Fayyumic and Sahidic texts. To these may be added:

B $toy-$ BM 591^{7, 11}.

D $toyna-$ Bal. 214¹⁰.

140) Unusual forms of the 2nd. plural in verbal prefixes and the possessive adjective, showing metathesis of the second vowel, e.g. $\alpha\tau(\epsilon\tau)ne-$ for $\alpha\tau\epsilon\tau n-$; cf. paragraph 19.

This is very common in texts from Ashmunein. It is probably related to the Achmimic practice of transferring the vowel in final closed syllables ending with $\beta, \lambda, \mu, \nu, \rho$, e.g. $cwt\bar{u}t$ for $cwt\bar{u}$, though in Achmimic the 2nd. plural of verbal prefixes and the possessive adjective is normal as in the other literary dialects, e.g. $\alpha\tau\epsilon\tau\bar{n}-$. Only a few examples can be cited from the Fayyum, but

this may be due to the fact that non-literary texts from the Fayyum normally employ the 2nd.singular even when addressing superiors, where texts from Ashmunein and elsewhere would prefer the 2nd plural, e.g. $\tau\omega\iota\eta\iota \epsilon\tau\epsilon\kappa\mu\epsilon\tau\chi\alpha\iota\varsigma$ for $\tau\iota\omega\iota\eta\epsilon \epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\eta\mu\alpha\iota\tau\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma$. I have not been able to find any examples for this in early literary texts, except Br.127⁶ $\epsilon\alpha\tau\epsilon\tau\eta\epsilon \epsilon\mu$.

a) Verbal prefixes.

B $\eta\tau\epsilon\tau\eta\epsilon = \eta\tau\epsilon\tau\eta -$ Kr.3³, 17, 20.

$\tau\alpha\lambda\epsilon\tau\eta\epsilon = \tau\alpha\lambda\epsilon\tau\eta -$ Kr.3¹¹, 14, 19.

C $\alpha\tau\eta\epsilon = \alpha\tau\epsilon\tau\eta -$ Ryl.129^{3,4}, 132^{vo}, 135⁴, 174, 331, 334, Kr.128, Jern.1²,
BM 1014³, 1046², 1104¹⁰, BMor.6201A76, B30, 138, 167, al.

$\alpha\tau\epsilon\tau\eta\epsilon = \alpha\tau\epsilon\tau\eta -$ BM 1046³.

$\eta\tau\alpha\tau\eta\epsilon = \eta\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon\tau\eta -$ Ryl.166, 185, 287(bis), 321, al..

$\eta\tau\alpha\tau\eta\eta\epsilon = \eta\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon\tau\eta -$ BM 1146¹.

$\tau\epsilon\tau\eta\epsilon = \tau\epsilon\tau\eta -$ Ryl.287, 319, BM 1141⁴, 1145⁷, 1151⁸, 1106⁴, BMor.6201
B36, al..

$\tau\epsilon\tau\eta\eta = \tau\epsilon\tau\eta -$ Ryl.284.

$\epsilon\tau\eta\epsilon = \epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\eta -$ Ryl.287, BM 1156⁴, 1104^{10,14}, BMor.6201A68, 80, B30.

$\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\eta\epsilon = \epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\eta -$ BM 1156³.

$\eta\tau\epsilon\tau\eta\epsilon = \eta\tau\epsilon\tau\eta -$ Ryl.196(ter), 280, 319, 321, 334, BM 1104^{15,17}, BMor.
6201B1, 67, al..

$\tau\epsilon\tau\eta\epsilon = \eta\tau\epsilon\tau\eta -$ Ryl.287, 319, 334, BMor.6201B52.

$\tau\eta\tau\eta\epsilon = \eta\tau\epsilon\tau\eta -$ BM 1146⁴.

$\omega\alpha\tau\eta\epsilon = \omega\alpha\tau\epsilon\tau\eta -$ Kr.121, BM 1108⁶, BMor.6201A156, B52.

$\omega\alpha\tau\eta\eta = \omega\alpha\tau\epsilon\tau\eta -$ BM 1124⁷.

$\mu\alpha\tau\eta\epsilon = ? \mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\eta -$ Jern.6^{vo.4}(?).

$\eta\eta\epsilon\tau\eta\epsilon = \eta\eta\epsilon\tau\eta -$ Ryl.148, 141, 319.

$\mu\eta\epsilon\tau\eta\epsilon = \mu\eta\epsilon\tau\eta -$ Ryl.278, BM 1014⁹, BMor.6201A76.

$\omega\alpha\eta\tau\epsilon\tau\eta\epsilon = \omega\alpha\eta\tau\epsilon\tau\eta -$ Ryl.305.

$\epsilon\tau\eta\epsilon = \epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\eta -$ (rel.) Ryl.141, 207, 281, 283, 287, KroppD¹⁸.

$\epsilon\tau\eta\eta = \epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\eta -$ (rel.) BM 1124⁸.

ETETNE- = ETETN- Ryl.166.

TAPETNE- = TAPETN- BMO.6201B139, 146.

D ATNE- = ATETN- Bal.153¹, 268^{1(?)}, ³, P.Lond.IV 1509⁹, 1637.

NTATNE- = NTATETN- P.Lond.IV 1553^{vo.17}.

NTETNE- = NTETN- Bal.231².

TETNE- = NTETN- Bal.223⁸.

YATNE- = YATETN- Bal.223⁸, 266⁷.

ETETNE- = ETETN- Bal.283¹.

E Most of the examples are listed in Ep.I p.249.

ATNE- = ATETN- ST 364³, Ep.541⁴, VC 40², 95³.

ATTNE- = ATETN- VC 95^{4,5}.

TETNE- = TETN- ST 394⁵.

ETNE- = ETETN- BKU 318^{vo.3,7}, Ep.84A⁹.

NTETNH- = NTETN- ST 333^{1,5(bis)}.

NTNE- = NTETN- COAd 38⁸.

YATNE- = YATETN- Hall p.89 no.1³.

MATNE- = MATETN- CO 61⁴.

ENETNE- = NNETN- CO Ad60⁹.

UNTNE- = UNTETN- CO Ad52⁵.

OYATNE- = OYATETN- CO Ad38⁵.

b) The possessive adjective: NETNE-, TETNE-, NETNE-, for NETN-, TETN-, NETN-.

B Kr.3⁹, BM 661, al..

C Very common, e.g. Ryl.129, 196(bis), 280(ter), 283, 287, 303, 305, 308, 319(ter), 321(bis), 327, 325(bis), 334, Kr.114³, 118⁵, BM 1028⁹, 1068¹¹, 1079a^{4,6}, 1104¹⁷, 1133⁶, 1151¹², KroppD¹⁵, BMO.6201A80, B2, 14(ter), 30, 41, 67(bis), etc..

D Bal.191⁷, 260², 266⁷, P.Lond.IV 1592 fr.5.

E RE 10^{vo.}, cf. THPTNE CO 277^{3f}. cited Ep.I p.249.

NETNH-, TETNH-, NETNH- for NETN-, TETN-, NETN-:

C BM 483(passim), 1124^{vo.}, 1138^{vo.}, 1146¹⁰.

E ST 333⁴.

141) Omission of final η in the 2nd.plural of verbal auxiliaries and the possessive adjective; cf.paragraphs 80,143,etc..

a) Verbal auxiliaries, cf.JKP p.90.

B $\eta\tau\epsilon\tau-$ = $\eta\tau\epsilon\tau\eta-$ BM 529⁷.

$\varpi\alpha\eta\tau\epsilon\tau-$ = $\varpi\alpha\eta\tau\epsilon\tau\eta-$ BM 529⁷.

C $\tau\epsilon\tau-$ = $\tau\epsilon\tau\eta-$ Ryl.385, BM 1118²($\tau\epsilon\tau\tau-$).

$\eta\tau\epsilon\tau-$ = $\eta\tau\epsilon\tau\eta-$ BMO.6201B80, 105(bis).

$\tau\epsilon\tau-$ = $\eta\tau\epsilon\tau\eta-$ P.Černý(ined.), BMO.6201B52.

$\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\eta\epsilon-$ = $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\eta\eta\epsilon-$ MIF LIX, 196².

D $\tau\epsilon\tau-$ = $\tau\epsilon\tau\eta-$ Bal.188¹⁶.

$\eta\eta\epsilon\tau-$ = $\eta\eta\epsilon\tau\eta-$ Bal.188¹⁴.

b) Possessive adjective, cf.JKP p.90, Jern.1 note.

B $\eta\epsilon\tau\sigma\mu\omicron\upsilon$ Kr.227¹³; $\eta\epsilon\tau\omega\beta$ Kr.236¹¹; $\eta\epsilon\tau\omega\lambda\iota\omicron\upsilon$ BM 599(late).

C $\tau\epsilon\tau\alpha\eta\tau\epsilon\omega\tau$ BMO.6201B61; $\tau\epsilon\tau\alpha\tau\sigma\eta$ Jern.1; $\tau\epsilon\tau\mu\epsilon\tau\mu\epsilon\tau$ Ryl.376(late);

$\eta\epsilon\tau\eta$ BMO.6201B230; $\eta\epsilon\tau\sigma\mu\omicron\upsilon$ BMO.6201B86; $\eta\epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\omega$, $\eta\epsilon\tau\omega\eta\epsilon$ BM

1143¹⁴; $\eta\epsilon\tau\omega\eta\epsilon$ BMO.6201A138c; $\eta\epsilon\tau\omega$ P.Černý(ined.), BM 1132⁵.

D $\tau\epsilon\tau\alpha\eta\iota\omega\tau$ WS 112^{2,3}; $\tau\epsilon\tau\alpha\eta\sigma\eta$ Brunton, Matmar p.95; $\eta\epsilon\tau\omega$ Bal.248¹⁷.

E $\eta\epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\chi\alpha\iota$ BKO 262¹⁵(but ib.¹⁰ $\eta\epsilon\tau\eta\omicron\upsilon\chi\alpha\iota$).

142) ϵ for final η in the 2nd.plural; cf.paragraphs 82,141,143.

C $\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon-$ = $\tau\epsilon\tau\eta-$, $\eta\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon-$ = $\eta\tau\epsilon\tau\eta-$ (ter), $\varpi\alpha\eta\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon-$ = $\varpi\alpha\eta\tau\epsilon\tau\eta-$ BP 10589; $\eta\eta\epsilon\tau\epsilon-$

= $\eta\eta\epsilon\tau\eta-$ BM 1014¹⁰; $\eta\epsilon\tau\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\omicron\iota$ P.Černý(ined.); $\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon\mu\epsilon\tau\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ BM 473,

Krall, MR V p.31; $\eta\epsilon\tau\epsilon\omega\mu\epsilon$ BMO.6201A28a.

143) Remarkable forms of the 2nd plural in verbal auxiliaries; cf.paragraphs 140,141,142.

The forms cited below are probably due to the same phenomena already noted in paragraphs 140,141,142, but here the process of shortening the 2nd.plural forms has gone even further. It may be noted, however, that most of the examples are confined to a few texts, Bal.188 - 190, all by the same scribe, BP 10589 from Ashmunein and ST 48 from Thebes; nevertheless, a few examples

from other texts are known. The dialect of Bal.188-190 and that of BP 10589 are early examples of a dialect which became current in the tenth century Coptic poetical texts and the remarkable $\alpha\tau$ - for $\alpha\tau\epsilon\tau\alpha\tau$ - is found once in these texts, cf. JKP p.90. Further points of contact with these later texts are $\epsilon = \alpha$, $\epsilon\chi\omega\tau = \epsilon\chi\alpha\tau$, $\alpha\kappa\omega\tau = \alpha\kappa\epsilon\tau$ in Bal.188-190, and $\epsilon = \alpha$, ϵ omitted, in BP 10589.

Two early examples: PS 84⁶, Achm.Hab.I, 5 $\epsilon\tau\alpha\tau = \epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\alpha\tau$.

a) C $\alpha\tau\alpha\tau = \alpha\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon\tau\alpha\tau$ BMor.6201B133.

$\epsilon\tau\alpha\tau = \epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\alpha\tau$ Ryl.326, 366, Kr.113⁵, 138⁶, 152⁸, 153⁹, VC 46⁴.

D $\alpha\tau = \alpha\tau\epsilon\tau\alpha\tau$ Bal.188⁵, 262⁶(?).

$\alpha\tau\alpha\tau = \alpha\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon\tau\alpha\tau$ Bal.188⁴.

$\omega\alpha\tau = \omega\alpha\tau\epsilon\tau\alpha\tau$ Bal.188¹⁰, 189⁸.

$\epsilon\tau = \epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\alpha\tau$ Bal.190³.

$\epsilon\tau\alpha\tau = \epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\alpha\tau$ P.Lond.IV 1553^{vo.21}.

b) C $\alpha\tau\alpha\tau = \alpha\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon\tau\alpha\tau$ Ryl.269(4th-5th cent.), BM 1014⁸.

D $\omega\alpha\tau\alpha\tau = \omega\alpha\tau\epsilon\tau\alpha\tau$ Bal.192^{20f.}.

$\epsilon\tau\alpha\tau = \epsilon\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon\tau\alpha\tau$ P.Lond.IV 1640³.

$\epsilon\tau\alpha\tau = \epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\alpha\tau$ Bal.189^{15,18}(?).

c) C $\alpha\tau\epsilon = \alpha\tau\epsilon\tau\alpha\tau$ BP 10589.

$\epsilon\tau\epsilon = \epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\alpha\tau$ BP 10589(bis).

D $\epsilon\tau\epsilon = \epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\alpha\tau$ Bal.199⁵(? reading $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\kappa\alpha$, but doubtful).

$\epsilon\tau\epsilon\alpha\tau = \epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\alpha\tau$ Grohmann, Ar.Pap.Eg.Libr.III, 167¹²

E $\alpha\tau\epsilon = \alpha\tau\epsilon\tau\alpha\tau$ ST 48(3 times, sixth century).

143A) $\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon$, $\alpha\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon$.

a) Temporalis. For the origin of this tense see Steindorff, Lehrbuch d.Kopt.Grammatik par.447 and references there. In Achmimic the forms of the temporalis vary between $\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon$ and $\alpha\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon$, cf. Till, Achm. Kopt.Grammatik par.138a. The omission of α , found particularly in the Berlin I Clement is clearly a secondary development, and in fact the earliest Achmimic text proper, the Achmimic Proverbs, has $\alpha\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon\tau$ VIII, 31 and $\alpha\tau\alpha\tau\omega\tau$ I, 22 — against Boehlig's assumption

in his Untersuchungen über die koptischen Proverbientexte p.49.

For the omission of ω in Coptic texts cf. paragraph 80 above.

The Achmimic (and Subachmimic) form $\pi\tau\alpha\epsilon$ - for Sahidic $\pi\tau\epsilon\epsilon$ - is sometimes found in Sahidic manuscripts, especially the Berlin Gnostic text, also Sah. Elias I, 15 and Wessely, Sah.-Gr. Ps.-Fragm. pp. 69, 113.

- b) Finalis. In Sahidic and Fayyumic texts $\tau\alpha\epsilon$ - sometimes occurs as $\pi\tau\alpha\epsilon$ -, cf. Crum, Dictionary p. 424b and in particular Polotsky, Études de Syntaxe Copte pp. 9ff.. For the addition of the ω which is probably secondary (Polotsky) cf. paragraph 79A above. In view of the fact that in Achmimic $\pi\tau\alpha\epsilon$ - and $\tau\alpha\epsilon$ - were also used for the temporalis, it seems probable that this influenced the $\pi\tau\alpha\epsilon$ - of the Bruce Codex (cf. Polotsky, l.c. p. 10) which was found at Thebes and has many Achmimic forms, and also the $\pi\tau\alpha\epsilon$ which occurs in a number of non-literary texts from Thebes.

$\pi\tau\alpha\epsilon$ - occurs in Br. 40^{11, 24, 45} note, 108²⁴, also Worrell, Proverbs VII, 2, and a number of times in manuscripts from the Fayyum, especially in the Hamouli manuscripts, e.g. J. Drescher, Apa Mena p. 16a¹¹, James IV, 10 (in Horner), etc.. Further examples in literary texts are cited in Crum, Dictionary p. 424b.

C $\pi\tau\alpha\epsilon\pi$ - BM 1102 (4th century); cf. $\pi\tau\epsilon\epsilon\kappa$ -^(sic) Ryl. 277²³.

E CO 254, Ad 25, Ep. 72, 199, 275, RE 44, BKU 259, JAOS XLVIII, 154, al., cf. Ep. I p. 249, CO 254 note 2 (p. 64).

144) $\mu\pi\omega\epsilon$ - for $\mu\pi\epsilon$ -.

This occurs twice in the semi-Achmimic BM 1224, also in a number of literary texts, cf. Crum, Dictionary p. 178b and Jern, 5¹ note.

From non-literary texts the following examples may be cited:

C Ryl. 352 (early), Jern. 5¹, BM 1103^{16, 21, 24, 31}, 1157⁴, Worrell, Coptic Texts III, 5¹⁴.

D Bal. 223⁸, 229⁸, 267⁴, 271⁵.

E CO 271, Ad 55, Hall p. 73, ST 222, BKU 276, cf. Ep. I p. 249.

145) Unusual verbal prefixes.

The forms cited below are undoubtedly due mostly to scribal errors; cf. also paragraphs 148, 148A, 148B.

A περε- for πετερε- RAC papyri du Louvre 5, 7, 8.

C εεικειρε for εκε ειρε J&C 1921, cf. Proverbs (Worrell) pp. 30, 86 εκ- = εκε-, ευ- = ευε-; ερετακ- for ουντηκ- (?) Ryl. 127³; πνπηααγ for πετ-μπηααγ Ryl. 277.

D εραροειε for ετραροειε Bal. 138⁵; ξε νιμενκαα[for ξε νπενκαα[P. Lond. IV 1559⁶.

E πεναγωωχη for πετναγωωχη ST 39; νεικτεχε for †στοιχει J. 1¹¹⁷, sim. ib. ¹²⁴; ετρα- for ετρε- Bku 259⁸.

146) Omission of ρ in the causative verbal prefix.

The ρ of the causative verbal prefix is omitted regularly in Achmimic, cf. Till, Achm.-Kopt. Grammatik par. 145a, usually in the Subachmimic Manichaean manuscripts, cf. Schmidt-Polotsky, Ein Manifund p. 11, and sometimes in Fayyumic, e.g. Gal. VI, 13, 17, Eph. I, 18, 22 (BSAC VI), Acts XVI, 14 (Museon XLII, 193ff.), further references in Crum, Dictionary p. 430a. On the other hand there can be no question that the omission of the ρ is secondary, since it is present not only in its Egyptian equivalent, cf. Spiegelberg, Dem. Grammatik par. 187, al., but also in the pre-Achmimic texts, the Achmimic Ascension of Isaiah and the Berlin Genesis, see chapter IX pp. 203 ff., the earliest Subachmimic manuscripts, the Gospel of St. John and the Acta Pauli, see chapter IX pp. 206f., though notably not J&C 1921²⁵, and the earliest Fayyumic manuscripts, e.g. Acts VII, 19. The ρ is also omitted four times in the semi-Achmimic BM 1223 and a number of times in non-literary texts:

B ναττενωου BM 583.

C τετετε- Ryl. 281; μπρε- Ryl. 293; ωατε- BM 1110⁷; τατε- BMOx. 6201B 271; μπιβρωμε εφνηη αταχοουσου BMOx. 6201B 47; νγτουντου VC 47⁶ (4th century); cf. ατετογβολπου εφολ (= ? ατρεγβολπου εβολ) VC 46¹⁰.

D ἀχνηταγλανε Schmidt, *ÄZ* LXVIII, 60ff. line 28; ετατεκκαρωμε, μηρτεκ-
 υετ βωρε P. Jkwo (Cairo); ναττουχινουγ P. Lond. IV 1644.

E ετατε-J. 122⁵⁶; αντερωμε ντου CO 180¹⁶; ντατου† πολοκοτσε Ep. 339(?)
 all cited Ep. I p. 249.

147) ε- = ερε-, μα- = μαρε-, etc.; cf. paragraph 20a.

In Achmimic, according to Till, *Achm.-Kopt. Grammatik* we find side
 by side α- and αρε- (par. 123b), μα- and μαρε- (125), α-να- and αρε-
 να- (127a), να- and ναρε- (136a), ε- and ερε- (141a); similarly in
 the Subachmimic St. John we find ε- and ερε-, ε...να- and ερε...να-,
 ετε- and ετερε-, cf. Thompson p. XVIII. Similarly we find ε- for ερε-
 in Luke (BIFA O VIII, 76ff.) I, 43, P. Mich. 3565^{11, 12, 13} (Ora. IV, 15) and
 γα- for γαρε Pro. (Worrell) X, 16. In non-literary texts this is
 frequent only at Thebes. The omission of -ρε- is clearly a late
 and secondary development.

C ε...να- Ryl. 332; (ε)γα- = εγαρε- Kr. 29.

D ε- = ερε- Cramer, *Kopt. Inschr. K. F. Museum, Berlin* 9691 (A.D. 799-805).

E ε- = ερε- Ep. 232, CO 129⁸, 224⁶, ST 50⁵; ε...να- = ερε...να- CO 57¹⁶, 58⁵,
 63², TurO 14¹³; μα- = μαρε- CO 61¹⁸, 300⁴, 342¹⁰, 381¹³, RE 3, BKU 260,
 Worrell, *Coptic Texts* IV, 8; cf. Ep. I pp. 249, 251.

148) α- as verbal prefix.

This remarkable verbal prefix occurs in four texts from Ashmunein
 where it seems to correspond to the first perfect, and these four
 instances can hardly be regarded as mere scribal errors. In BM
 604 a prefix αη- is used, again for a past tense, but there it is
 clearly not the first perfect.

B BM 604: λειπων εωφη! αννουτι αη† νεκ ακβνωβ αρι αννουτι αη† νεκ βω
 νεκ μαν.... πετγαρε [η]νουτι αη† τι μμαη νει γα(ι)εντη ταει γατηκ....

C εωφνε αη† ταγο ουλααυ BM 1144⁴; αλλα αη† τααυ Ryl. 229; επι αη† βιτ
 επμα Ryl. 331; αω αη† ογαζ νεου... BMO. 6201A168.

148A) ακει-, ντακει-, εκει for ακ-, ντακ-, εκ-; αiei- for αi-.

These remarkable forms occur in three texts, all from region D.

texts from Middle Egypt showing an unusual dialect, here called Middle Egyptian, which will be found discussed fully in chapter IX, pp.220ff. below. In the texts of this dialect we find a definite standardised system employed to distinguish the Perfect I, Perfect II, Past Relative, Present II and the Circumstantial; and these forms differ in certain particulars from the other literary dialects. These differences will be obvious from the diagram on the opposite page. The various manuscripts will be found discussed in Chapter IX pp.220ff. and 224ff.. JEA XIII,19ff. is a Sahidic letter from the Melitian archive, but in it many forms and in particular the verbal system have been taken over from the Middle Egyptian dialect, cf. chapter IX p.241.

If to the diagram on the opposite page the evidence of the important P.Mich.3520,3521 were added, the distinction would be even clearer, but we must await the eventual publication of these two codices.

To these manuscripts must be added the evidence of the Subachmimic Acta Pauli (ed. Schmidt) where the 1st. Perfect nominal prefix is always *za-*, whereas the other forms are normal, e.g. *ae-*, *ak-*, etc.; we also find *eza-* for *ea-*, and *neza-* 45¹¹ for (?) *nta-* or *nape-*, cf. *neay-* 42¹⁸, 54². In the Subachmimic Mani (the first unpublished part of the Psalmbook) the prefix *za-* occurs a number of times side by side with the normal forms of the first Perfect. Of considerable interest is the fact that in the recently published Achmimic Ascension of Isaiah (see pp.203ff. below) we find the prefix *za-* used side by side with the normal forms, thus:

<i>za(e)l-</i>	VII,14,29, XI,36,37	<i>a(e)l-</i>	VIII,17, IX,11, XI,16
<i>zaq-</i>	IX,28	<i>aq-</i>	I,2, VI,10, VII,12,13, IX,28,30, X,27, XI,36.
<i>zan-</i>	---	<i>an-</i>	VIII,17
<i>zay-</i>	VI,10, IX,28(bis ?)	<i>ay-</i>	VIII,16, IX,11,29.

Diagram:

(Dialects)	Perfect I	Perfect II	Past Rel.	Present II	Circumst.
Sahidic	α-, αι-, etc.	NTα-, NTαι-, etc.	ENTα-, ENTαι-, etc.	επε-, ει-, etc.	επε-, ει-, etc.
Achmimic	α-, αι-, etc.	Na-, Nαι-, etc.	ETα-, ETαι-, etc.	α(ε)-, αι-, etc.	ε(ε)-, ει-, etc.
Subachmimic	α-, α(ε)ι-, etc.	NTα-, NTα(ε)ι-, etc.	{ NTα-, NTα(ε)ι-, etc. ETα-, ETαι-, etc.	ε(ε)-, ει-, etc.	ε(ε)-, ει-, etc.
Fayyumic	α-, αι-, etc.	{ αα-, ααϣ-, etc. ETα-, ETαι-, etc. NTα-, NTαι-, etc.	ETα-, ETαι-, etc.	απε-, αι-, etc.	επε-, ει-, etc.
Bohairic	α-, αι-, etc.	ETα-, ETαι-, etc.	ETα-, ETαι-, etc.	απε-, αι-, etc.	επε-, ει-, etc.
(Texts)					
J&C 1922	2ακ- 27 2αΝ- 4, 6, 11(3), 14	—	ET2αι- 7 ETεακ- 3	αι- 4 ακ- 5 αΝ- 21	εΝ- 4 εΥ- 1
JEA XIII, pp.19f.	2αϊ- 24 2αΝ- 15	(2)NE2αϊ- 10 Ταϊ- 10 (cf. Palotsky, l.c.)	ETε2αϊ- 9 ET2αϣ- 3, 4	αι- 9	ει- 8 (bis) εκ- 9 εϣ- 3, 4
Oxyrhynchus Romans IV	2αϊ- 17 2αϣ- 18, 19 2αΥ- 23	(2)NE2αΥ- 23	ETαϣ- 17	αϣ- 19 (probably, cf. Greek)	εϣ- 16, 19(2)
Hoskyns, Cam- bridge, ined.	2αϣ- 2αΥ-	—	—	ακ-	εε-
Genesis (WS) ined.	2αϣ- VI, 9 2αΥ- VI, 10	—	—	—	—
Job, WS 1	2αι- XXX, 9 2αϣ- XXX, 18 2αΥ- XXX, 9	—	—	—	—
Didache, ZNTW XXIV, 81ff.	2ακ- X, 3	—	ETε2ακ- X, 7 ETακ- X, 5 ETαΝ- XI, 1	απε- XI, 11 αϣ- X, 6 αϣγαν- XI, 2 (bis) 5, 6, 12	εϣ- XI, 2, 11, XII, 2 ετετΝ- X, 7 εΥ- X, 3, XI, 12
ÄZ XXXVI, pp.139f.	2αι- 2αϣ- (bis) 2αΥ-	—	—	αϣ- (Present II ?)	εϣ-

In addition, the prefix is found in four non-literary texts, three in Fayyumic and one in Sahidic, all of the Arab period:

BM 580^{5,6,7} $\eta\epsilon\tau\alpha-$, but cf. ib. $\alpha-$, $\alpha\epsilon-$ Perfect I.

Ryl. 415 $\alpha\alpha-$ (three times).

VC 115^{6,14} $\alpha\alpha-$, $\alpha\alpha\epsilon-$, but cf. ib. ^{6,10,11} $\alpha-$, $\alpha-$, $\epsilon\tau\alpha\beta-$.

BM 1111²⁰ $\alpha\alpha\epsilon-$, but cf. ib. $\alpha-$, $\eta\tau\alpha-$, etc..

It seems extremely probable that the forms $\alpha\alpha-$, $\alpha\alpha-$, $\alpha\alpha\epsilon-$, etc. are identical with those of the first Perfect in other dialects. Crum, citing Sethe, thought that $\alpha\alpha-$, $\alpha\alpha\gamma$ in Job XXX, 9 (WS 1) were present, cf. JEA XIII, 21 note 4, but Edgerton, JAOS LV, 260 note 14 demonstrated that these two instances like the others were probably past.

Further, as Edgerton, l.c. already pointed out, it seems highly unlikely that these forms $\alpha\alpha-$, $\alpha\alpha-$, etc. go back to Egyptian antecedents different from those of the Perfect I, whether the Egyptian antecedent of the Perfect I was $\omega\iota\iota\iota(\iota)$ as suggested by Edgerton, or $(\iota)\iota\iota(\iota)$ which is the more generally accepted view, cf. Edgerton, l.c. and references there. The insertion or omission of ϵ in early Coptic texts is so uncertain, that no real weight can be attached to its presence in the prefix $\alpha\alpha-$, see paragraphs 108, 123, 123A, 127F above. It seems probable that when the Middle Egyptian dialects were standardised, an attempt was made to distinguish between the Perfect I and Present II by the insertion of ϵ in the Perfect I, though the earliest text in this dialect, the Glossary to Hosea and Amos, ed. Bell and Thompson in JEA XI, 241ff., knows only the forms without ϵ , e.g. $\alpha\epsilon-$, $\alpha\epsilon\epsilon-$, etc.. On the other hand, there can be no question that there must have been a strong tradition to pronounce the Perfect I with an aspirate, as is witnessed not only by the two Old Coptic texts, but also by the Achmimic and Subachmimic texts in which the prefix $\alpha\alpha-$, $\alpha\alpha-$, etc., occurs side by side with the normal

forms, and in particular those late non-literary texts which have clearly no connection with the earlier literary texts.

It may be noted that the prefix $\epsilon\alpha\alpha$ - and the Achmimic prefix $\epsilon\tau\alpha\alpha$ -, discussed in the following paragraph, differ considerably in their usage, though etymologically they may be related.

150A) The verbal prefix $\epsilon\tau\alpha\alpha$ -.

The verbal prefix $\epsilon\tau\alpha\alpha$ - found in a number of Achmimic manuscripts has been discussed by a number of scholars: cf. Röscher, Vorbemerkungen zu einer Grammatik der achm. Mundart p.181, Sethe, AZ LII, 112ff., and Nachr. Gesellsch. Wiss. Göttingen 1919, 145ff., Till, Achm. Kopt. Grammatik par.236b, Crum, Dictionary p.24a, al..

As Roesch and others pointed out, this prefix is used instead of the normal $\epsilon\tau\alpha\gamma$ -, $\epsilon\tau\alpha\gamma$ -, but only to connect relative sentences where the subject is identical with the antecedent, e.g. I Clem. (Berlin) VI, 17 $\eta\mu\alpha\ \epsilon\tau\alpha\alpha\ \bar{\rho}\kappa\alpha\tau\epsilon\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\ \mu\mu\alpha\kappa$, and it corresponds exactly with those instances where present and future relative is $\epsilon\tau$ -, $\epsilon\tau\eta\alpha$ - instead of $\epsilon\tau\gamma$ -, $\epsilon\tau\gamma\eta\alpha$ -; and Sethe and Till have compared the use of a similar past prefix $\epsilon\bar{\rho}$ - found occasionally in the Subachmimic St. John and the Pistis Sophia which is used exactly like $\epsilon\tau\alpha\alpha$ -.

The only Achmimic manuscript in which the prefix is used more or less consistently is the Berlin I Clement (ed. Schmidt), and to a less extent the 'Gespräche Jesu' (TU 43). It is found occasionally in the Achmimic Elias (9¹, 19¹¹, 34¹⁶, 40¹⁰), Till, Osterbrief (II, 2, 4, III, 30), John (XI, 4, XII, 1, 12), Exodus (II, 14, IV, 11 bis), and once in the Achmimic Proverbs (XII, 2, v. Böhlig, Untersuchungen ü. d. kopt. Proverbientexte p.48); it is not found in the Minor Prophets, the Strassbourg I Clement, the Shepherd of Hermas, the Ascension of Isaiah, etc..

The Berlin I Clement is of considerable interest for the use of this prefix, because in this manuscript can be seen an

attempt to use $\epsilon\tau\alpha_2$ - consistently where it can be used, but in fact the scribe frequently writes $\epsilon\tau\alpha\gamma$ - and rarely $\epsilon\tau\alpha\gamma$ - where he could have used $\epsilon\tau\alpha_2$ -. Once also he has $\epsilon\tau\alpha_2$ - correctly where other manuscripts would have written $\epsilon\tau\alpha\epsilon$ -(35²⁶); but once, as Rössch(1.c.p.188) already pointed out, we find $\epsilon\tau\alpha_2$ - where only $\epsilon\tau\alpha\gamma$ - is admissible: 14¹⁵ $\alpha\chi\tau\alpha\lambda\alpha\gamma \alpha_2\rho\eta\iota \bar{\nu}\theta\gamma\iota\alpha \alpha\chi\bar{\nu} \omicron\gamma\epsilon \nu\bar{\nu}\tau\alpha\gamma$ $\epsilon\tau\alpha_2\tau\epsilon\beta\alpha\gamma \alpha\rho\alpha\gamma$, cf. paragraph 122A above. Thus we have the following picture:

Singular

$\epsilon\tau\alpha_2$ - correctly for $\epsilon\tau\alpha\gamma$ -	1 ²⁸ , 6 ^{12,17,24} , 9 ²⁷ , 11 ²⁹ , 19 ⁸ , 21 ¹ , 37 ²³ , 40 ²⁶ , 59 ⁴ , 61 ²⁶ , 63 ⁷ , 77 ¹ , 78 ² , 82 ¹⁹ .
$\epsilon\tau\alpha_2$ - correctly for $\epsilon\tau\alpha\epsilon$ -	35 ²⁶ .
$\epsilon\tau\alpha_2$ - incorrectly for $\epsilon\tau\alpha\gamma$ -	14 ¹⁵ .
$\epsilon\tau\alpha\gamma$ - incorrectly for $\epsilon\tau\alpha_2$ -	17 ²¹ , 30 ¹² , 76 ¹⁴ .
$\epsilon\tau\alpha\gamma$ - correctly	28 ¹⁷ , 33 ¹⁹ , 36 ¹⁵ , 55 ⁷ , 61 ²⁰ , 76 ^{2,14} .

Plural

$\epsilon\tau\alpha_2$ - correctly for $\epsilon\tau\alpha\gamma$ -	1 ^{12,15} , 12 ¹⁴ , 18 ²³ , 20 ¹⁰ , 23 ¹⁷ , 26 ³² , 29 ¹⁵ , 39 ²⁷ , 63 ⁶ , 65 ⁶ , 73 ¹⁵ , 77 ^{11,19} .
$\epsilon\tau\alpha\gamma$ - incorrectly for $\epsilon\tau\alpha_2$ -	7 ²⁵ , 10 ⁸ , 23 ^{19,25} , 40 ²⁸ , 41 ¹ , 57 ²² , 66 ^{12,27} , 77 ¹ , 81 ^{7,8} .
$\epsilon\tau\alpha\gamma$ - correctly	3 ⁷ , 9 ²³ , 12 ¹⁴ , 23 ¹⁴ , 26 ²⁷ , 27 ⁵ , 22, 28, 28 ⁶ , 28 ¹⁶ , 39 ¹⁶ , 40 ¹² , 54 ²⁶ , 30, 55 ^{1,4} , 56 ²⁶ , 57 ^{1,17,28} , 58 ^{3,9} , 60 ¹⁵ , 65 ¹⁰ ?, 26, 27, 66 ^{21,26} , 75 ^{8,21} .

It will be obvious at once, that the tendency to use $\epsilon\tau\alpha_2$ in the singular was much stronger than in the plural, which is also apparent in the 'Gespräche Jesu' where $\epsilon\tau\alpha_2$ - is used for the singular 18 times, but for the plural only 5 times.

The frequency of the prefix $\epsilon\tau\alpha_2$ - and its particular usage rules out the possibility that it arose from a misspelling of $\epsilon\tau\alpha\gamma$ -, though in one instance this is undoubtedly the case, and

other instances are known where η and ϵ interchanged, see above paragraphs (118C), 122A, 123E. Under the circumstances the identification of α_2 - in $\epsilon\tau\alpha_2$ - with the Egyptian prefix ω_3^4 as suggested by Sethe and others seems probable. The fact that the old ω of ω_3^4 has disappeared can be paralleled from Theban texts where we often find α for $\omega\alpha$, see above paragraph 53b and references there.

In non-literary texts this prefix occurs a number of times at Thebes, but never elsewhere, and this is of considerable importance for the localisation of Achmimic at Thebes, see chapter IX pp.198f.. Crum in Ep.544 note 3 collected all Theban instances known, but his statement there that 'both forms are employed unchanged in all numbers and persons (1st.sing.pl.and 2nd.pl.chance to be wanting)' requires some rectification. As has been noted above, the Achmimic prefix $\epsilon\tau\alpha_2$ - can only be used in particular instances where other texts would have $\epsilon\tau\alpha\eta$ -, $\epsilon\tau\alpha\epsilon$ - and $\epsilon\tau\alpha\gamma$ -, but not for any other persons, and in fact the same can with some certainty be demonstrated to apply to all the Theban instances. The Theban forms of this prefix vary between $\epsilon\tau\alpha_2$ -, $\epsilon\tau\alpha\gamma$ -, $\eta\tau\alpha_2$ -, $\eta\tau\alpha\gamma$ -, $\tau\alpha_2$ -, $\tau\alpha\gamma$ -, we also find α_2 -, $\alpha\gamma$ -; for $\omega = \epsilon$ see paragraph 123D, for $\eta\tau\alpha_2$ -, $\epsilon\tau\alpha_2$ - par.132, for $\tau\alpha_2$ -, $\eta\tau\alpha_2$ - par.131A, for α_2 -, $\alpha\gamma$ - see below.

- (1) In most of the instances there is no question that it is used like the Achmimic $\epsilon\tau\alpha_2$ -:

a) Used for the third person masc.singular.

ST 130(4 times) $\eta\eta\alpha\epsilon \eta\alpha\omega\tau \chi\omicron\iota\alpha\kappa$ ι [$\epsilon\tau\alpha_2\eta\sigma\tau\eta\mu = \Delta$ (the second line is repeated 3 times.).

BKU 22¹¹ $\eta\tau\omicron\kappa \eta\epsilon \alpha\beta\rho\alpha\chi \eta\alpha\gamma\gamma\iota\lambda\omicron\varsigma \epsilon\tau\epsilon\mu\omicron\omicron\varsigma \epsilon\iota\chi\mu \eta\gamma\eta\eta \eta\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma\omicron\varsigma$
 $\epsilon\tau\alpha_2\epsilon \eta\tau\kappa\iota\tau\epsilon\chi\eta \alpha\beta\tau\iota\mu\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\chi$.

CO 174⁴ $\epsilon\iota\varsigma \eta\rho\omega\mu\epsilon \epsilon\tau\alpha\omega\chi\iota \tau\epsilon\omicron\iota\tau\epsilon \alpha\chi\epsilon\iota$.

ST 101⁴ $\epsilon\iota\varsigma \iota\alpha\kappa \eta\omega\lambda\beta \eta\eta\tau\epsilon\chi\iota\mu\epsilon \eta\epsilon\mu\eta\gamma \epsilon\alpha\delta\mu$. $\overset{(4)}{\eta\pi\alpha\varsigma} \epsilon\tau\alpha\omega\chi\iota\omega\rho \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$.

Hall p.78(probably)]ταυκωλυ μμοί πλην[.

Hall p.97 ντοκ γαρ μαακ αν πενταστω εαμα νηρω εταμα .

ST 356⁶]ε πενταστω η επιστη ονε[.

RE 32^{vo} (probably)]νταυωωπε νσα αιεμε χε ου[.

Ep.100⁶ καρουρ ταυ^{(sic) (sic)}χοι , cf. ib.³ νταυχο .

Ep.99² (probably) + с. равѣт ... сѣс. тау χο τανο , cf. ib.⁹ εу χο , 100³.

b) Used for the third person fem.singular, cf. I Clem. (Berlin) 35²⁶.

ST 356² ετ βη τσιμε εταστω μα [... χ] ιτε εζου ν εμμα .

ST 191⁹ (Edfu 1)] τιχα μεν θεκλα ταυ ταας ναι τ [, cf. ib.⁸] ταυ ταας ναι .

c) Used for the third person plural.

J.73¹³ (probably)] τα ει εχω ι ενηαν ε μνηβην νε .

ST 60⁹] νηκα εταυ ει εχω ι εα [.

J.68²⁷ επειδ η ενηειρο μπε νεα χ ε νταυ παρε ε .

J.68⁶¹ αυ παη μνηβη καστηριον αυ τα υπο στασι της ε νταυ ει εχω ι εα ...

Ep.275⁵] ηνοου νηω με ευνεζου ν επτοου τα ζουω ε νηω εροι .

(2) In two instances νταε-, ταυ- following ντοκ appear to stand for ντακ-, but in both cases we ought probably to read νεταε- which is actually found in a similar passage cited above, Hall p.97.

CO 381⁴ ατε η μωαυ χω μμο υ χε ντοκ νταε ν [('thou art he who ...').

Ep.308⁴ αι χου διο σκορος νε χα ι χε ντοκ ταυ βι φο λοκο τσε ν σο υ (Crum translates: 'Thou it was didst take away the solidus (worth) of corn').

(3) In the following four instances αε- and αυ- seem to stand for αγ-, but the context in each case makes it clear that we ought probably to read νεταε- :

Ep.544¹² νε χα υ χε καθα ρων αε τ νηου τ ν σω υ ('...Katharon was he who sent me ...').

ib.²⁰ ε χ ω μ μο ς ναι χε πα ειω τ αυ τ νηου τ ν ('...my father was he who sent me ...').

Ep.490 μ μο ν το υ αυ χο υ εροι χε ('for indeed he himself it was that said to me').

ST 195¹³ Νῦεἰ ἐνεγμα χεντοῦ αὐταδσσε νῦοῦ ('... for he it was who arranged (τάσσειν) it', or 'indicated it', cf. Ryl. 319 and references there).

It may be noted that all the non-literary texts in which εταζ-, εταυ-, etc. occur are strongly marked by dialectical spellings (or misspellings!).

150B) Unusual verbal prefixes at Thebes.

Attention may here be drawn to a number of prefixes or unusual forms of known prefixes which only occur at Thebes:

- a) A prefix ονα-, οναί-, etc. occurs a number of times, cf. Crum, Dictionary p. 470a.
- b) να- seems to be used a few times as a verbal prefix: VC 62²¹ ετβε πβαμουλ δε νακρ τεταρανη νωμαν, 107⁷ αμοῦ εζοῦν ναιταμακ επεζωβ, cf. ST 54⁹ εἰωανει εβωλ εροκ ζαροῦ εἰτε ὡμενθι να+ ονανβιδ ννωβ... (leg. εἰνα-?).
- c) The Achmimic neg. imper. seems to occur twice, cf. Ep. I. p. 249 ((μ)αν-).
- d) A number of forms are mentioned in Ep. I p. 249, but most of these have been dealt with in previous paragraphs. Cf. also the unusual syntactical usage of the verb αν(τ)-, cf. Ep. I p. 251.

151) Omission of ε in χε.

In Achmimic the ε of χε is often omitted if followed by a verbal prefix beginning with a vowel, in particular Present II and Future II, or the Future Neg. ανε-, cf. Till, Achm.-Kopt. Grammatik par. 190. The same occurs in Subachmimic, e.g. χετ John X, 6, χευνα- Manik 86³, 101⁵, but it is not as frequent as in Achmimic. I am unable to find any examples of this in early Sahidic manuscripts, but many examples can be cited from non-literary texts of a late period. I can only cite one example from Thebes, which is rather surprising, but a systematic search would probably reveal further instances from there.

Β χαπνοῦτι κω BM 580⁶; χερε- CMSS 28²; χντωκ, CMSS 29¹⁰; al..

- C $\chi\alpha\phi\omicron\iota\beta\alpha\mu\mu\omega\upsilon\epsilon\iota$ BM 479; $\chi\eta\gamma\ \nu\omicron\epsilon\iota$ (et sim.) Ryl. 126, 136, 161, 191, 199, BM 1033⁸, 1036¹¹, 1039¹³, al.; $\chi\eta\eta\eta\kappa\alpha$ - BM 1079a²; $\chi\eta\tau\alpha\kappa\eta\lambda\eta\rho\upsilon$ BM 1037¹⁰; $\chi\eta\eta\epsilon$ -, $\chi\eta\eta\epsilon\iota$ -, etc. Ryl. 144, 148, 151, 153, 154, 157, 169, 188, 277, 319, BM 1065^{20f.}, 1068¹⁰, 1073¹⁰, al.; $\chi\eta\tau\omega\tau\eta\kappa$ KroppD¹²⁵; $\chi\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\kappa\omega$ JEA XIII, 19f..
- D $\chi\alpha(\theta)\gamma\kappa\omicron\gamma\iota$ (N) $\epsilon\iota\varsigma\epsilon\ \tau\alpha\lambda\iota$ Bal. 278³; $\chi\eta\eta\iota$ -, $\chi\eta\eta\eta$ - P. Lond. IV 1565²⁹, 1569⁸; $\chi\eta\tau\epsilon\rho\epsilon\kappa\iota$ Bal. 241³; $\chi\eta\eta\epsilon\eta\chi\eta\omicron\gamma$ Bal. 139⁵; $\chi\eta\tau\omicron\gamma$ P. Lond. IV 1509¹⁰.
- E $\epsilon\tau\beta\epsilon\ \chi\alpha\iota\chi\iota$ J. 7⁴⁴.

152) $\chi\epsilon\eta\epsilon = \chi\epsilon\eta\eta\epsilon$; cf. paragraphs 151, 152A, B.

A few early examples: Deut. (Budge) VI, 21 $\chi\epsilon\eta\epsilon\eta(\gamma)\omicron\omicron\theta\epsilon$; Sir. (Lagarde) XXX, 10, 28, 36, XXXI, 14, al.; BHom. (passim) e.g. 3, 5, 7, etc.. For Achmimic and Subachmimic see par. 152A.

- C Ryl. 127, 154, Kr. 5²⁰, BM 1060⁵, al. pl..
- D Bal. 156⁷, 186^{17, 34}, 229⁷, 271⁴, WS 167, 168, 169, P. Lond. IV 1497¹³, 1503², 1509¹⁴, 1528¹⁰, 1565³⁶, 1597⁴.
- E ST 56, J. 13²⁹, VC 10⁵, al..

152A) $\eta\epsilon$ - = $\eta\eta\epsilon$ -; cf. paragraphs 80, 152, 152B.

In Achmimic and the Subachmimic St. John the third future negative is written with one η only. A few examples can be cited from early Sahidic texts: Berlin Psalter (ed. Rahlfs) p. 33 $\eta\epsilon$ -, $\eta\alpha$ -, $\eta\epsilon\gamma$ -, Sir. (Lagarde) XXIX, 24 (27), cf. par. 152; Pro. (Worrell) XXIV, 20; BM 1223. In non-literary texts this is extremely rare, but cf. paragraph 152.

A $\eta\iota\gamma\kappa\omega\tau\epsilon$, $\eta\kappa\gamma\kappa\omega\tau\epsilon$ Krall, Rec. VI, 63ff. papyrus III, 10.

152B) $\epsilon\eta\epsilon$ - = $\eta\eta\epsilon$ -; cf. paragraphs 82, 152, 152A.

In the Subachmimic Acta Pauli the third future negative is usually $\epsilon\eta\epsilon\iota$ -, $\epsilon\eta\epsilon\gamma$ -, etc. (cf. Schmidt, p. 18). In non-literary texts this seems very frequent at Thebes, but not elsewhere, cf. however par. 152.

C KroppD¹⁵.

- E CO 108⁴, 110⁵, 111^{5, 9}, 284⁶, Ad 7¹⁹, J. 9⁵⁹, VC 82¹⁰, al..
- F VC 5 (passim).

153) ΧΙΝΕ = ΧΙΝ; cf. paragraph 82.

ΧΙΝΕ for ΧΙΝ is almost invariably found in texts from Ashmunein, it also occurs sometimes further south, but is extremely rare at Thebes where we find ΧΙΝ(Ν) or ΧΝ(Ν). ΧΙΝΕ occurs also sometimes in literary texts, usually of a late period, cf. Crum, Dict. p. 772b.

B ΝΧΙΝΕΨΑΡΗ BM 589; al..

C ΧΙΝΕΠΟΟΥ Ryl. 144^{3,8}, 148, 174, 177, 191, BM 1032⁵, 1059¹⁵, 1064⁵, 1065¹⁰, al.; ΧΙΝΕΜΝΤΑΒΤΕ BM 1079a³; ΧΙΝΕΜΝΤΗ Ryl. 277²²; ΧΙΝΕΟΥΕΛΛΧ BM 1074¹³; ΧΙΝΕΠΑΘΝΕ BM 1052⁵; ΧΙΝΕΠΕΙΜΑ Ryl. 324; ΧΙΝΕΠΕΥΚΟΥΙ Krall, MRV, 32; ΧΙΝΕΠΚΑΡΟC Ryl. 173; ΧΙΝΕΠΚΟΥΙ Ryl. 321⁵; ΧΙΝΕΤΕΝΟΥ Ryl. 145, BM 1046³; ΧΙΝΕΤΙΡΩΜΠΕ Ryl. 163; al. pl.; cf. ΧΙΝΗΟΥΚΟΥΙ Ryl. 153; ΧΙΝΥΠΟΟΥ BM 1018³.

D ΧΙΝΕΠΟΟΥ Bal. 165^{3f.}, 303A²; ΧΙΝΕΟΥΚΟΥΙ P. Lond. IV 1565^{15,34}, 1578; ΧΙΝΕΘΕ Bal. 245⁵; ΧΙΝΕΠΕ WS 112.

E ΧΙΝΕΝΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΕΤΜΟΥ RE 23².

154) The construct forms of ρωμε.

The normal construct form of ρωμε in Sahidic and other dialects is ρμ-, ρεμ-, λεμ-; and this construct is almost invariably found at Thebes, other construct forms being extremely rare there. On the other hand, at Ashmunein we almost invariably find ρωμ- and ρωμε- when combined with εμοϋν, cf. below. In the region from Assiout to Achmim the two forms ρμ- and ρωμ- occur side by side, as also in the Fayyum. Cf. Ep. 302 note 1.

A ρμ- Kr. 104¹, RAC pap. du Louvre 3, Saq. 325 al.; ρωμ- Saq. 334; ρεμ- 307.

B ρεμ- Kr. 116⁷, CMSS 23, 45, also λεμ- ib. 28, Ap.

ρωμ- BM 625, Kr. 116^{3,4}, 117.

C ρμ- rare, Ryl. 132, 156, 174, 319, BMO. 6201B67, 191, BSAC III, 6f., and a few others.

ρμ-ΠΕ2ΝΤΑΛ (ib. ρωμ-ΠΕ2ΝΤΑΛ) Ryl. 173.

ρωμ- very common, e.g. Ryl. 116, 117, 122, 125, 147, 189, 203, 277, 284,

302, 318, 321, 323, 328, Kr. 5, 6, 7, 29, 79, 98, 112, 114, 118, 133, BM 1025,

1041, 1059, 1079a, b, MIF LIX, 231, al. pl..

ρωμ-τσινδερσετ BM 1067¹.

ρωμε- . This is mostly found with *αμουν* and Crum, Dictionary p. 295b already queried whether this should be read *ρωμ-εαμουν*, cf. the Arabic 'Al-Ashmunain', and in fact in many documents we find *ρωμ* of some place and *ρωμεαμουν* side by side. On the other hand *αμουν* outside the phrase *ρωμεαμουν* never occurs as *εαμουν*, e.g. Ryl. 115, 267, Kr. 5⁹, 6², 29⁹, 34¹, 57¹, 123², 124, etc., and cf. BMO. 6201A72 where we find in the same document *ρωμπαγοτε*, *ρωμεαμουν*, *πρωγαμουν*. It may also be noted that *ρωμ-αμουν* occurs only three times, and *ρωμπαγομουν* twice.

ρωμεαμουν e.g. Ryl. 118, 120, 126, 127, 129, 144, 149, 157, 162, 164, 166, 167, 170, 171, 182, 183, 185, 190, 191, 192, 195, 197, 209, 210, etc., BM 1033, 1037, 1047, 1050, 1059, 1060, 1061, etc., Kr. 29, 79, etc., al. pl..

ρωμ αμουν Kr. 86, 92 (collated), BMO. 6201B188.

ρωμπαγομουν BM 461², 1045².

ρωμεαμουν and *ρωμ* of another place in the same document: Ryl. 134, 158, 188, 204, 205, 208, 214, 215, Kr. 48, 55, 113, BM 1032, 1039, al..

ρωμε- of places other than *αμουν*:

ρωμεθωνε Ryl. 119, BMO. 6201A30 (in same document *ρωμε αμουν*), cf.

Ryl. 137 *ρωμθωνε*.

ρωμεζωτρ (?) Ryl. 185.

ρωμενειογοι BM 1041⁸, cf. *ρωμνεογοι* Ryl. 147, BM 1059.

ρωμεττωμ μιγδωλ BM 1042^{1f}.

ρωμετσινδωρδ BM 1040^{vo}.

ρωμετ(η)λκε Kr. 57, 58.

ρωμε πμδδδελφι Ryl. 320⁷.

ρωμτμογμαζωμ J&C 1920 (4th century).

ρωμτωζε J&C 1920.

ρωμθωνε Ryl. 137 (ca. A.D. 600).

ρωμντωζε BMO. 6201A24b.

ρωνηδαδε Ryl.194, Kr.52, MIF LIX, 400, cf. ρωνηδαδε WS 35 etc..

ρωνηγμων BM 461², 1045² (already cited above).

D ρμ- Bal.114², 138^{1,2}, 156³, 291¹³, 353, WS 35, 36, 37, 42, 48, 55, 56, 61, 63, 69, 78, 379, P.Lond. IV 1553¹¹, vo.32, 33, 1555 vo.37, 1573¹⁶⁻²², 1589, 1591, 1592, 1594, 1596, 1610⁵³, 1615, 1619^{4,7}, 1625, Grohmann, Ar.Pap. Eg.Lib. III, 167^{16-19, 22, 24-27, 29, 31-33, 37, 38, 40, 41, 45-48, 54, 167^{72-74, 80}.}

ρμ- WS 30¹⁷, P.Lond. IV 1553¹¹, Grohmann, Ar.Pap. Eg.Lib. III, 167^{39, 61, 75}.
ρμ- Bal.127¹, 152⁴, 154¹¹, 162², 312²², WS 64, P.Lond. IV 1496³, 1498¹, 1499¹³, 1512^{3, 21}, 1525^{3f}, 1574 (5 times), 1579⁴, 1584³, 1586⁴, 1610^{4f},
Grohmann, Ar.Pap. Eg.Lib. III, 165⁴.

ρμ- P.Lond. IV 1494²⁸, Grohmann, Ar.Pap. Eg.Lib. III, 167^{76, 77}.

ρωνηκοιε P.Lond. IV 1521⁸.

τρομηνατριπνε Steindorff, AZ XXVIII, 1890, 50 (second century I).

ρωνηδαδε WS 35, 38, 43, 44, 60(?), cf. ρηδαδε WS 48, ρωνηδαδε Ryl.194 etc..

ρμηνατριπνε Grohmann, Ar.Pap. Eg.Lib. III, 167²³.

ρμηνα[...]ε Grohmann, Ar.Pap. Eg.Lib. III, 167⁴².

ρμημημεγε WS 69.

cf. ρρωμε νηκροντοου, ρρωμε νημα σεφ id Bal.288^{13, 17}.

E ρμ- passim.

ρμ- See Ep.302 note 1 and Ep.I p.248 citing 10 examples, adding:
MH 58², 59², 63^{2, 4}.

ρμ- Ep.I 248 citing BP 5653.

ρμ- Ep.I 248 citing BKU 35.

ρμ- see Ep.369 note and Ep.I p.248 citing 6 examples, adding J.2⁶.

ρωμε πετεμουτ ST 222, cited Ep.I p.248.

155) εαα in the opening form of letters.

There are certain differences in the opening form of letters with εαα in the different parts of Egypt. In the New Testament we only find the formula: "Name (e.g. παυλος) ... εφεαα" or its plural equivalent, I Cor., II Cor., Col., Eph., I Thess., II Thess., Philemon,

I Tim., II Tim., I Peter, II Peter, II John, III John, James, Apoc. I, 4. This formula is frequently found at Thebes, but rarely elsewhere. Similarly "ANOK ... eycza" or "ANOK (name) ... eycza" is very common at Thebes, but again only few examples can be cited from the rest of Egypt. Yet another formula "ANOK (name) ... etcza" occurs frequently at Thebes but is not found elsewhere.

Frequent in 'region D' is "(name) ... netcza" which is the usual formula found in Shenoute, e.g. CS CO 42, pp. 13, 14, 15(bis), 21, 23, Amelineau I pp. 221, 223(bis), al.. Outside 'region D' it occurs a few times in certain early letters, notably the Melitian archive, but only rarely in letters of a late period.

Frequent north of Thebes is "(name) ... neycza" which occurs in only two documents from Thebes, both financial, though one was written by the famous Theban scribe Aristophanes son of John (BM Or. 4664, see Bal. 130 Appendix).

It should be noted, however, that except at Thebes and in a few early texts the opening formula with cza was reserved almost invariably for official purposes, such as legal documents or letters on financial matters from the government. Personal and informal letters would normally begin with TIYINE AYW TIACHAZE. At Thebes this opening is comparatively rare and the formula with cza continued to be used throughout the Coptic period.

A ANOK ... eicza RAC papyrus du Louvre 2, 4.

ANOK NE IEZIIA EICZA Kr. 228.

B ANAK (name). eiczei Kr. 11, 53, 72.

ANAK NE (name) $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} e \\ e \end{smallmatrix} \right\} czei$ BM 530, 580, Kr. 8, 10, 15, 16, 21, 25, 36, 41, 45, 90, 129, 134, 233, 237.

(name) ... eycza Kr. 235.

ANAK (name) ... netczei Ryl. 413.

C ANOK (name) $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} e \\ e \end{smallmatrix} \right\} cza$ Ryl. 115, 116, 121, 122, 129, 139, 144, 207, 208, 216, etc., BM 458, 1031, 1035-1037, 1039, 1043, etc., Kr. 6, 62, 104, 106, etc..

(name/s) {εἰς αἱ / ἐν αἱ} Ryl. 156, BM 1034.

ἀνοκ (name) ... (ε)ϣ αἱ BM 1048, 1051.

(name/s) ... {εϣ αἱ / εϣ αἱ} BM 1102 (4th century), Worrell, Coptic Texts III, 6, BMOr. 6201A123.

πετν βαϣον ... εϣ αἱ (et sim.) Ryl. 308, 321, cf. Kr. 238.

(name) ... ϣτολμα εβ αἱ BM 1108.

νετνε βαϣον εϣτολμα εϣ αἱ Ryl. 281, Krall MR V, p. 31.

νεκ βαϣον ... ^(nie)νεϣτολμα εϣ αἱ Kr. 232, cf. BM 1134.

(name/s) ... {πετ αἱ / τετ αἱ / νετ αἱ} J&C 1920, 1921(?), 1922, JEA XIII, 19ff., Ryl. 268, 269, 270, BM 1123, ST 184 (all 4th century), also:

Ryl. 320, BM 1024, VC 46, Krall MR V p. 33, Sphinx vol. X pap. I, VI, Jern. 11, BMOr. 6201A65, 132, 163, BMEA 10135.

(name) ... {νεϣ αἱ / τεϣ αἱ} Ryl. 117-119, 123, 180, 193, 278, 285, 319, 325, 327, 378, VC 48, Kr. 60, 95, BMOr. 6201B22, BMEA 10136.

πετν βαϣον ... νεϣτολμα εϣ αἱ (et sim.) Ryl. 296(?), 305(?), 355, BM 479, 1109, BMOr. 6201A80, B41.

πενειωτ πετ αἱ Aeg. XXXI (1951) pp. 332ff. nos. b, c, BMOr. 6201B146, 179, 211.

ἀνοκ (name) πεϣ αἱ Ryl. 200.

παῖκαῖον ... ϣιτοοτ ἀνοκ (name) ... εἰς αἱ BM 1049, 1055, BMOr. 6201A22b; 68, 103a, B273.

παῖκαῖον ... ϣιτοοτν ἀνον (names) ... ἐν αἱ Ryl. 127, TurM 6, BMOr. 6201A33.

παῖκαῖον ... ϣιτν (name) ... εϣ αἱ BMOr. 6201A43, B277.

παῖκαῖον ... ϣιτοοτ ἀνοκ ... πεϣ αἱ BMOr. 6201A26.

D ἀνοκ { (name) ... {εἰς αἱ / ἐν αἱ} Bal. 119, 135^{1,4} (ib. 7, 10 different !), 142, 143, 161, P. Lond. IV 1494, 1520⁴, 1523⁵ and passim, Grohmann, Ar. Pap. Eg. Lib. III, 164.

(name) ... εϣ αἱ WS 99, 185.

несны мпто]оу ... εϣ αἱ WS 111.

(name/s) ... {πετ αἱ / νετ αἱ} Bal. 132, 133, 134, 135¹⁰, 145, 146, 157, WS 86, 186, ST 329, 330, Worrell, Coptic Texts III, 8 (this region ?), BMOr.

6201B46(6th century).

ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΕΖΑΙ WS 174.

(name)...ΠΕΕΥΕΖΑΙ Bal.135⁷, 141, 144, WS 87, 89, 97, 100, 107, 161, 182,
184, 187, Ryl.124.

ΠΑΙΚΑΙΟΝ...ΕΙΤΟΟΤ ΑΝΟΚ (name)...ΕΝΕΖΑΙ Bal.100, 103, ÄZ LXVII, 102ff.,
LXVIII, 60ff..

ΠΑΙΚΑΙΟΝ ΕΙΕΖΑΙ Bal.107.

ΠΑΙΚΑΙΟΝ...ΕΙΤΝ ΠΑΔΙΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΕΙΩΤ...ΕΥΕΖΑΙ WS 164.

ΠΑΙΚΑΙΟΝ...ΕΙΤΟΟΤ ΑΝΟΚ(name)...ΠΕΤΕΖΑΙ Bal.106, 110.

E ΑΝΟΚ } (name)...{ΕΙΕΖΑΙ } CO 31, 33, 37, 40, 41, 44, 45, 294, 297, 307, Ad.9, 12,
ΑΝΟΝ } {ΕΝΕΖΑΙ }
BKU 67, 78, 277, ST 41, 45, 54, al., Tor.1, 2, 4, 12, J. (passim), Ep.84,
85, 93, 181, 287, 308, 351, 368, 403, al.pl.; ST 47ro. ΑΝΟΚ...ΕΙΕΖΑΙ, VO.
ΑΝΟΚ...ΕΤΕΖΑΙ .

ΑΝΟΚ(name)...ΤΕΖΑΙ ST 378.

(name)...ΕΙΕΖΑΙ MH 84.

ΑΝΟΚ } (name)...ΕΤΕΖΑΙ CO 32, 35, 39, 47, 48, 92, 138, 139, 206, 295, 308, Ad.
ΑΝΟΝ }
15, BKU 36, 38, 45, 48, 79, 99, 131, 264, 267, 272, 311, ST 50, al., TurM
14, 24, TurO 4, 5, 6, VC 17, 19, 87, J.59, Ep.86, 95, 179, 194, 290, 303,
316, 333, 386, al., MH 51, 53, 54, 58, 59, 60, al.pl..

(name)...ΕΤΕΖΑΙ Ep.350.

ΑΝΟΚ } (name)...{ΕΥΕΖΑΙ } CO 30, 43, BKU 70, 162, 263, 286, ST 46, 48, 281, TurM
ΑΝΟΝ } {ΕΥΕΖΑΙ }
15, VC 27, J.115, J^{Sch.}4, Worrell, Coptic Texts IV, 12, Ep.107, 259,
280, 294, 325, 376, BM 458.

(name)...{ΕΥΕΖΑΙ } CO 43, BKU 66, 115, 306, 308, VC 8, 9, 81, Ep.167, 173, 178,
{ΕΥΕΖΑΙ }
198, 203, 209, 223, 363, 367, 385, 407, 408, 459, MH 50, 52, al.pl..

ΑΝΟΚ (name)...ΕΙΤΟΛΜΑ ΕΕΖΑΙ BKU 277.

(name)...ΠΕΤΕΖΑΙ BKU 80, 119.

(name)...ΠΕΥΕΖΑΙ BMO.4664A(see Bal.130 Appendix).

cf. . . . ΕΙΤΟΟΤΝ ΑΝΟΝ ΠΕΥΕΖΑΙ J^{Sch.}3.

156) αΙΤΕΙ etc. in Legal documents.

The word used to express 'ask', 'request' in the subscriptions to

legal documents, e.g. 'I Aristophanes, he asked me and I wrote for him', differs in the various regions of Egypt. At Thebes αἰτεῖ is used almost invariably, but it rarely occurs elsewhere; παρακαλεῖ is sometimes found at Thebes and Aphrodito, but only once at Ashmunein. At Aphrodito νταυχοος εροι is peculiar to those texts. At Ashmunein and further north we find κωρυ almost invariably used, but this word occurs only once in 'region D' in a different context (Bal.268²) and never at Thebes.

The word ἔκνομυ at Thebes in legal language was reserved for the 'Stipulationsklausel' at the end of legal documents, cf. Till Orientalia XIX(1950)81ff. and references there. The word αἰτεῖ never occurs in that legal context and Crum's notes in J. index (pp.396,399) after ἔκνομυ 'vgl. αἰτεῖ' and after αἰτεῖ 'vgl. ἔκνομυ' should be deleted as these two words are used in quite distinct senses. At Aphrodito the word ἔκνομυ is also found in the same clause as at Thebes, e.g. P.Lond. IV 1494²¹, 1498⁹, 1508²⁸, 1509²¹, etc., but its occurrence three times in the subscriptions to legal documents at Bala'izah and Aphrodito is noteworthy.

C αἰτεῖ Ryl.151, BM 1028^{15,16}, cf. also BM 636.

παρακαλεῖ Kr.6⁸ (A.D.596).

ἐπιτρέπε Ryl.137, 201, 202, Kr.34, 50, 108.

ἄξιον Ryl.165, BM 1019⁵.

κωρυ passim, e.g. Ryl.144, 147, 184, 188, 196, 200, Kr.5, 48, 113, 132, BM 461², 1031^{8,17}, vo.5, 1035, 1036¹¹, 1042¹⁸, 1043¹³, 1044¹¹, 1046⁷, al..

D αἰτεῖ P.Lond. IV 1495¹³, 1536¹⁴, 1554².

παρακαλεῖ P.Lond. IV 1494³³, 1521²⁹, 1553¹⁸, 1554^{vo.35}, 1560²⁹, 1562¹⁴, 1610, 1622.

ἐπιτρέπε Bal.115⁸, 167⁵.

ἄξιον Bal.117¹², P.Lond. IV 1536²³, cf. 1507²³, 1538².

ἔκνομυ Bal.138⁸, P.Lond. IV 1553^{32,34}.

νταυχοος εροι P.Lond. IV 1499⁹, 1512³², 1552³⁵, 1553^{vo.37}, 1565⁵¹, 1573²⁷,

1618.

Ε ατεῖ passim, cf. J. index, J^{Sch.} index, etc..

παρακαλεῖ J. 65^{92, 96}, 74¹⁰⁵, ST 42, 43, 54, 56, al..

ἐπιτρέπε J. 67¹³¹, 75¹³⁸, 106²⁴⁵.

157) A clause in signatures to legal documents.

The phrase 'as it is written' in signatures to legal documents, e.g. 'I assent to this document as it is written', was differently expressed in the various regions of Egypt. At Thebes we find the grammatically correct form $\pi\rho\sigma\ \theta\epsilon\ \epsilon\tau\epsilon\psi\chi\eta\zeta\ \mu\mu\omicron\varsigma$, $\eta\theta\epsilon\ \epsilon\tau\epsilon\psi\chi\eta\zeta\ \mu\mu\omicron\varsigma$, and only rarely the incorrect $\eta\theta\epsilon\ \epsilon\sigma\chi\eta\zeta\ \mu\mu\omicron\varsigma$. Outside Thebes the incorrect form is almost invariably found, and only twice the correct form is used.

It may also be noted that at Thebes we find $\pi\rho\sigma\ \theta\epsilon$ and less frequently $\eta\theta\epsilon$, and the same is true of the texts from Aphrodito; at Bala'izah and further north we only find $\eta\theta\epsilon$ with one exception.

В $\eta\theta\psi\ \epsilon\sigma\chi\eta\omicron\upsilon\tau\ \mu\alpha[c]$ Kr. 197⁹, similarly $\tau\eta\eta\ \epsilon\sigma\chi\eta\omicron\upsilon\tau\ \mu\alpha[c]$ Kr. 197⁷.

κατα $\theta\epsilon$ $\epsilon\sigma\chi\eta\zeta\ \mu\mu\alpha\varsigma$, κατα^(sic) $\theta\epsilon\ \sigma\chi\eta\zeta\ \mu\alpha\varsigma$ Sphinx X no. 5^{22, 25}.

С $\eta\theta\epsilon\ \epsilon\sigma\chi\eta\zeta\ \mu\mu\omicron\varsigma$ (et sim.) Ryl. 120, 126, 129, 132, 144, 148, 157, 159, 173, 174, 185, 191, 197, 203, al., BM 1022, 1035⁸, 1041⁷, 1055¹⁴, 1057¹⁰, 1059²⁵, al., Kr. 7¹², 39¹⁰, 40, 50, 56, 77, 105, 111, 113, 118, 138, 199, 205, al..

$\eta\theta\epsilon\ \epsilon\psi\chi\eta\zeta\ \mu\mu\omicron\varsigma$ (et sim.) Ryl. 134, Kr. 153, BM 1053⁶, 1061¹⁰, 1063²², 1066²⁰, Till, Orientalia XVI, 525ff. no. 1¹⁸.

$\eta\theta\epsilon\ \epsilon\tau\epsilon\psi[c\chi\eta\zeta\ \mu\mu\omicron\varsigma]$ BM 1033.

$\eta\theta\epsilon\ \epsilon\tau\psi\chi\eta\zeta\ \epsilon\rho\omicron\psi$ BM 1065³⁰.

Д $\pi\rho\sigma\ \theta\epsilon\ \left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} \epsilon\sigma\chi\eta\zeta \\ \epsilon\psi\chi\eta\zeta \end{smallmatrix} \right\} \mu\mu\omicron\varsigma$ (et sim.) P. Lond. IV 1518, 1519, 1548, 1572¹³, cf. 1629.

$\eta\theta\epsilon\ \left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} \epsilon\sigma\chi\eta\zeta \\ \epsilon\psi\chi\eta\zeta \end{smallmatrix} \right\} \mu\mu\omicron\varsigma$ Bal. 102³⁰, 114¹⁵, 116²⁰, 118⁶, 120^{6, 7}, 124⁶, 126¹⁰, P.

Lond. IV 1619^{4, 6}, AZ LXVIII, 60ff. lines 25, 29.

cf. $\eta\tau\epsilon\sigma\chi\eta\zeta\ \mu\mu\omicron\varsigma$ (sic!) Bal. 138⁶.

Е $\pi\rho\sigma\ \theta\epsilon\ \left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} \epsilon\tau\epsilon\psi \\ \epsilon\tau\epsilon\psi \end{smallmatrix} \right\} \chi\eta\zeta\ \mu\mu\omicron\varsigma$ (et sim.) J. 2⁵¹, 3⁶⁴, 39⁷⁵, 50⁷⁵, 71⁶⁰, 80⁵⁵, 57, 58,

82^{47,54}, 93⁵², 95³⁶, 98⁵³, 107^{36,38}, 110^{30,34}, 111²⁹, 112^{11,16}, 120¹,
120^{2,6,7,8}, al..

πρὸς θε ες σης μμοc J.14⁹⁰ (collated).

πθε {ετες
ετευ} σης μμοc (et sim) J.44¹³⁸, 78⁷⁹, 98⁵⁹, 106²²¹, J.Sch. 1^{138,140},

VC 6vo., 7, MH 74¹⁶, al..

πθε cς σης μμοc J.44¹³⁰ (collated), cf. J.3⁶⁸.

κατα θε ετευς σης μμοc J.79⁷⁰.

157A) Omission of the enclitic ne.

The enclitic ne is sometimes omitted in literary and non-literary texts, but in most, if not in all, cases this is probably due to carelessness of the scribes. Some early examples: Subachm. John XIV, 31, Sah. Elias 3³, Achm. Mich. II, 3, 7, Achm. Zech. VII, 13, Br. 124¹⁸, 240, PS 155⁸.

C Ryl. 361, BMor. 6201B270, al..

D Bal. 119¹⁴, 124⁵, AZ LXVII, 102ff. line 7.

E BKU 79, 281⁵, J. 65⁷⁰, al..

157B) Greek nouns used as verbs.

In a number of texts of the eighth century or later we find the remarkable use of Greek nouns as verbs. This seems to have been common at Ashmunein, but rare elsewhere except for χρεια in the Fayyum. An early example is Bal. 15, Joh. II, 25 πνευχρεια; cf. Ryl. 20 σωκραφεια and Wor. p. 177²⁰ καταφρονη (both late manuscripts).

B Βοηθεα BM 370.

χρεια Kr. 10³, 11², 21³, 25³, 54², 63⁴, 64², 65², 68², CMSS 16¹⁰, BM 591²,
592^{13f.}, AZ XXIII, p. 30 no. 3⁷, Worrell, Coptic Texts III, 19³, cf.

Kr. 68² note, Ryl. 362 note.

C αμφειβολη Ryl. 316⁶, cf. 366.

αντιφωνη Ryl. 129.

βοηθια Ryl. 340^{ro.6}.

δοξη Ryl. 144, 174, BM 1175, cf. Ryl. p. 76 note 5.

ενγια Ryl. 133, ηνγια BM 1107^{2,3}, εγγυη BM 1039^{vo.}.

επειτροπη Kr. 34⁸, Ryl. 202, cf. Ryl. 137, ηπιτροπη Kr. 50²⁵.

χρησ BMOr. 6201B69, P. Černý (ined.), Ryl. 362.

D επειτροπη Bal. 115⁸, επιτροπη Bal. 167⁵.

χρησ Bal. 188^{16, 17}.

E επειτροπη CO 206³, 307¹², cf. αμφιβολε 116⁶.

158) A note on ταρε-

I had hoped to be able to include in the present chapter a detailed discussion of the syntax of non-literary texts, but for a number of reasons it has seemed advisable to leave this over for a later publication.

One point may, however, be touched briefly here: ταρε- in non-literary texts is generally used in final clauses and it is found side by side with ετρε-, ντε- and the negative χε ννε-, e.g. †επιτροπηε νακ ετρεκχο τεντε νστωζε BKU 79, sim. CO 138⁵, 206³, 307^{3f.}. †νεπιτροπηε νακ νγχο πενμερος ST 38, 39, CO Ad. 26.

†επιτροπη νακ ταρεκχο πεναυ μερος ST 37, cf. BM 1015⁸.

Cf. also par. 159 below. In this respect ταρε- differs considerably from its use in the standardised biblical Sahidic, cf. Polotsky, Études de Syntaxe Copte pp. lff., also in Coptic Studies in Honor of W.E. Crum, Bul. Byz. Inst. II, pp. 73ff., and Lefort in Muséon IX, 7ff.. It may also be noted that in non-literary texts ταρε- occurs frequently, as also μαρεκ-, and other forms not found in biblical Sahidic. I propose to return to this subject elsewhere.

159) A clause following the oath-formula in legal documents.

The oath-formula in Coptic legal documents, e.g. 'and I swear by Almighty God etc.', is usually followed by the clause '... that I (we) shall adhere for you to the validity of this agreement (sale, etc.)', or 'that I shall not be able to transgress this agreement (sale, etc.)'. For this clause certain fixed formulae were used which show certain interesting differences; it may be noted that ταρε- is usually found with ροεic and φυλλαce, but ετρε- with zapez.

a) ταπειροεις, ταπειροεις.

C Ryl. 144, 191, 196, 203, 205, Kr. 205⁴, BM 1041⁷, 1043¹¹, 1044⁶, BMor. 6201A
64b, B262.

D Bal. 111⁸, 114¹², 168², 170².

b) ταριφνλασσε, ταριφνλασσε.

C Ryl. 128, 182, 209, 210, Kr. 162⁸, BM 1036⁹, 1060⁸, BMor. 6201A2, 25, 62a.

c) ταρειωπη ειροεις.

C BM 1035⁸, TurM 6⁷.

D Bal. 116¹⁶.

d) ταπειροεις τνζαρεζ.

C BMor. 6202, 6203, 6204 (all same hand, dated A.D. 850, 833, 843).

e) ταπειζαρεζ, ταπειζαρεζ.

A RAC papyrus du Louvre 3.

D Bal. 119²¹, 172⁵.

f) ετραζαρεζ, ετραζαρεζ.

A RAC papyrus du Louvre 2.

D Bal. 118^{5f}.

E J. 37⁸⁷, 44⁹⁹, 55²¹, 58²³, cf. J. 65¹⁵, J^{Sch.} 5¹⁴³.

F BM 447¹⁶.

g) ετραζαρεζ τνροεις, ετραζαρεζ ταροεις.

D P. Lond. IV 1494²⁰, 1497¹⁹, 1509²⁰, 1518¹⁹, 1586, 1593, cf. 1508²⁷, 1521²¹,
1531^{11f}, 1565²⁷, 1573¹⁵, 1587⁹, 1589⁷.

h) ετραπειροεις.

D Bal. 171², cf. 138⁵.

i) ξενηνιεωπαραβα, ξενηνιεωπαραβα.

C Ryl. 127, 157, 169, 173, 463^{vo}, Kr. 5²⁰, 48¹¹, 56⁷, 184⁶, BMor. 6201A24b.

j) ξενηνιπαραβα, ξενηνιπαραβα.

C Kr. 114⁷.

F VC 5²², ÄZ IX(1925), 106ff. lines 29-30.

k) ξενηνει[ω]πλανα.

C Kr. 6^{6f}. (A.D. 596).

l) $\chi \epsilon \eta[\eta \epsilon] \eta \epsilon \iota \epsilon \beta \omicron \lambda \epsilon \rho \omicron \kappa$.

C BMOr.6201A29.

m) $\chi \epsilon \eta \eta \epsilon \iota \zeta \tau \omicron \lambda \mu \alpha \omicron \upsilon \lambda \epsilon \eta \eta \epsilon \iota \psi \delta \mu \beta \omicron \mu \epsilon \epsilon \eta \lambda \gamma \gamma \epsilon$.

E J.98³⁹.

n) $\chi \epsilon \epsilon \eta \epsilon \mu \alpha \rho \alpha \beta \alpha \varsigma \iota \varsigma \epsilon \eta \tau \eta \rho \eta \gamma \omega \omega \mu \epsilon \mu \mu \omicron \varsigma$.

E J.75¹²³.

o) $\epsilon \tau \mu \eta \lambda \alpha \eta \alpha$.

D Bal.167².

E J.20¹⁰⁷, 21⁸⁰, 42⁴³.

p) $\epsilon \tau \mu \eta [\mu \alpha \rho \alpha \beta \alpha] \eta \lambda \alpha \gamma \eta \zeta \omega \gamma$.

D ÄZ LXVIII, 60ff., line 21.

q) $\epsilon \tau \mu \tau \rho \epsilon \lambda \alpha \gamma \eta \mu \alpha \rho \alpha \beta \alpha \varsigma \iota \varsigma \omega \omega \mu \epsilon$.

E J.35⁷⁴, 38⁵², 66¹⁹, 76¹³.

r) $\tau \alpha \rho \omicron \epsilon \iota \varsigma$.

C Ryl.141, 198.

s) $\tau \alpha \phi \gamma \lambda \alpha \varsigma \varsigma \epsilon, \tau \eta \phi \gamma \lambda \alpha \varsigma \varsigma \epsilon$.

C Ryl.167, 185, 195, Kr.29.

Cf. also Worrell, Coptic Manuscripts pp.166f. (from Edfu) $\epsilon \gamma \omega \bar{\rho} \kappa \bar{\mu}$ -

$\eta \mu \omicron \upsilon \tau \epsilon \mu \mu \alpha \eta \tau \omega \kappa \rho \alpha \tau \omega \rho \tau \alpha \bar{\rho} \eta \tau \alpha \gamma \eta \alpha \gamma \bar{\mu} \eta \chi \omega \kappa \eta \omicron \upsilon \rho \omicron \mu \epsilon$.

Chapter IX: The Coptic Literary Dialects

Their Origin, Development and Interrelationship

Until about the 80s of last century only three Coptic dialects were known: Sahidic, Bohairic and Fayyumic, and it has been the accepted theory that Sahidic was the language of the Thebaid, Bohairic that of the Delta, and Fayyumic, at first wrongly identified with Bashmuric, that of the Fayyum. When the first Achmimic texts came to light towards the end of last century¹⁾, they caused no little surprise and it was at first assumed that the dialect was much older than Sahidic. All indications seemed to point to Achmim as the finding-place of these manuscripts and the matter was clinched by the fact that some Achmimic graffiti were discovered in the neighbourhood of Achmim²⁾; hence the dialect was called Achmimic and it has retained this name until the present day.

In 1904 C.Schmidt published the Heidelberg manuscript of the *Acta Pauli*³⁾, the first text in the dialect now known under the title of Subachmimic, and since then many texts in this and other dialects have become known. It was assumed by the first scholars who studied Subachmimic⁴⁾ that it represented a later form of the ancient Achmimic and was an intermediate stage between this and Sahidic; but when the Gospel of St. John in Subachmimic⁵⁾ was discovered at Qau, it was found to contain a number

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- 1) The first were published in 1884 by Bouriant in Miss.I pp.243ff..
 - 2) The graffiti were discovered by Bouriant in Wadi Bir el-Ain near Achmim and were published by him in Recueil XI,145f..
 - 3) C.Schmidt, Acta Pauli, 1904; a further leaf in the British Museum was discovered by Crum and published by Schmidt in Sitzungsber.Preuss.Ak. Wiss.Phil.-Hist.Kl. 1909, 216ff..
 - 4) C.Schmidt, Acta Pauli pp.19f., J.Leipoldt, review of Schmidt in ZDMG LVIII, 920f., F.Rösch, Vorbemerkungen zu einer Grammatik der achmimischen Mundart, pp.1ff..
 - 5) Sir Herbert Thompson, The Gospel of St. John (B.S.A.XXIX, 1924).

of archaisms not present in any other dialect and Till¹⁾ pointed out that the theory of a gradual development from Achmimic via Subachmimic to Sahidic was quite untenable, and that these dialects must have existed side by side. When the Manichaean texts in Subachmimic were discovered in 1930 C.Schmidt²⁾ proposed that Subachmimic was the dialect spoken near Assiut, firstly because of the close relationship to Achmimic, and secondly because both the Gospel of St. John and the Acta Pauli (probably)³⁾ had come from the neighbourhood of Assiut. Sahidic was now located north of Assiut as the dialect of Ashmunein and Antinoe, supported by the fact that one of the earliest Sahidic manuscripts, the British Museum Ms. of Deuteronomy, Jonah and Acts⁴⁾, had undoubtedly come from Ashmunein or its neighbourhood. This is the position we find stated in Steindorff's Lehrbuch⁵⁾, the latest work on the subject. W.H.Worrell⁶⁾ came to much the same conclusion, though he was inclined to place Sahidic a little further north at Oxyrhynchus. Fr.M.Chafne, however, writing at the same time as Worrell⁷⁾, pointed to the close relationship between Subachmimic and Fayyumic and proposed the following distribution of dialects:

Delta:	Bohairic	Assiut:	Subachmimic proper (Mani, John)
Fayyum:	Fayyumic	Achmim:	Achmimic
Ashmunein:	Subachmimic (type of Acta Pauli)	Thebes:	Sahidic

- 1) W.Till, Die Stellung des Achmimischen in Aegyptus VIII, 1927, 249ff..
- 2) C.Schmidt and H.J.Polotsky, Ein Mani-Fund in Aegypten, 1933, pp.9ff..
- 3) Cf. Crum, Ep. I p.235, Schmidt in DLZ 1928 p.1707, Crum in JRAS 1939, 474.
- 4) Ed. E.A. Wallis Budge, Coptic Biblical Texts, cf. H. Thompson, The New Biblical Papyrus; on the finding-place Budge p. XIVff., Thompson p. 12ff.
- 5) G. Steindorff, Lehrbuch der Koptischen Grammatik, 1951, p. 3.
- 6) W.H. Worrell, Coptic Sounds, 1933/4, pp. 63ff..
- 7) M. Chafne, Les Dialectes Coptes Assioutiques A², 1934, pp. 1ff., esp. p. 19; cf. by the same writer La Langue nationale populaire de l'Égypte ancienne in BSAC XIII, 1951, pp. 179-190.

The question was further complicated by the fact that some scholars have queried whether Bohairic existed as a literary dialect before the Arab period¹⁾, and Lefort²⁾ indeed has suggested that Sahidic was the official literary dialect of the Delta as well as of the rest of Egypt³⁾.

Dr. W. E. Crum, however, pointed out on various occasions⁴⁾ (a) that it was by no means certain that any or most of the Achmimic manuscripts were actually found at the White Monastery or even the neighbourhood of Achmim, and that the only Achmimic manuscript unearthed by a scientific excavation was found in the Fayyum⁵⁾; (b) that Fayyumic manuscripts had been found as far south as Wadi Sarga and the White Monastery, and that Fayyumic ostraca had been discovered at Thebes; (c) that Subachmimic was the idiom found in one of the Melitian letters which almost certainly were written near Cynopolis and that semi-Subachmimic letters had been found near Ashmunein. But Crum never attempted to solve the difficulties involved⁶⁾.

A serious obstacle so far has been the fact that, while Fayyumic

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- 1) L. C. Stern in *AZ* XX, 202; I. Guidi in *Nachr. d. kgl. Ges. Wiss. Göttingen* 1899 49ff.; F. C. Burkitt in *Encyclopedia Biblica* (1903) vol. IV p. 5008; J. Leipoldt, *Geschichte der koptischen Litteratur* pp. 178ff. in Brockelmann, Fink, Leipoldt, Littmann, *Geschichte der Christlichen Litteraturen des Orients*; W. H. Worrell, *Coptic Sounds* p. 67 (discussion); and especially L. Th. Lefort, *Littérature Bohairique* in *Muséon* XLIV (1931), 115ff..
 - 2) *Muséon* XLIV (1931) p. 120 note 1; see below pp. 248ff..
 - 3) Cf. also in general S. Morenz, *Die koptische Literatur* in B. Spuler, *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, vol. I, *Aegyptologie*, pp. 207ff..
 - 4) *Esp. Ep.* I pp. 234f., also *WZKM* XXXIX (1932), 146, *JEA* XIX (1933), 197, *JRAS* 1939 p. 473; cf. J. Simon in *Mémorial Lagrange* pp. 197ff..
 - 5) Cf. however C. Schmidt in *DLZ* 1928, p. 1707.
 - 6) I have not been able to find any notes relating to this in the unpublished Crum Material in the Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum.

and Subachmimic have much in common, nevertheless the differences have seemed so considerable that scholars on the whole have preferred to assume parallel development without necessarily involving interrelationship.¹⁾ There are, however, a number of texts designated here as Middle Egyptian (M)²⁾, which, falling into at least two classes of dialects, supply the missing link. In fact, we can now trace almost without a break a gradual relationship from Achmimic to Bohairic. In order to demonstrate this close relationship I shall discuss the sub-dialects in the following order:

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|----------------------------------|--|
| I Achmimic (A) | 1) Achmimic proper. |
| | 2) Achmimic with Subachmimic influence. |
| II Subachmimic (A ²) | Two or three main groups. |
| III Middle Egyptian (M) | 1) Middle Egyptian proper. |
| | 2) Mid.Egyptian with Fayyumic influence. |
| IV Fayyumic (F) | Old Fayyumic and Fayyumic proper. |
| V Bohairic (B) | 1) Semi-Bohairic. |
| | 2) Bohairic proper. |

For all the main five sub-dialects we have manuscripts of the fourth century or earlier; all the sub-dialects and in some cases even individual manuscripts have peculiarities of their own which sometimes have spread to neighbouring dialects. Finally, all of them can be demonstrated to have existed long before the Coptic period, though, of course, not necessarily in the precise form to which they attained in the 3rd-4th. centuries, and there can be no question of a gradual development from one dialect to another. The difficulties connected with the Sahidic dialect its origin and development, and texts written in a mixture of Sahidic and

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- 1) Worrell, Coptic Sounds pp.63ff.(passim) especially pp.74,76; Till, Die Vokalisation des Fayyumischen in BIFAO XXX,361ff.; al..
- 2) I use the sigla 'M' to avoid confusion with the ancient Middle Egyptian; so also Edgerton in JAOS LV p.257.

the sub-dialects will be discussed separately. For the present study I have on the whole confined myself to manuscripts written prior to the sixth century with the obvious exception of Bohairic where early manuscripts are extremely rare. For a list of early manuscripts on which this study is based see the Appendix I to the present chapter.

I,1 Achmimic proper.

For Achmimic we are very fortunate in having a considerable number of texts showing a more or less uniform dialect¹⁾, and it has been studied carefully by Röscher²⁾, Till³⁾ and others. Already the earliest manuscript in this dialect, the Achmimic Proverbs⁴⁾, shows a high degree of standardisation which must have been effected late in the third century. Apart from a number of misspellings in some of the manuscripts, especially that of II Maccabees⁵⁾, dialectical differences are few and on the whole confined to the following points:⁶⁾

(a) ⲙⲓⲛ- (Achmimic only) and ⲙⲓⲛⲣ-, the latter mostly in texts translated

- 1) For Achmimic texts in general and a bibliography of discussions concerning this dialect see J.Simon, Note sur le dossier des textes achmimiques in Mémorial Lagrange (1940) pp.197ff., cf. Muséon LIX, 497.

Fragments of the Shepherd of Hermas in Achmimic were published recently from a papyrus-codex at Louvain by L.Th.Lefort, Les Pères Apostoliques en Copte (CSCO 135) pp. Iff. and lff.. The dialect is normal Achmimic; of special interest is ⲙⲛⲟⲩⲛⲧⲉ, ⲙⲟⲩⲛⲧⲉ as in the Berlin I Clement, but not ⲉⲣⲁⲉ-, cf. ⲉⲣⲁⲩ Simil. IX, 10, 2 and ⲉⲣⲁⲩ passim.

- 2) F. Röscher, Vorbemerkungen zu einer Grammatik der achmimischen Mundart.
- 3) W. Till, Achmimisch-Koptische Grammatik.
- 4) This manuscript, said to be of the 3rd.-4th. centuries, is still unpublished, but see the full discussion of the dialect in A. Böhlig, Untersuchungen über die koptischen Proverbientexte.
- 5) Published by P. Lacau in BIFAO VIII, 68ff..
- 6) Cf. Till, Achmimisch-Koptische Grammatik (passim).

from Sahidic and later Achmimic texts.

- (b) $\epsilon\tau\alpha\zeta$ - (Achmimic only) and $\epsilon\tau\alpha\eta$ -, $\epsilon\tau\alpha\varsigma$ -, $\epsilon\tau\alpha\gamma$ -; see chapter VIII par. 150A.
- (c) $\eta\tau\alpha\eta$ - and $\tau\alpha\eta$ -; see chapter VIII par.143A.
- (d) $\eta\eta\omicron\upsilon\eta\tau\epsilon$ -, $\mu\omicron\upsilon\eta\tau\epsilon$ -, (Achmimic only) and $\eta\eta\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$ -, $\mu\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$ -; see chapter VIII par.79A b.
- (e) $\tau\alpha\eta$ - (Achmimic only) and $\tau\mu$ -; cf.Till, l.c.par.206.
- (f) Single or double vowels, e.g. $\omicron\gamma\alpha\epsilon\tau$ and $\omicron\gamma\alpha\epsilon\epsilon\tau$, $\zeta\eta\omega\zeta\epsilon$ and $\zeta\eta\omega\omega\zeta\epsilon$ (this word only in Achmimic), etc..
- (g) Qualitatives of verbs ending \omicron in $\alpha\epsilon\tau$ or $\eta\epsilon\gamma$, cf.p.214 below.
- (h) The omission of ζ especially in the Achmimic Minor Prophets (more than 80 times) see chapter VIII par.123.
- (i) The omission and variant spellings of $\kappa\epsilon$, see p.266 and note 1.

The principal features of Achmimic, peculiar to this dialect, are the use of the letter ζ ; $\alpha\gamma$ for $\alpha\gamma\omega$; ϵ for η e.g. $\mu\epsilon$, $\mu\epsilon\iota\omega\epsilon$, $\omicron\gamma\epsilon\iota\beta\epsilon$, $\tau\beta\epsilon$, $\omicron\gamma\zeta$, $\varsigma\mu$; $\omicron\gamma$ for ω e.g. $\kappa\omicron\gamma$, $\chi\omicron\gamma$ (sometimes also in A^2), $\tau\omicron\gamma\omicron\gamma\beta\epsilon$, $\chi\omicron\gamma\omicron\gamma\mu\epsilon$; $\delta\beta\iota\tau$ for $\zeta\beta\omicron\gamma\tau$; the qualitative $\epsilon\epsilon$, ϵ of $\epsilon\iota\epsilon$ and $\tau\epsilon\epsilon$, $\tau\epsilon$ of τ ; ϵ for α in $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\zeta$, $\tau\beta\eta\epsilon\epsilon$, $\kappa\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\epsilon$, $\eta\epsilon\epsilon$; ϵ for $\omicron\gamma$ in $\epsilon\tau\alpha\zeta$ (nn.); the future III $\alpha\kappa\alpha$, $\alpha\gamma\alpha$; the conjunctive η -, ς -¹⁾; and in particular also $\mu\eta$ -, $\epsilon\tau\alpha\zeta$ -, $\tau\mu\eta$ - cited above.

If we regard dialectical spellings in non-literary texts as conclusive evidence for the localisation of literary dialects, there can be no question that Thebes was the real home of Achmimic, as already suggested by Crum²⁾. This will be abundantly clear from the evidence brought in chapter VIII, when the dialectical spellings in Theban non-literary texts are compared with those from other parts of Egypt. Only at Thebes we find ζ for ω reflecting the Achmimic ζ for ω ³⁾, $\epsilon\tau\alpha\zeta$ - for $\epsilon\tau\alpha\eta$ -, $\epsilon\tau\alpha\varsigma$ -

1) Also rarely in Subachmimic, cf.chapter VIII par.138.

2) In Ep.I p.234f..

3) See chapter VIII par.118D, cf.par.123C.

and $\epsilon\tau\alpha\gamma$ ¹⁾, and many others²⁾. This evidence is further supported by the fact that the Old Coptic Horoscope³⁾ found at Thebes essentially has the same dialect, e.g. $\alpha\eta\alpha$, $\omega\alpha\eta$ ⁴⁾, and this must have been current in the Theban area for centuries. On the other hand it may legitimately be questioned whether Achmimic in its fully developed form was ever a spoken as well as a literary dialect; and it seems probable that during the early Coptic period Sahidic had already so far influenced the language of Thebes, that the spoken dialect was a mixture of Achmimic and Sahidic, which we find not only in many letters, but also in some of the earliest literary documents⁵⁾. It is interesting in this connection to note that no non-literary text has so far come to light showing the fully standardised Achmimic⁶⁾ and the nearest approach is the badly misspelt Aberdeen magical papyrus⁷⁾.

If Achmimic originated at Thebes, there are nevertheless many indications that this dialect spread north in early times. Sufficient evidence for this are the graffiti discovered near Achmim⁸⁾ and the fact

1) See chapter VIII paragraph 150A.

2) See chapter VIII paragraphs 6D, 18, 18B, 28A, 46A, 47A, 53, 62, 79A, 138, 143, 147, 150B, cf. also 123C, 123D, 126, 139, 140.

3) First published by Goodwin in *AZ* VI, 18ff., Griffith *AZ* XXXVIII, 71ff., cf. *AZ* XXXIX, 78f., Crum in *JEA* XXVIII, 23.

4) Cf. however pp. 252ff. and 267 below.

5) See pp. 237ff. below.

6) An exception are perhaps the graffiti from Achmim, see note 8 below.

7) Ed. Crum in *Recueil Champollion* pp. 537ff.

8) See above p. 193 note 2; cf. Worrell, *Coptic Sounds* p. 74, who already noted: 'The graffiti found near by are inconclusive, especially as they are associated with non-Achmimic scribblings'. Important is the presence of the distinctive Achmimic ϵ in $\epsilon\alpha\lambda$ and $\epsilon\alpha\epsilon\alpha$, also α - for $\alpha\epsilon$ - in $\chi\epsilon$ $\alpha\eta\eta\alpha\gamma\tau\epsilon$ $\eta\alpha\rho\alpha\gamma\eta\alpha\epsilon$ $\eta\epsilon\mu\alpha\gamma$. Some of the graffiti are in

that one text was actually found in the Fayyum¹⁾. Also, as will be noted later²⁾, it seems probable that during the latter part of the fourth century Achmimic influenced the Subachmimic dialects to a considerable extent. It has been assumed by Schmidt, Steindorff, Leipoldt and others that many of the Achmimic manuscripts had actually come from the library of the White Monastery, but as Crum has pointed out there is no certain evidence for this³⁾. In fact, as long ago as 1904 Crum⁴⁾ pointed out that: 'the greater part of the volumes (from the White Monastery) was written in the tenth to twelfth centuries; a smaller number in the seventh to ninth; still fewer in perhaps the sixth'⁵⁾. It seems somewhat improbable that Achmimic manuscripts of the fourth and fifth centuries should have formed part of the library of the White Monastery when no Sahidic manuscripts of the same period have survived. On the other hand

pure Sahidic, another is in Sahidic, but shows ⲁⲗⲱⲓ, ⲛⲉⲥⲕ, and in particular ⲉⲓⲁⲓⲱⲛⲉ for ⲉⲓⲉⲓⲱⲛⲉ, which again points to Achmimic influence, cf. chapter VIII par. 129. It seems to the present writer that Achmimic manuscripts found near Achmim are much more likely to have come from this locality than from the White Monastery. Bouriant could not see all the cells; it is a pity that this important site was never investigated properly.

- 1) CMSS II; a further leaf from Vienna published by Till, Muséon LI, 69f..
- 2) See pp. 218f. below.
- 3) See the bibliography by J. Simon in Mémorial Lagrange pp. 197ff.; cf. also p. 195 note 4, and p. 199 note 8.
- 4) JTS V 129ff..
- 5) Lefort, indeed, would date Zoëga 245 (Hyvernât, Album plate IV) as early as the fourth/fifth centuries, see Muséon XI (1927) p. 252 and by the same Les Pères Apostoliques en Copte (CSCO 135) p. XV, but I should hesitate to date this manuscript earlier than the sixth century, cf. especially the late forms of the letters ⲉ and ⲓ.

it can hardly be denied in view of the strong evidence that at least a few of the Achmimic manuscripts were found near Achmim; this seems particularly probable in the case of the Achmimic Minor Prophets, since this and the Achmimic manuscript found in the Fayyum are among the four Achmimic manuscripts written on parchment¹⁾. Of some interest also is the report²⁾ that apparently the Achmimic I Clement (Berlin) and the Achmimic Proverbs were found near Achmim together with a paschal letter of the eighth century in Greek; are we to assume that Achmimic texts were still in use near Achmim at so late a period?

Finally it may be emphasised that again and again the fully standardised Achmimic dialect can be demonstrated to be a rather late development from a mixture of early Sahidic and certain local dialects, and preserving comparatively little of the ancient Theban dialect³⁾. The early Achmimic Psalm-fragment⁴⁾ and the texts in the dialect here called Achmimic with Subachmimic influence, like the earliest Subachmimic manuscripts (John, BM 522, J&C 1921) represent much more truly the ancient dialects of the people of the Thebaid. K. Sethe came to much the same conclusion when he wrote in 1928⁵⁾:

"...Tatsächlich ist für einen Koptiker ... das Achmimische von ganz untergeordneter Bedeutung, da sich das spärlich erhaltene Schrifttum dieses Dialektes als grossenteils von dem sahidischen abhängig, d.h. daraus übersetzt erweist. Das ist z.B. gerade bei den von Till unlängst neu herausgegebenen Kleinen Propheten ganz evident und soll, wie ich höre, auch bei den Proverbien ... der Fall sein. Diese Abhängigkeit tritt auch in der Schrift zutage, indem das Achmimische den ihm

1) For the significance of this see below Appendix I.

2) C. Schmidt in Sitzungsber. Preuss. Ak. Wiss. 1907 p. 155.

3) Cf. below pp. 237f., especially p. 267.

4) See p. 237f..

5) DLZ XXXVII, 1800ff. especially p. 1802f. (review of Till, Achm.-Kopt. Gr.)

"eigentümlichen alten ch-Laut durch das h des Sahidischen mit diakritischem Strich bezeichnet, anstatt sich des alten demotischen Zeichens, das das Bohairische dafür noch verwendet, zu bedienen.¹⁾ Sie zeigt, dass diejenigen irren, die wie Rösch um der lautlichen Altertümlichkeiten willen das Achmimische für älter als das Sahidische und wohl gar für dessen Vorstufe halten wollen.

" Auch für den Ägyptologen wird das Sahidische mit seiner reineren Grammatik, mit seinem so viel reicheren Schrifttum und demzufolge auch grösserem Wortschatz und mit seinen z.T. doch auch älteren Formen immer die Grundlage und der Ausgangspunkt seiner Studien bleiben. Als Punkte, in denen sich die Überlegenheit des Sahidischen in diesen Hinsichten zeigt, sind zu nennen: auf lexikalischem Gebiet das Fehlen eines Äquivalentes so alter Wörter wie sōšē 'Feld', tōwte 'sammeln', gōr^en 'Nacht', jōm 'Meer', hiē 'Weg' (S. 276ff.)²⁾; in der Lautlehre der im Achmimischen 'Sprossvokal' ē in Formen wie sōtme (§ 8g α); in der Formen- und Satzlehre die Verstümmelung des Kausativinfinitivs trē zu tē (§ 145a), der Wegfall des alten organischen n im Konditionalis ef-šan-sōtem (§ 221) und im Konjunktiv (§ 139a), der Negation ^en- der mit an negierten Sätze (§ 205), des Genitivexponenten ^en-, wo er unbedingt erforderlich war (§ 83), und ebenso der gleichlautenden 'Nota accusativi' nach dem Infinitiv (§ 147). In den letzteren Fällen handelt es sich offenbar um eine Verwahrlosung der Sprache, wie sie auch bei den andern Dialekten gelegentlich in schlechteren Texten zu beobachten ist. Zum Teil erstreckt sich diese Verwahrlosung auch auf den Gebrauch der Infinitivformen. Gerade die von Till (§ 147b) zur Stütze seiner entgegengesetzten Meinung, nach der darin Zeichen von Altertümlichkeit zu sehen waren, ins Feld geführten Erscheinungen der Wortstellung (besonders bei ḡáe) zeigen m.E. klar, dass das Achmimische

1) Cf. in this connection chapter VIII par. 123C.

2) Pages and paragraphs refer to Till, Achmimisch-Koptische Grammatik.

"die voll vokalisiertten Grundformen der Infinitive per nefas statt der verkürzten Status constructi gebraucht, die doch gewiss nichts Junges, sondern etwas recht Altes sind."

I,2 Achmimic with Subachmimic influence.

Apart from the closed group of Achmimic manuscripts showing a more or less uniform dialect, there are three further manuscripts which for several reasons should still be classed as Achmimic, though, partly in agreement with some Subachmimic manuscripts, they differ in certain essentials from the other Achmimic group. These three manuscripts fall into two groups, each representing a more or less fixed and standardised¹⁾ dialect of its own. The first group consists of the Ascension of Isaiah and the Berlin Genesis²⁾; the second is represented by a manuscript of psalms or hymns³⁾ which have been attributed to Hieracas⁴⁾. The manuscript of the Ascension of Isaiah and that of the hymns are amongst the earliest Coptic manuscripts known⁵⁾ and can hardly be later than the first half of the fourth century. Indeed, the dialect of both in some ways is more primitive than Achmimic proper, and that of the hymn-manuscript in particular is perhaps the nearest approach we have to the dialect actually spoken at Thebes at the beginning of the Coptic period⁶⁾.

Both these groups agree in certain particulars against Achmimic proper as will be obvious from the diagram on p.204. Apart from the differences given on this diagram, the first group(Asc.Is. and Berl.Gen.) agrees on the whole with Achmimic proper; but the Asc.Isaiah has two further peculiarities, pointing to Subachmimic and Middle Egyptian influ-

1) Ed.Lefort in Muséon LII,7ff. and Lacau in Muséon LIX,452ff..

2) Ed.Leipoldt in BKU 164; cf.ZDMG LVIII,922.

3) Ed.Lefort in Muséon LII,1ff..

4) E.Peterson in Muséon LX,257ff..

5) Both MSS are written on rolls, see Appendix I below.

6) See below pp.237f., cf.p.267.

Diagram:

	Achm.	Asc.Is.	Genesis	Hymns	Subachm.	Fayyumic	Sahidic	Bohairic
(a) ε = α	εωπε	εωπε, αωπε	αωπε	αωπε	αωπε	αωπι	αωπε	αωπι
	εαρπ	εαρп, ααρп	—	—	ααρп	ααρп	αорп	αорп
	αεγ	—	ααγ	—	ααγ	αεγ	ααγ	ααγ
	εε	—	—	εα	εα	εα	αα	αα
(b) ου = ω	εβσογ	εβσω	—	—	εβσω	ε(ε)βσω	εβσω	εεβσω
	χωοομε	—	χωμε	—	χωμε	χωμε	χω(α)με	χωμ
	εβογ	—	—	εβογ	εβω	εβω	εβω	εγω
	εογ(ο)τ	εωωτ	—	—	εω(ω)τ, εωωτ	εω(ω)τ	εω(ω)τ	εωτ
(c) ι = η	εαει	εαη	—	—	εαη	εαη	εαη	εαη
	μντε, μντ	μντη	—	—	μντη, μντεε	—	μντη, μντε	—
	μν(ε)γε	μνηγε	—	—	μν(η)γε	μν(η), μννη	μνηγε	μνηγ
1)								
(d) ε = ι	εαε(ε)αε	εασι	—	—	εαε, εασι	εασι	εαε	εασι
	αεε	—	—	—	αεε, αεε	αεε	ααε	ααε
	αεη	—	—	—	αεη, αεη	αεη	αα(α)ε	ααη
	εαε, εαε	—	—	—	εαε (ε)αε	εαε	εαε	εαε
	εαεε	—	εαεε	εαεε	—	εαεε	εαεε	εαεε
	(εεε)	—	εεε	—	—	εεε	εαε	εαε
2)								
(e) caus. infin.	τε-	τε-	τε	—	τε-, τε-	τε-, τε-	τε-	τε-

ence: κα- for κνα- X, 11, a clear Subachmimic³⁾, and in particular the verbal prefix εα(ε)ι-, εαγ-, εαγ-, side by side with the normal forms α(ε)ι-, αγ-, αν-, αγ-⁴⁾; the Berlin Genesis has three times final accented η for ε in πη 'heaven', which is of some interest⁵⁾.

1) See chapter VIII par.23 and below p.247 note 4

2) See chapter VIII par.146.

3) See chapter VIII par.128.

4) See chapter VIII par.150.

5) See below p.223; the Asc.Is. however has πε, e.g. X, 9.

Lacau¹⁾ had already drawn attention to the extraordinary \ddot{h} in the Ascension of Isaiah to represent the Achmimic \dot{h} (ancient h) which occurs side by side with the normal ω . Except for this peculiarity, his conclusions are true also for the other manuscripts:

Ancient ⲕ (h)	Achmimic	\dot{h}	e.g.	$\dot{h}\epsilon$
	Asc.Is., Berl.Gen., Hymns	\dot{h}	e.g.	$\dot{h}\epsilon$
	Bohairic	\dot{h}	e.g.	$\dot{h}\epsilon$
	Sah., Subachm., Fayy.	\dot{h}	e.g.	$\dot{h}\epsilon, \dot{h}\eta$
Ancient ⲕ (h) (a)	Achmimic	\dot{h}	e.g.	$\dot{h}\epsilon$
	Asc.Is., Berl.Gen., Hymns	\dot{h}	e.g.	$\dot{h}\epsilon$
	Bohairic	\dot{h}	e.g.	$\dot{h}\epsilon$
	Sah., Subachm., Fayy.	\dot{h}	e.g.	$\dot{h}\epsilon$
	(b) Achmimic	\dot{h}	e.g.	$\dot{h}\omega\eta\epsilon$
	Ascension of Isaiah	\ddot{h}, ω	e.g.	$\ddot{h}\omega\eta\epsilon, \omega\omega\eta\epsilon$
	Berl.Genesis, Hymns	ω	e.g.	$\omega\omega\eta\epsilon$
	Bohairic	ω	e.g.	$\omega\omega\eta\epsilon$
	Sah., Subachm., Fayy.	ω	e.g.	$\omega\omega\eta\epsilon, \omega\omega\eta\iota$

Spiegelberg²⁾ has drawn attention to the fact that already in Demotic there existed two values for the ancient letter h , and thus we have the following diagram:³⁾

Ancient ⲕ (h)	Demotic ⲕ (h)	Coptic \dot{h} , \dot{h} , \dot{h} .
Ancient ⲕ (h)	Demotic ⲕ (h)	Coptic \dot{h} , \ddot{h} , ω .

The second group represented by the manuscript of Hymns⁴⁾ has a number of further peculiarities, mostly in agreement with Sahidic, which

1) Muséon LIX, 460.

2) Demotische Grammatik par. 16f..

3) In the Old Coptic Horoscope (see ÄZ XXXVIII, 31ff.) these two letters ⲕ and \dot{h} are already (or still ?) confused and we find $\dot{h}\omega(\eta\epsilon)$ (twice) and $\text{ⲕ}\omega(\eta\epsilon)$ (six times).

4) Cf. above p. 203 and note 3.

will be discussed later in this chapter¹⁾.

II Subachmimic.

The Subachmimic²⁾ dialects stand between Achmimic and Middle Egyptian with a number of features peculiar to this dialect. Unlike Achmimic we do not find a uniform dialect, but two main groups and apparently the new Gnostic find at Deir Chenoboskion provides yet a third group³⁾. The first group consists mainly of the Gospel of St. John (Jo.)⁴⁾, one of the Melitian letters (J&C 1921)⁵⁾, the Acta Pauli (AP)⁶⁾ and BM 522⁷⁾; the second group is formed by the Manichaean manuscripts⁸⁾ (ManiP⁹⁾, ManiK¹⁰⁾ and ManiH¹¹⁾), and belonging probably to the same group a fragment from

1) See p.238f..

2) An admirable survey of Subachmimic texts in J.Simon, Note sur le dossier des textes subachmimiques in Muséon LIX(1946)497ff..

3) J.Doresse and Togo Mina, Nouveaux textes gnostiques coptes découverts en Haute Égypte, in Vigiliae Christianae III(1949)p.132. Two or three manuscripts dated about the middle of the fourth century: '...(ils) sont écrits dans un dialecte inconnue jusqu'à présent. Celui-ci pourrait passer à première vue pour un mélange de subachmimique - dialecte de la Moyenne Égypte -, avec du Sahidique et quelques éléments fayoumiques'. Cf. also H.C.Puech in Coptic Studies in Honour of W. E. Crum p.96f. and references there.

4) Sir Herbert Thompson, The Gospel of St. John.

5) H.I.Bell and W.E.Crum, Jews and Christians in Egypt no.1921.

6) See above p.193 note 3.

7) It is hard to understand why this manuscript has not been classed as Subachmimic before; all features seem typical of the dialect.

8) Cf. Schmidt-Polotsky, Ein Mani-Fund in Ägypten.

9) C.R.C.Allberry, A Manichaean Psalm-book part II.

10) H.J.Polotsky and A.Böhlig, Kephalaia, part I.

11) H.J.Polotsky, Manichäische Homilien.

Vienna¹⁾ and another at Florence found at Antinoe²⁾. But even within these main groups there are considerable dialectical variations, an exception being only some of the Manichaeian manuscripts. The Subachmimic dialect was first studied by Schmidt³⁾, Thompson⁴⁾ and Till⁵⁾; Polotsky⁶⁾ drew attention to the principal differences between the two main groups; the most detailed study is by Chaîne⁷⁾, but this was published at a time when the Manichaeian manuscripts had only just become known and only a few extracts had been published. Since then one complete text (ManiH) and considerable portions of two others (ManiK, ManiP) have been published, and a general survey of the principal differences and agreements, in so far as it affects the present study may be useful.⁸⁾ A more detailed investigation will have to await the publication of further portions of the Manichaeian manuscripts and in particular of the new Gnostic texts.

(a) All the manuscripts agree with Achmimic, but not with any other dialect, in a number of points, the most notable being α for ϵ ⁹⁾, e.g. in

1) Krall, MR II, 54; Wessely, P.O. IV, 185f., cf. Till, ZDMG XCV (1941) pp. 169, 209.

2) See Simon in Muséon LIX, 506; the manuscript, a palimpsest, was discovered by A. van Lantschoot; still unpublished.

3) Acta Pauli pp. 13ff., cf. above p. 193 notes 3, 4.

4) The Gospel of St. John pp. XVIIIff..

5) Achmimisch-Koptische Grammatik (passim).

6) Schmidt-Polotsky, Ein Mani-Fund in Ägypten pp. 10ff..

7) M. Chaîne, Les Dialectes Coptes Assioutiques A² (passim).

8) For this study I have had to rely largely on the indices to the Subachmimic volumes. It is to be greatly regretted that no index was published with the Kephalaia; which causes serious inconvenience to readers. My own citations of the Kephalaia in the present chapter are based on my own grammatical slips, supplemented by the Dictionary slips collected by W.E. Crum, now in the Griffith Institute, Oxford.

9) Cf. chapter VIII paragraph 21.

α-(preposition), αρα=γ, αβαλ, αχν-, ανηζε, παχε, etc.; other agreements are a few words found only in these two dialects, e.g. ταχο, τανο (τενο), ωτος, εαν, χιν, βλαμ, and a number of spellings, e.g. εανηε, μα(α)ζε, ουεν, τεζο, τεουο, ζμαστ(ζμεστ), etc..

(b) In a number of instances the manuscripts agree with Achmimic and also Middle Egyptian and Fayyumic, sometimes even Bohairic, or with Achmimic and Sahidic; these instances will be discussed under separate headings below.

(c) Together with most other dialects, the Subachmimic manuscripts differ from Achmimic where this has peculiarities of its own¹⁾; it is interesting to note that in some of these the Subachmimic texts are supported also by certain Achmimic manuscripts²⁾.

(d) Two instances may be quoted where all the Subachmimic manuscripts agree with Middle Egyptian (and Fayyumic) against Achmimic, Sahidic and Bohairic:

A²M κεκαγε F κεκαγι A κεκεγε S κεκοογε B κεχωογι.

A²M τβναγε F τ(ε)βναγι A τβνεγε S τβνοογε B τεβνωγι.

(e) There are some cases where Subachmimic has peculiarities only found in these manuscripts, though in most instances one or other of the manuscripts has the form or word common in other dialects. The more notable instances found in most or all of the manuscripts are the following:

Words: ζιε, ζρτε³⁾, αυβηλ, μεψτε, κατ (qual. of κω, κου).

Spellings: εμντε, και (= κε).

Verbal: The omission of ν in Future I and II and the merging of the

1) See above p.198.

2) See above pp.203f., especially the Diagram on p.204.

3) Apparently also in a fragment(Heb.V,7) in Subachmimic, once the property of Sir Herbert Thompson, see his Gospel of St.John p.XX, presumably now in the Cambridge University Library with the rest of his manuscripts. On ζρτε see also AZ LXIII,154f.

future II and III into one; this is fully discussed in Chapter VIII par.129. As noted above¹⁾ this also occurs in the Achmimic Ascension of Isaiah(once).

Other instances confined to one group or even one manuscript, and individual agreements with Achmimic, Middle Egyptian, Fayyumic, Bohairic and Sahidic, or some of these combined, may be discussed separately:

(f) The Subachmimic manuscripts in agreement with other dialects and certain Achmimic manuscripts²⁾ write ω for Achmimic $\text{oy}^3)$, but in a few cases final oy is found:⁴⁾

kov	Jo(9), ManiP(1)	$\text{k}\omega$	Jo(5), ManiP(pl.), ManiH, K(pas- sim).
		$\text{k}\omega\epsilon$ (sic)	AP(passim).
coy	Jo(1), AP(pass.), ManiP(4)	$\text{c}\omega$	Jo(9), ManiP(7), ManiH, K(pass.).
cBoy	Jo(4)	$\text{c}\text{B}\omega$	Jo(4), AP(pass.), ManiH, P, K (passim).
xoy	Jo(2), AP(pass.), ManiP(1)	$\text{x}\omega$	Jo(pl.), ManiP(pl.), ManiH, K (passim).

cf. $\text{z}\omega\text{oy}$, zoy , $\text{z}\omega\text{y}$ Jo; $\text{z}\omega\text{oy}$, $\text{z}\omega\omega$ AP; $\text{z}\omega(\omega)$ ManiP, H, K. In one case Jo has oy for Achmimic ω in $\text{ioy}\epsilon$, ManiP $\text{i}\omega\epsilon$, ManiH (and A, S, F, B) $(\epsilon)\omega$.

(g) The Subachmimic manuscripts in agreement with Middle Egyptian and Fayyumic generally write $\epsilon\gamma$ for Sahidic-Bohairic $\alpha\gamma$ and Achmimic o , $\omega^5)$; but ManiH always writes o and one or two instances can also be cited from ManiP and ManiK. Thus $\text{ue}(\epsilon)\gamma$, ney (vb. and nn.), cney , muey in Jo, AP, ManiP, K(pl.); but no (vb. and nn.), cno , mo in ManiH, no (vb.) also once in ManiP and once in ManiK, and notably it occurs also once in P.

1) See above p.204.

2) Cf. the Diagram on p.204.

3) Cf. chapter VIII paragraph 62.

4) The numerals, e.g.(5) indicate the number of occurrences.

5) Cf. chapter VIII paragraphs 14, 18.

Gol.47¹⁾. Cf. also $\epsilon\gamma$ ('what')Jo,ManiP,K; \circ ManiH and twice ManiP.

(h) Where ι precedes or follows another vowel, Jo,AP,BM 522, and J&C 1921 generally write $\epsilon\iota$, e.g. $\alpha\epsilon\iota$ -, $\epsilon\epsilon\iota$ -, etc., exceptions being comparatively rare, e.g. $\iota\alpha$ -, $\kappa\alpha\iota$ (= $\kappa\epsilon$); the Manichaean texts and the Vienna fragment always have simply ι , e.g. $\alpha\iota\kappa$, $\chi\alpha\iota\epsilon$, etc.. In certain early Sahidic manuscripts we sometimes find $\epsilon\iota$ for normal ι , and ι for normal $\epsilon\iota$, presumably partly due to Subachmimic influence, particularly in the former case²⁾.

(i) One of the most marked differences between the two Subachmimic groups is the addition or omission of a final ϵ :³⁾

i) In agreement with Achmimic, but differing from the other dialects all Subachmimic manuscripts have $\alpha\eta\eta\epsilon$, $\epsilon\alpha\gamma\eta\epsilon$, and $\circ\gamma\omega\gamma\epsilon$ is found in AP, ManiH,K,P, though not in Jo which has $\circ\gamma\omega\gamma$.

ii) In agreement with Achmimic all Subachmimic manuscripts have ϵ after the final vowel where Fayyumic and Bohairic have ι : $\beta\alpha\epsilon$, $\lambda\alpha\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$, $\mu\epsilon$, $\eta\alpha\epsilon$, $\gamma\omega\epsilon$ (or $\beta\omega\epsilon$), also $\eta\circ\gamma\epsilon$ (not in Achmimic); the Sahidic forms are $\beta\alpha$, $\lambda\alpha\alpha\gamma$, $\mu\epsilon$, $\eta\alpha$, $\gamma\omega$, $\eta\circ\gamma$.

iii) Jo (and AP) add ϵ after the final vowel where Fayyumic and Bohairic have ι , but where it is omitted by ManiH,K, ManiP (one exception), Achmimic and Sahidic:

$(\epsilon)\iota\circ\gamma\epsilon$	Jo	}	$\iota\omega\iota$	F	$\iota\omega\iota$	B	$(\epsilon)\iota\omega$	A,S,ManiH
$\iota\omega\epsilon$	ManiP							
$\rho\epsilon\circ\gamma\epsilon$	AP	}	$\lambda\epsilon\epsilon\beta\iota$	F	$\rho\alpha\circ\gamma\iota$	B	$\rho\epsilon\circ\gamma$	A, $\rho\alpha\circ\gamma$ S
$\epsilon\alpha\gamma\omega\epsilon$	Jo (A rare)		$\epsilon\epsilon\gamma\gamma\iota$	F	$\epsilon\alpha\gamma\omega\iota$	B	$\epsilon\alpha\gamma\omega$	A(pl.), S
$\rho\eta\epsilon\epsilon$	Jo	}	$\rho\eta\eta\epsilon\iota$	F	$\epsilon\rho\phi\epsilon\iota$	B	$\rho\eta\epsilon$	S,ManiH,K,P
$\rho\eta\epsilon\iota\epsilon$	A(!)							

Cf. $\circ\gamma\epsilon\epsilon$, $\circ\gamma\epsilon\iota$, $\circ\gamma\epsilon$ Jo; $\circ\gamma\epsilon\epsilon\iota$ AP; $\circ\gamma\epsilon\epsilon\iota$ (al.)F; $\circ\gamma\alpha$ B; $\circ\gamma\epsilon$ A,Mani; $\circ\gamma\alpha$ S.

1) Cf. Schmidt-Polotsky, Ein Mani-Fund p.11; for P.Gol.47 see pp.240f..

2) Cf. chapter VIII paragraphs 40,40A.

3) Cf. chapter VIII paragraph 19.

iv) Peculiar to Subachmimic is $\chi\epsilon\kappa\alpha(\lambda)\epsilon$; Jo has $\chi\epsilon\kappa\alpha\epsilon$, AP $\chi\epsilon\kappa\alpha\alpha\epsilon$, but the Manichaean texts usually have $\chi\epsilon\kappa\alpha$ ManiP(pl.) and $\chi\epsilon\kappa\alpha(\lambda)\epsilon$ ManiK; only four times in ManiP we still find $\chi\epsilon\kappa\alpha\epsilon$.

v) The Manichaean manuscripts, but not Jo-AP, add in agreement with Achmimic, but against all other dialects, an ϵ at the end of final closed syllables which end with $\beta, \lambda, \mu, \nu, \rho$, e.g. $\sigma\gamma\omega\psi\beta\epsilon, \zeta\omega\tau\beta\epsilon, \varsigma\omega\tau\mu\epsilon, \tau\omega\lambda\mu\epsilon, \varsigma\alpha\gamma\tau\mu\epsilon, \omega\chi\mu\epsilon$, also $\nu\eta\epsilon\tau\mu\epsilon, \zeta\omega\tau\mu\epsilon, \chi\omega\kappa\mu\epsilon$; on the other hand the ϵ is not added in the case of 4- or 5-literal words, showing reduplication, e.g. $\varsigma\alpha\lambda\varsigma\lambda, \kappa\alpha\kappa\mu, \kappa\mu\mu\mu, \delta\alpha\delta\alpha\mu, \psi\tau\alpha\tau\mu, \zeta\beta\beta\mu$, also $\sigma\gamma\alpha\varsigma\tau\mu$, one exception being $\tau\lambda\tau\mu\epsilon$ occurring twice in ManiP side by side with $\tau\lambda\tau\lambda$ ManiP once; even in Achmimic this ϵ is sometimes omitted in such cases¹⁾. ManiP, however, in agreement with the other group Jo-AP, frequently has the forms without the ϵ , e.g. $\alpha\mu\iota\tau\mu, \mu\mu\iota\tau\mu, \omega\omega\mu, \psi\omega\lambda\mu, \psi\omega\alpha\mu$, showing both forms side by side.

vi) The Manichaean manuscripts, but not Jo-AP, also add ϵ in agreement with Achmimic in the following instances:

Sahidic	Bohairic	Fayyumic	Jo - AP	Mani	Achmimic
$\mu\alpha\epsilon\iota\mu$	$\mu\mu\iota\mu$	$\mu\mu(\epsilon)\iota\mu$	—	$\mu\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon$	—
$\varsigma\alpha\epsilon\iota\mu$	$\varsigma\mu\iota\mu$	$\varsigma\mu(\epsilon)\iota\mu$	—	$\varsigma\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon$	$\varsigma\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon$
$\nu\alpha\epsilon\iota\mu$	$\nu\omega\iota\mu$	$\nu\alpha\epsilon\iota\mu$	$\nu\alpha\eta\epsilon\iota\mu$	$\nu\alpha\iota\mu\epsilon$	$\nu\alpha\iota\mu\epsilon$
$\sigma\gamma\alpha\epsilon\iota\mu$	$\sigma\gamma\omega\iota\mu$	$\sigma\gamma\alpha\epsilon\iota\mu$	$\sigma\gamma\alpha\epsilon\iota\mu$	$\sigma\gamma\alpha\iota\mu\epsilon$	$\sigma\gamma\alpha\iota\mu\epsilon$
$\psi\alpha\epsilon\iota\mu$	—	$\psi\alpha\epsilon\iota\mu$	—	$\psi\alpha\iota\mu\epsilon$	—
$\zeta\alpha\epsilon\iota\mu$	$\zeta\omega\iota\mu$	$\zeta\alpha(\epsilon)\iota\mu$	—	$\zeta\alpha\iota\mu\epsilon$	$\zeta\alpha\iota\mu\epsilon$

vii) In the following cases Jo-AP add ϵ with the Manichaean texts and Achmimic, where Bohairic and Fayyumic add ι :

Sahidic	Bohairic	Fayyumic	Jo - AP	Mani	Achmimic
$\mu\epsilon$	$\mu\mu\iota, \mu\epsilon\iota$	$\mu\mu\iota, \mu(\epsilon)\epsilon\iota$	$\mu\alpha\epsilon\iota\epsilon$	$\mu\epsilon\iota\epsilon$	$\mu\epsilon\iota\epsilon$
$\sigma\gamma\epsilon(\sigma\beta)$	$\sigma\gamma\epsilon\iota$	$\sigma\gamma\mu\iota$	$\sigma\gamma\alpha\epsilon\iota\epsilon$	—	$\sigma\gamma\epsilon\epsilon\iota\epsilon$
$\zeta\epsilon$	$\zeta\mu\iota, \zeta\epsilon\iota$	$\zeta\mu\iota, \zeta(\epsilon)\epsilon\iota$	$\zeta\alpha\epsilon\iota\epsilon$	$\zeta\epsilon\iota\epsilon$	$\zeta(\epsilon)\epsilon\iota\epsilon$

1) Cf. Till, Achmimisch-Koptische Grammatik par. 8g.

(S)ca (B)caie,ca (F)cei (Jo-AP)— (Mani)caie (A)caieie
 ya ya1 yee1 yaeie yale eae, ea

ManiP also has *cei*, *ya1* in agreement with Fayyumic and Bohairic.

viii) In a few other instances the Manichaean texts, in particular ManiP, sometimes omit *e* with Jo-AP and the other dialects, where it is added by Achmimic, e.g. *τα(ε)ιου* Jo, ManiP, H; *σοογ* and *σοογε*, *μποογ* and *μποογε*, *τωαγ*, etc..

ix) ManiP sometimes omits final *e* where it is added by all dialects: *μεεγ* (*μεεγε*), *αεεγ* (*αεεγε*); cf. chapter VIII par. 20c.

(j) Jo and AP generally, but not consistently, double vowels where these are doubled in Achmimic and Sahidic, e.g. *τοοτε*, *λααγε*, *μααζε*, *πωωνε*, *αωωτ*, *αωοο*; but there are a number of notable exceptions, e.g. *ετβητε* (*ετβηητε* only Sahidic), *ελαλε*, *μνηγε* (once *μνηηγε*), *σααγ*, *βραμλε*. The Manichaean texts are much less accurate in the doubling of vowels and on the whole, particularly ManiH, tend to omit them, e.g. *μαζε*, *λαγε*, *μεγε*, *πωνε*, *οααλε*, *αερε*; except normally in internal plurals and qualitatives, e.g. *εμοοτ*, *μκοοε*, *μλοοε*, *αοοογ*, *ααατ*, *καατ* (Subachmimic only); the same uncertainty in the doubling of vowels is found in Achmimic texts, but not to the same extent¹⁾.

On the other hand we find a number of cases where vowels are doubled differing from all other dialects, and, as Lacau²⁾ pointed out, all these instances are probably due to the following *α*:

ωωνε AP; *αανε*⁺ AP, Jo; *ωνε*, *ανε*⁺ ManiH, K, P, Sahidic, Achmimic, etc..

ωωναγ, *ααναγ*⁺ AP; *ωναγ*, *αναγ* ManiH, P, etc..

αωωντ AP, ManiP(1)³⁾, ManiK(9+); *αωντ* Jo, ManiP(pl.), ManiK(1+), etc..

τωων Jo, AP(10), ManiP(pl.), ManiH(1); *των* ManiP(pl.), *τωνε* ManiP(2), H(2),

ManiK(2); *τωων* AP(1), Sahidic, etc..

1) For single or double vowels see below p. 245 note 2.

2) *ÄZ* XLVIII, 80; cf. Polotsky, *Manichäische Homilien* p. XVIII, note 2.

3) The numerals, e.g. (9) indicate the number of occurrences.

Also $\epsilon\mu\alpha\alpha\alpha\tau$ ManiK, $\mu\omicron\gamma\omicron\upsilon\gamma\eta\kappa$, $\mu\alpha\alpha\eta\kappa$ ManiK, cf. $\omega\beta\omega\omega\epsilon$ ManiP, K.

(k) The Subachmimic manuscripts normally double λ , μ , ν , ρ , where these are doubled in Achmimic, Fayyumic and Sahidic, e.g. $\epsilon\lambda\lambda\omicron$, $\beta\lambda\lambda\epsilon$, $\rho\mu\mu\alpha\omicron$, $\alpha\mu\mu\omicron$, $\beta\eta\eta\epsilon$, $\beta\rho\rho\epsilon$; but, as in Middle Egyptian, Fayyumic(early) and Bohairic, β is not doubled in $\theta\beta\iota\omicron$, $\tau\omicron\upsilon\beta\omicron$ (= Bohairic).

An unusual doubling of ρ is found in $\eta\rho\rho\iota\epsilon$ AP, also in Achmimic, Mani has $\eta\rho\iota\epsilon$, and $\mu\rho\rho\epsilon$, $\mu\rho\rho\iota\tau$ Jo (Mani: $\mu\epsilon\rho\epsilon$, $\mu\epsilon\rho\iota\tau$), cf. Achmimic and Middle Egyptian, see chapter VIII par. 102A.

(l) The construct forms of certain classes of verbs show considerable differences, not only in the two groups of Subachmimic manuscripts, but even in the individual manuscripts:

i) In the causative verbs ending with \omicron the Achmimic forms vary between \omicron -(the absolute form) and ϵ -(as in Sahidic). ManiH usually has \omicron , e.g. $\tau\alpha\iota\omicron$ -, $\tau\epsilon\kappa\omicron$ -, $\tau\eta\alpha\alpha\alpha\omicron$ -, and once ϵ in $\theta\eta\kappa\epsilon$ -; ManiP, K generally have \omicron -, e.g. $\tau\eta\alpha\omicron$ -, $\tau\omicron\upsilon\beta\omicron$ -, $\tau\eta\alpha\alpha\alpha\omicron$ -, but a few times ϵ -, e.g. $\tau\alpha\kappa\tau\epsilon$ -, $\tau\eta\alpha\alpha\alpha\epsilon$ -, and rarely α :- $\tau\epsilon\lambda\alpha$ -, $\tau\eta\alpha$ - ManiP, $\chi\eta\alpha$ - ManiK 96²⁸; AP only has the Sahidic ϵ -, e.g. $\kappa\tau\epsilon$ -, $\tau\epsilon\kappa\epsilon$ -, $\tau\alpha\mu\epsilon$ -; Jo generally has α - which is the Fayyumic form, e.g. $\tau\alpha\epsilon\iota\alpha$ -, $\tau\epsilon\kappa\alpha$ -, $\tau\alpha\eta\alpha$ -, but twice ϵ :- $\chi\eta\epsilon$ -, $\chi\epsilon\rho\epsilon$ -.

ii) In the two-radical verbs Achmimic generally has the absolute form or, as in Sahidic, a short $\check{\epsilon}$, except before ω and ϵ where this becomes α , e.g. $\alpha\omega$ -, $\mu\alpha\alpha$ -, $\omicron\gamma\alpha\alpha$ -. ManiH, like Achmimic, usually has the absolute form, e.g. $\beta\omega\lambda$ -, $\mu\omicron\gamma\eta$ -, $\omicron\gamma\omega\omega$ -, but twice $\alpha\omega$ -, and once $\chi\alpha\tau$ -(sic!); ManiP, K and Jo, like Fayyumic, usually have α , e.g. $\eta\alpha\chi$ -, $\sigma\alpha\kappa$ -, $\gamma\alpha\eta$ -, $\tau\alpha\gamma$ -, and rarely a short $\check{\epsilon}$, e.g. $\omicron\gamma\alpha$ -, $\omicron\gamma\epsilon\eta$ - Jo, $\sigma\kappa$ - ManiP. ManiP, K, but not Jo also rarely have the absolute form, e.g. $\omicron\gamma\omega\omega$ -, $\epsilon\omega\omega$ ManiP, $\epsilon\omega\omega$ -, $\epsilon\omega\eta$ - ManiK. AP shows $\mu\alpha\alpha$ -, $\sigma\epsilon\kappa$ -, $\gamma\eta$ -, also $\omicron\gamma\omega\alpha$ - $\sigma\alpha\alpha\eta\epsilon$.

iii) In the verbs with (ancient) final ϵ , β , τ , δ ManiH again has usually the absolute form as in Achmimic, e.g. $\kappa\omega\alpha$ -, $\eta\omicron\upsilon\chi$ -, $\gamma\omega\delta\epsilon$ -, $\epsilon\omega\kappa$ -, $\chi\omega\lambda\epsilon$ -, but twice α which is also rarely found in Achmimic: $\eta\alpha\chi$ -, $\delta\alpha\eta$ -. ManiP has usually the form in α , e.g. $\eta\alpha\chi$ -, $\tau\alpha\eta$ -, $\tau\alpha\delta$ -, rarely the absolute form, e.g. $\eta\omicron\upsilon\chi$ -, $\tau\omega\eta$ -, $\beta\omega\tau$ -, $\chi\omega\lambda$ -. Jo has $\lambda\alpha\delta$ -. The form in α

is again the normal Fayyumic form, Sahidic being $\mu(\epsilon)\chi-$, $\tau(\epsilon)\pi-$, etc..

iv) In the trilateral verbs ManiH again follows Achmimic in using the absolute form, e.g. $\mu\omicron\gamma\epsilon\mu\epsilon-$, $\mu\omega\rho\omega\gamma-$, $\epsilon\omega\tau\mu\epsilon-$, $\delta\omega\lambda\pi-$; ManiP, K with Jo and AP generally used the Fayyumic form in α , e.g. $\epsilon\alpha\lambda\pi-$, $\mu\alpha\omega\gamma-$, $\mu\alpha\rho\kappa-$, $\epsilon\alpha\tau\pi-$; In addition Jo twice has the Sahidic form: $\epsilon\lambda\delta-$, $\tau\beta\epsilon-$, and ManiP once the Achmimic form: $\delta\omega\lambda\pi-$. Peculiar to these manuscripts, though rarely also found in Achmimic, is $\epsilon\omicron\gamma\omega\pi-$ in Jo, AP, ManiP, for which ManiH, K and sometimes also ManiP have the remarkable $\epsilon\mu\omicron\gamma\omega\pi-$; cf. also $\mu\epsilon\epsilon\tau\omega$ Jo, $\mu(\epsilon)\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ ManiP, also $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\omega\pi$ Jo, cf. Achmimic.

Till¹⁾ has already pointed out that the use of the absolute form as construct was not a mere omission of the 'nota accusativi', though in a number of instances this is undoubtedly the case²⁾; the former is demonstrated in the case of the Subachmimic manuscripts by the fact that in verbs with ι a construct form different from the absolute is always used, e.g. $\epsilon\mu\lambda\pi-$, $\lambda\pi-$, $\rho-$, $\epsilon\omicron\gamma$ (from $\epsilon\lambda\omicron\gamma\epsilon$). On the other hand, as Sethe³⁾ has rightly pointed out, the fact that certain classes of verbs have not preserved a construct in Achmimic and Subachmimic, and have to use the absolute form instead, is clearly a sign of a later development.

(m) The qualitatives of verbs with final \omicron in all Subachmimic manuscripts usually end in $-(\epsilon)\iota\tau$, e.g. $\tau\omicron\gamma\beta\alpha\iota\tau$, $\tau\epsilon\beta\alpha\iota\tau$, $\tau\alpha\chi\rho\alpha(\epsilon)\iota\tau$; exceptions are $\tau\omicron\gamma\beta\eta\gamma$ AP(once), ManiP(once) and $\tau\alpha\eta\eta\gamma$ ManiH(once). In Achmimic these qualitatives in $-(\epsilon)\iota\tau$ occur regularly side by side with those in $-(\omicron)\gamma$, perhaps due to Sahidic influence; the corresponding forms in Middle Egyptian, Fayyumic and Bohairic are in $-(\omicron)\gamma\tau$. The Manichaean texts also by analogy have the remarkable $\kappa\alpha\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota\tau$, $\kappa\alpha\rho\alpha\iota\tau$, $\chi\iota\epsilon\rho\alpha\iota\tau$ from $\kappa\alpha-\epsilon\omicron$, $\kappa\alpha-\rho\omega\epsilon$, $\chi\iota-\epsilon\omicron$; in this connection it is of interest to note that $\chi\iota\epsilon\rho\alpha\epsilon\iota\tau$ occurs once in Shenoute(cited Crum, Dictionary p.648a).

1) Aegyptus VIII, 255f..

2) See chapter VIII par.80j and the discussion there.

3) DLZ XXXVII, 1803, cited in full on p.202f. above.

(n) The Manichaean texts and Jo, but not AP, in agreement with Middle Egyptian, Middle Egyptian with Fayyumic influence and Bohairic write *c* for *cy* before *χ* and *cy* : *ceXe*, *caXne*, *caXn*, *caXe*¹⁾. This is one of the most marked agreements with dialects further north.

(o) In agreement with Achmimic and Middle Egyptian *κ* often becomes *χ* before *ε*²⁾. The forms are: *λεXε* ManiP, *μαXε* ManiP, cf. *μαX* Jo, *ρωXε* ManiP, ManiH, K, *παX(ε)* ManiP, H, Jo, *ωιX(ε)γ* ManiP, K, *ωαXε* ManiK(116¹⁷); but sometimes *κ* remains, e.g. *ρωκε* Jo, AP.

(p) The particle *νδ* is spelt *νδ* in AP, *νX* in Mani, *χ* in Jo, *νXe* (as in Middle Egyptian, Fayyumic and Bohairic) in BM 522, cf. p.266 note 1.

(q) The verbal prefix *εα-*, proper to Middle Egyptian³⁾, occurs in AP (only before nominal subject) and very rarely in the first part of the Manichaean Psalm-book (unpublished). It is of interest to note that in this respect, as in others, AP agrees with the Achmimic Ascension of Isaiah⁴⁾.

(r) The past relative in the Manichaean texts is *ετα-* as in Achmimic, Middle Egyptian, Fayyumic and Bohairic; Jo and AP have the Sahidic *ντα-*, though not *εντα-*, and once in Jo we find *ετα-*; see chapter VIII par.132.

(s) Many other points could be cited, mostly peculiar to one or other of the manuscripts, but a few may be singled out for special interest:

Jo has many archaic features, e.g. *ερ-* as verbal prefix, occurring also in the Pistis Sophia⁵⁾; *ρμεγ* for *ρεγ* with the Achmimic Elias; *νκεεν* for *νκε* (Sah. *νκα*) with a Fayyumic text (BM 651); *canne* with ManiK⁶⁾; *μεγτε* with ManiP (six times) for *μεεXε* ManiP (twice), ManiH and Achmimic and Fayyumic, *μααXe* Sahidic, *μααX* Bohairic, and *μεεXε* in the Achmimic Hymn-

1) See chapter VIII par.118A, and cf. below.

2) See chapter VIII paragraphs 72, 74A and the discussion there.

3) See chapter VIII paragraph 150.

4) Cf. above p.204, and p.217 note 7 below.

5) See Sir Herbert Thompson, The Gospel of St. John p.XIX and references.

6) *cane* e.g. ManiK 97³⁴, 98^{1,28}, 114²⁰, but *cane* e.g. ib.116^{5,24}.

fragment¹⁾; also $\sigma\mu\alpha\mu\alpha\tau$ for $\sigma\mu\alpha\mu\alpha(\alpha)\tau$ ManiP,H,K, and AP.

AP with some Middle Egyptian, Fayyumic and Sahidic texts sometimes writes $\eta\lambda\epsilon$, $\eta\tau\alpha\rho$, and $\mu\eta\lambda\chi\epsilon$ -, see chapter VIII par.79A; also $\omega\lambda\mu\mu\tau$, $\tau\omega\mu\mu\tau$ (BM leaf) and $\lambda\mu\mu\tau$ with Sahidic for $\omega\lambda\mu\tau$, $\tau\omega\mu\tau$, $\lambda\mu\tau$ in Jo, Mani, and the other dialects, see chapter VIII par.80b.

Jo and AP only have the peculiar spelling $\sigma\upsilon\rho\iota\tau\epsilon$ for $\sigma\upsilon\rho\eta\tau\epsilon$ Mani, Achmimic, $\sigma\upsilon\rho\eta\tau$ Fayyumic, Bohairic, and $\sigma\upsilon\rho\epsilon\eta\tau\epsilon$ Sahidic.

The Manichaean manuscripts have numerous words which are new in Coptic, though some are known in Egyptian, e.g. $\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon\beta\tau\epsilon$, $\beta\alpha\lambda\omega\upsilon\rho\epsilon$ ²⁾; of some interest are also a number of words which previously were only attested in Shenoute, or otherwise rare, e.g. $\rho\alpha\upsilon\rho\epsilon\omega$, $\sigma\alpha\sigma\epsilon$ 'pluck', $\sigma\omega\lambda\pi$, $\tau\rho\sigma\pi$, $\sigma\gamma\alpha\upsilon\tau\epsilon$, $\lambda\omega\chi\tau$, $\chi\omega\omega\lambda\epsilon$. Other words occur in hitherto unknown forms, e.g. $\sigma\mu\alpha\mu\epsilon$, $\sigma\eta\sigma\upsilon\omega\eta$, $\beta\beta\iota\rho$, $\mu\eta\tau\alpha\beta\alpha\lambda$ ³⁾, others show forms only known from the non-literary texts, e.g. $\beta\iota$, $\beta\omega\epsilon$, $\beta\omega\tau\epsilon$ for $\gamma\iota$, $\gamma\omega\epsilon$, $\gamma\omega\tau\epsilon$ ⁴⁾. We also find the peculiar Achmimic $\tau\epsilon$ in $\lambda\omega\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon$, $\sigma\upsilon\chi\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon$.

Non-literary evidence for the localisation of Subachmimic is comparatively small. The principal points of contact are the forms of the first and second future $\tau\alpha$ -, $\kappa\alpha$ -, $\epsilon\iota\alpha$ -, $\epsilon\kappa\alpha$ -, etc.⁵⁾ $\kappa\alpha\iota$ for $\kappa\epsilon$ ⁶⁾, and a few others⁷⁾; to these might be added a number of instances found in the Upper Valley, where Achmimic and Subachmimic agree against all other dialects, in particular α for ϵ ⁸⁾, for which examples can be cited from Aphrodito and as far north as Ashmunein, also $\epsilon\eta\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon$, $\sigma\sigma\sigma\upsilon\eta\epsilon$, and a few

1) See p.238 below and cf.p.203f. above..

2) See Polotsky, Manichäische Homilien, index pp.9a and 20b.

3) For $\mu\tau\sigma$ $\alpha\beta\alpha\lambda$; this also in Middle Egyptian, see p.222 below.

4) See chapter VIII par.121.

5) See chapter VIII paragraphs 128 - 130.

6) See chapter VIII par.26.

7) Chapter VIII par.14,20c,g,40,121, cf.18,35,76,102A,118A.

8) Chapter VIII par.21.

others¹⁾; of considerable interest is the fact that the glossary of Dioscorus²⁾ has $\mu\epsilon\gamma\tau$ (= $\mu\epsilon\gamma\tau\epsilon\text{Jo}$, ManiP), not $\mu\epsilon\epsilon\chi\epsilon$, $\mu\alpha\alpha\chi\epsilon$; one might also mention ϵ for ι in early Sahidic texts from Middle Egypt³⁾. On the basis of this evidence we are probably justified in placing Subachmimic originally in the region from Abydos to Ashmunein, perhaps extending even further north. In the north it evidently disappeared comparatively early in the Coptic period as a spoken dialect⁴⁾, though perhaps not as a literary dialect, but in the south at Aphrodito and Achmim it lingered on for centuries, like Achmimic at Thebes. The Gospel of St. John was actually found in a pot at Qau, and an inscription from the same site shows a Sahidic evidently influenced by Subachmimic⁵⁾. The finding-place of the Acta Pauli is much disputed⁶⁾, but the arguments that it was found near Achmim seem much supported by the dialect⁷⁾. One Subachmimic

1) Chapter VIII par.19,20f,62,80i,j,149,151,152,152A,B.

2) H.I.Bell and W.E.Crum, A Greek-Coptic Glossary in Aegyptus VI,177ff..

3) See chapter VIII par.40.

4) Cf. however Ryl.352, dated by Crum in the early sixth century, still showing forms like $\epsilon\text{NH}\chi\epsilon$, COOYNE .

5) G.Brunton, Qau and Badari III plates LIIf., especially pl.IV no.5, see the citations from this text in chapter VIII par.7a,8,21c,43,62.

6) See p.194 note 3 above.

7) In many ways the dialect of the Acta Pauli is nearer Achmimic or Sahidic than the other Subachmimic texts, e.g. $\omega\epsilon\chi\epsilon$ for $\text{ce}\chi\epsilon$, $\text{N}\delta\iota$ for $\text{N}\chi\iota$, or, in particular, nearer the Achmimic group of the Ascension of Isaiah and the Berlin Genesis, cf. the Diagram p.204, and p.215 'q'. If it were not for certain definite agreements with the dialect of the Gospel of St. John, e.g. $\epsilon\gamma = \text{o}$ (p.210), $\chi\epsilon\kappa\alpha\alpha\epsilon$ (p.211), $\mu\alpha\epsilon\iota\epsilon$ (p.211) $\omega\omega\text{N}\chi\epsilon$, $\alpha\alpha\text{N}\chi\epsilon$ (p.212), $\text{OY}\rho\iota\epsilon$ (p.216), one might have thought that this manuscript had in fact come from another region such as Edfu, as Crum suggested, see p.194 note 3 and references there.

text was actually unearthed at Antinoë¹⁾ and a letter in the Melitian archive²⁾ from the Cynopolite nome is in this dialect. A most difficult problem is presented by the Manichaean texts. These are reputed to have been found at Medînet Mâdi in the Fayyum³⁾, though this evidence, resting purely on statements of local dealers, may reasonably be questioned. The real difficulty is the fact that the dialect of these, in particular that of ManiH, is so much closer to Achmimic than the other group of Jo-AP. There seem to be two possibilities: one is that the Manichaean texts originated in a region between Qau and Thebes, which would place them geographically between Achmimic(Thebes) and the group Jo-AP(Qau and further north); the other is that the Achmimicisms in the Manichaean texts were a later intrusion into the dialect. Of the two possibilities the second seems much more probable for a number of reasons: (1) I have noted above⁴⁾ that it is extremely probable that Achmimic spread north in the early fourth century, that it was used almost certainly as a literary dialect late in the fourth century near Achmim and that one text had actually been found in the Fayyum. It would thus be easy to suppose that Achmimic influenced the Subachmimic dialects in the second half of the fourth century, particularly as the two dialects have so much in common. (2) The Melitian letter from the Cynopolite nome²⁾, written about A.D.330-340 and thus the earliest document in Subachmimic, shows a dialect of the type of Jo-AP, and Jo itself is much earlier than any of the Manichaean texts; the same applies also to BM 522 belonging also to the Jo-AP group. (3) The non-literary evidence seems fairly clear that the particular Achmimicisms found in the Manichaean texts were not part of the spoken language outside Thebes and its neighbourhood; a few isolated instances can in

1) See above p.207 note 2.

2) See above p.206 note 5.

3) Schmidt-Polotsky, Ein Mani-Fund in Ägypten p.7.

4) See above pp.199ff..

fact be cited, as $\sigma\upsilon\omega\tau\beta\epsilon, \sigma\alpha\iota\eta\epsilon$ ¹⁾, but these are often doubtful. On the whole it would be true to say that whatever evidence is found in Sahidic non-literary texts from Achmim to Ashmunein points mainly to the type of Jo-AP. (4) There can be no question, however, that Subachmimic of the type of the Manichaean texts was current north of Assiut late in the 4th century: not only were the Manichaean texts almost certainly found in the Fayyum or the far north, but the Subachmimic fragment actually found at Antinoe is of this type of dialect²⁾. Further evidence is provided by a papyrus fragment of the gospel of St. John in a mixed Sahidic-Subachmimic dialect from Ashmunein³⁾ in which $\sigma\upsilon\omega\omega\beta\epsilon$ occurs. (5) Allberry already noted⁴⁾ that the earliest of the Manichaean texts was probably the Psalm-book; now it is notable that it is precisely this manuscript which still shows considerable knowledge of the non-Achmimic forms found in Jo-AP which are absent in the later texts, particularly ManiH⁵⁾.

We may conclude, then, that the Achmimic influence became so strong in the latter part of the fourth century that it had a marked effect on the Subachmimic texts of a later period, an exception being to some extent the Acta Pauli. As regards the inter-relationship of Achmimic, Subachmimic, Middle Egyptian and Fayyumic, we may safely leave out of consideration the strong Achmimicisms in the Manichaean texts, and regard the type of Jo-AP as representing much more truly the ancient Subachmimic. The new Gnostic find may help to shed further light on these questions.

1) See chapter VIII paragraph 19.

2) See above p.207 note 2.

3) See below p.241.

4) C.R.C.Allberry, A Manichaean Psalmbook p.XIX, cf. chapter VIII par.76.

5) Early forms still found in ManiP have been noted above: $\sigma\eta\epsilon\upsilon, \mu\mu\epsilon\upsilon$ (p.209), $\epsilon\upsilon = \sigma$ (p.210), $\iota\omega\epsilon$ (p.210), $\chi\epsilon\kappa\alpha\sigma\epsilon$ (p.211), $\lambda\eta\iota\tau\eta, \omega\eta\eta$, etc. (p.211), $\sigma\omega\omega\tau, \tau\omega\omega\eta$ (p.212), $\eta\alpha\chi-, \sigma\alpha\kappa-$ (p.213), $\tau\alpha\eta-, \delta\alpha\eta-$ (p.213), $\epsilon\alpha-$ (verbal) (p.215), and especially $\mu\epsilon\eta\tau\epsilon$ (p.215).

III Middle Egyptian.

In this dialect¹⁾ very few documents have so far become known, and these have generally been regarded as a Sahidicised Fayyumic, or as Fayyumic before the dialect had become stabilised, although there are considerable differences from Fayyumic. This dialect falls into two groups; one, here called Middle Egyptian proper, is much nearer Subachmimic, the other, Middle Egyptian with Fayyumic influence, is half way to Fayyumic proper, though still retaining a distinct Middle Egyptian character.

III.1 Middle Egyptian proper.

Of the six manuscripts in this dialect three have been published by Crum²⁾, a fourth, perhaps the most important, by Thompson and Bell³⁾, and two are still unpublished⁴⁾. In order to demonstrate plainly the unity of this dialect, especially in view of the fact that most of the documents are very fragmentary, I am publishing the dialectical affinities in full on the opposite page(221); I have excluded however, from this diagram certain verbal prefixes with which I have already dealt in chapter VIII paragraph 150, especially the diagram on p.173.

A few points may be singled out for special notice: the dialect agrees with Achmimic, Subachmimic and Sahidic in writing final *e* for the

1) Cf. the introductory remarks on p.196 above.

2) These three manuscripts are: W.S.1 (Job), Bell and Crum, Jews and Christians in Egypt (J&C) no.1922, and Romans IV,15-24 a fragment from Oxyrhynchus published in JEA XIII,26.

3) A Greek-Coptic Glossary to Hosea and Amos in JEA XI,24lff..

4) One, a homiletic fragment in the Hoskyns Collection, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, is cited here from Notebook 87 of the Crum Material, Griffith Institute, Oxford; the other text, Genesis VI,8-18, is from the unpublished Wadi Sarga material in the British Museum (Ms.Or.9035) which I discovered myself and pieced together from five small fragments. I am hoping to publish this text shortly.

	W.S.Gen.	W.S.Job	Oxyrh. Rom.	Hoskyns	J&C 1922	Gr.-Copt. Glos.
AA ² F	NE=K, NEME=K ΕΒΑΛ ΖΜΑΤ	ΕΒΑΛ ΑΝΔΚ	NE=Υ, EN(Nag) ΠΕΙ, ΝΕΙ, CZEI ΕΒΑΛ, ΕΡΑΥ ΖΜΑΤ, ΟΥΑΝ ΑΝ	EN (Nag) ΠΕΙ, ΝΕΙ ΕΒΑΛ, ΕΡΑΚ, ΕΡΑΥ ΝΑΒ, ΡΑΟΥΩ, ΟΥΑΝ †ACE, ΟΥΑΝ	NE=K, NE=Ν, NEME=Υ CZEI, ΝΕΟΥ(ΟΥ), C NNEΟΥ ΕΒΑΛ, ΕΡΑΚ ΧΑΕΙΤ, CΑΝ, ΕΡΤΑΒ, ΡΑΟΥΩ, ΤΝΝΑΥ, ΥΑΠ=	NE=K, NEME=K ΕΒΑΛ, ΕΡΑΥ, ΕΡΑC ΕΛΑΛΕ, ΖΑΤΕ, ΒΑΛ ΥΑΠ=, etc..
AA ² FB			ΕΤΒΗΤ=	ΕΤΒΗΤ=, †ΝΟΥ		ΖΡΗΙ, ΠΟΥ-(also ΠΕΥ-!)
AA ² S	ΝΙΜ, ΨΗΡΕ ΡΟΜΕ, ΔΙΝΕ		ΝΙΜ	ΝΙΜ, ΝCΑ, ΡΟΜΕ, ΨΙΝΕ	ΒΝΝΕ ΕΨΩΠΕ ΨΙΝΕ	ΝΙΜ, ΕΛΑΛΕ, CΑΤΕ, CΑΧΝΕ, ΖΑΤΕ, etc..
AA ² SB	p not λ	p not λ	p not λ	p not λ	p not λ	p not λ
A ²	ΠΜΗΤ ΕΒΑΛ (twice)	ΡΟΧΕ			ΚΟΥΕΙ	ΜΕΡΡΕΤΕ, ΔΕΙ-, ΕΡΔΕΙ, ΠΕΕΙ, ΒΕΚΑΥΕ(PL).
A ² B				CΕΧΕ		CΑΧΝΕ
Mid. Eg. only cf. p. 173	ΠΝ† ΚΕΖΕ ΡΟΜΕ	ΒΟΛ (ob.)	ΠΝ† ΨΟΠΕ	ΠΝ† ΕΧΟΚ, ΚΟΛΗ (=CΩΛΗ) ΡΟΜΕ, CΒΤΟΤ ΚΡΟΜ, ΠΟΤ	(NB. CΩΨΤ ΕΨΩΠΕ)	ΜΤΑΤCΒΩ ΒΟΛΗ, ΨΟΠΕ, ΚΟΤ, ΖΟΒ, ΧΟΛΕ, ΖΡΟΤ, ΖΟΒC, ΠΟΤ, etc., ΟΞΕΡΕΤ=.
(A)A ² FS	ΑΥΩ, ΖΝ, ΜΝ ΖΙΧΝ, ΟΥΝ	ΑΥΩ ΜΟΥ	ΑΥΩ, ΖΝ, ΖΙΤΗ Τ-(Art.)	ΑΥΩ, ΖΝ	ΑΥΩ, ΜΝ, CΩΨΤ(!), ΕΨΩΠΕ(!) ΠΟΥΩ	ΖΝ, ΠΕΥ-(also ΠΟΥ-!) ΜΥ-(conj.), CΒΩ (Hos VII, 15)
FS(B)	ΕΒΑΛ, ΕΖΟΥΝ ΠΕΧΕ	ΕΒΑΛ	ΕΒΑΛ, ΕΡΑΥ ΕΤΡΕ-	ΕΒΑΛ, Ε-, ΕΡΑΥ ΕΡΑΚ, ΕΤΡΕ-	ΕΒΑΛ, ΕΡΑΚ	ΕΒΑΛ, Ε-, ΕΡΑΥ, ΕΧΝ; etc., ΕΤΜΤΡΕΥ-
F	ΤΑΚΑ	ΤΑΤ=	ΕΤΟΥΝΕ- ΜΠΕΜΤΑ, ΑΤΑ ^(ση) ΚΕ(Ε)=Κ	ΤΑΤ=, ΥΑΠ	ΖΙΤΑΤ=	†ΝΕ- (Gr) ΤΑΤ=, ΒΗ, ΘΗ ΤΑΙΔ, ΤΑΚΑ, ΖΑΥ(=ΖΟΥ) ΖΕΕΠΕ, ΕΠΕΖΟΥ
FB	ΠΝ† cf. ΚΕΖΕ(ΚΕΙ)		ΠΝ† ΧΑΡΗΟΥΤ	ΠΝ†, ΖΗΙ ΤΑΙΗΟΥΤ		
S	(NBI)	ΤΕΝΟΥ	ΕΡΡΗΤ, ΠΩC ΧΑΡΗΟΥΤ	ΤΕΝΟΥ(also †ΝΟΥ) ΜΕ (nn)	ΖΑΤΟΟΤ=(acc!)	ΤΕΝΟΥ ΟΥ('what')

l in Fayyumic and Bohairic, e.g. $\omega\mu\pi\epsilon$, $\varsigma\alpha\tau\epsilon$; also $\eta\mu$ for Fayyumic $\eta\iota\beta\iota$, Bohairic $\eta\iota\beta\epsilon\eta$. It also agrees with all dialects against Fayyumic in preserving ρ , e.g. $\epsilon\rho\alpha\chi$, $\omega\mu\rho\epsilon$. It forms a link between Subachmimic(not AP)¹⁾, Middle Egyptian with Fayyumic influence and Bohairic in writing ς for ω before χ in $\varsigma\epsilon\chi\epsilon$, $\varsigma\alpha\chi\eta\epsilon$. Remarkable agreements with Subachmimic are in particular $\mu\mu\eta\tau\epsilon\beta\alpha\lambda$ for $\mu\mu\tau\alpha\epsilon\beta\alpha\lambda$ (twice) in the Wadi Sarga Genesis, the spelling $\mu\mu\eta\tau$ being otherwise only known from the Manichaean manuscripts²⁾; also $\rho\omega\chi\epsilon$ in WS Job, and $\mu\epsilon\rho\rho\epsilon\tau\epsilon$, $\epsilon\rho\alpha\epsilon\iota$, $\eta\epsilon\epsilon\iota$, $\alpha\epsilon\iota$ - in the Greek-Coptic Glossary. Peculiar and proper to Middle Egyptian and Middle Egyptian with Fayyumic influence is the remarkable verbal system in having Perfect I $\epsilon\alpha$ -, $\epsilon\alpha\iota$ -, $\epsilon\alpha\kappa$ -, etc., Perfect II perhaps $\eta\epsilon\alpha$ -, $\eta\epsilon\epsilon\alpha\iota$ -, etc., Past Relative $\epsilon\tau(\epsilon)\epsilon\alpha$ -, $\epsilon\tau(\epsilon)\epsilon\alpha\iota$ -, $\epsilon\tau(\epsilon)\epsilon\alpha\kappa$ -, etc., also Present II α -, $\alpha\iota$ -, $\alpha\kappa$ -, etc. with Achmimic, Fayyumic and Bohairic³⁾; an exception in this respect is the Glossary which has $\alpha\epsilon\iota$ - for the Perfect I. Peculiar to Middle Egyptian is the short \circ for long ω in closed syllables, e.g. $\rho\omega\tau$, $\epsilon\omega\beta$, and within words, e.g. $\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$, $\omega\mu\omega\mu\epsilon$, though long ω is regular in final accented vowels, e.g. $\rho\omega\gamma\omega$, $\epsilon\beta\omega$. Peculiar also to Middle Egyptian is the abbreviation of the sacred name $\mu\eta\eta\tau$ for $\mu\eta\omega\gamma\tau$, this, incidentally, being the only case where this dialect has final ι with Fayyumic and Bohairic. Differing from Achmimic and Subachmimic and agreeing with Sahidic, Fayyumic and Bohairic it has ϵ for α in e.g. ϵ -, $\epsilon\rho\alpha\epsilon$ -, $\epsilon\beta\alpha\lambda$ -, $\epsilon\chi\omega\kappa$; differing from Achmimic, Subachmimic and Sahidic, but agreeing with Fayyumic(early)⁴⁾ and Bohairic it has no double vowels, e.g. $\tau\alpha\tau$ -, $\omega\alpha\eta$ +, $\kappa\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon$ -,⁵⁾ In agreement with Fayyumic(and Middle Egyptian with Fayyumic influence) only it has the future $\eta\epsilon$ for $\eta\alpha$, e.g. $\eta\epsilon$ -, α for \circ in $\tau\alpha\iota\alpha$ -, $\tau\alpha\kappa\alpha$ -, $\tau\alpha\tau$ -,

1) Cf. above p.215 'n'.

2) Cf. above p.216.

3) For these tenses see chapter VIII par.150, esp.p.173.

4) See below p.229.

5) But perhaps $\kappa\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon\kappa$ Oxyrh.Romans.

ⲙⲁⲛ, ⲁⲧⲁ, ⲉⲁⲩ, and ⲙ for ⲉ in ⲙⲙ, ⲉⲙ. Final accented ⲙ for ⲉ in ⲙⲙ, ⲉⲙ, is of some interest; these texts have short ⲉ within words and long ⲙ as final accented vowels, similarly short ⲉ within words and long ⲙ as final accented vowels. There is strong evidence, supported by the Old Coptic Horoscope¹⁾ which has ⲙ for ⲉ in ⲙⲙ (verb), that originally long final accented ⲙ for ⲉ was proper also to Achmimic and Subachmimic, and that this long ⲙ was changed to short ⲉ under Sahidic influence. Thus the Paris Magical Papyrus, probably from Thebes, has ⲙⲙⲙ (1.118), and the Achmimic Berlin Genesis (BKU 164) writes ⲙⲙ for ⲙⲉ three times (I, 26, II, 4 bis)²⁾, and many examples for ⲙ = ⲉ could be cited from the Theban area³⁾.

The close agreement of the Glossary with the other five texts is evidence that this dialect must have been standardised at an unusually early period, since the Glossary can be dated with reasonable certainty in the second half of the third century⁴⁾. It seems probable that the dialect was current at Oxyrhynchus and its neighbourhood: two of the manuscripts (Romans, Hoskyns) were actually found at Oxyrhynchus, the Melitian letter in this dialect (J&C 1922) comes from the neighbourhood (Cynopolite nome), and yet another of the Melitian letters⁵⁾ shows a Sahidic strongly influenced by Middle Egyptian⁶⁾. Further evidence are some unpublished documents from Oxyrhynchus which demonstrate that the dialect lingered on in this locality for some centuries, e.g. ⲙⲉⲉ in one document.

It is of great interest, though hardly surprising, that the Old Coptic text found at Oxyrhynchus and published by Crum in JEA XXVIII, 20ff.

1) See p.199 and note 3 there.

2) Cf. p.204 above.

3) Cf. chapter VIII par.22.

4) See JEA XI, 241f..

5) Ed. Crum in JEA XIII, 19ff.

6) See below p.241 and cf. chapter VIII par.150, esp. pp.172f..

shows in the recognisable forms a dialect very similar to Middle Egyptian; in particular we may note the verbal prefix 2ay-(twice); ρ not λ in ρωμ; short o within words κοβω, ρωμ, εωονι, 2οτπ; α for o in 2ay (for 2οογ); single vowels for double vowels in ντοτγ. On the other hand the dialect of this text is closer to Subachmimic in ντοτγ, not ντατγ, αα ρι, al.; and it is closer to Fayyumic in final ι for ε in ρωμ, εωονι, but κει and κειε side by side. Final ι is proper also to the texts in Middle Egyptian with Fayyumic influence, and it seems probable that in this respect the final ε for ι in the texts in Middle Egyptian proper is due to Subachmimic or Sahidic influence. The knowledge of the dialect current at Oxyrhynchus during the early Coptic period should facilitate a better understanding of the Old Coptic text¹⁾.

The Middle Egyptian dialect must have spread south during the early Coptic period as is witnessed by the presence of two texts, both of the fourth or early fifth century, at Wadi Sarga, and an inscription at Bawit is in this dialect: MIF LIX 341 πντ, εραγ, ωνρε. An ostrakon found at Deir el-Matmar²⁾ and number 258 in the present collection may perhaps be evidence that this dialect lingered on in the south for several centuries. During the fourth and early fifth centuries Subachmimic and Middle Egyptian must have existed side by side with also Sahidic in the whole region from Wadi Sarga to Oxyrhynchus as literary dialects; perhaps the fact that in the Manichaean texts we frequently find single for double vowels may be attributed to influence of this dialect.

III,2 Middle Egyptian with Fayyumic influence.

Of the next stage towards Fayyumic, Middle Egyptian with Fayyumic influence, the two most important texts are still unpublished (P.Mich.3520,

1) Cf. however below p.267.

2) Ed.Crum in G.Brunton, Matmar p.95; I have collated the text in the British Museum (BMEA 63719) and am proposing to republish it shortly. It is frequently cited in chapter VIII.

3521)¹⁾. A third text in this dialect, the British Museum manuscript of the Didache²⁾ shows signs of being already somewhat influenced by other dialects. BM 508³⁾ is also written in the same dialect. It may reasonably be questioned whether this dialect was ever original with peculiarities of its own, and in fact it seems much more probable that it was merely a later development of Middle Egyptian proper under Fayyumic or Bohairic influence, and was superseded by Fayyumic in the second half of the fifth century; on the other hand it is possible that in a few instances it has preserved certain features, as final *i* for *e*⁴⁾, which are no longer to be found in Middle Egyptian proper. But this question will have to remain open until the two Michigan manuscripts have been published and can be studied properly.

The dialect⁵⁾ agrees with Middle Egyptian and Bohairic in preserving *ϣ* for Fayyumic *λ*, e.g. *εερηι*, *αμηι*, *ρωωι*, although a few times *λ* is found, e.g. *ελατεν*, *ελαυ*, *αλατεν*. The vowels are generally not doubled, agreeing with Middle Egyptian, early Fayyumic and Bohairic, e.g. *ετογεε*,

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- 1) These two manuscripts are frequently cited in Crum, Dictionary, e.g. pp. 613a, 617a, 635a, b, 667b, 688b, 689a, 736a, 754a, 786b, 787b. The dialect is clear from *εα* (verbal), *εε*, *εω*, *εε*. I have copied a few pages from photostats in the Crum Material, but have not made use of them for the present study; cf. also Worrell, Coptic Texts pp. 7f..
 - 2) First published by Horner in JTS XXV, 225ff., a revised and much better text was published by C. Schmidt in ZNTW XXIV, 81ff.; a new edition, but hardly differing from Schmidt's, is by L. Th. Lefort, Les Pères Apostoliques en Copte (CSCO 135) pp. IXff. and 32ff.; cf. also the remarks by Lefort on the dialect, ib. pp. XIff..
 - 3) The dialect is obvious from *αη*, *αμηι*, *τηρου*, *εραυ*, *νιβι*, *μαγε*, *ϣϣ*.
 - 4) Cf. p. 224 above.
 - 5) This estimate is based purely on the dialect of the Didache. A further discussion will have to wait until the Michigan MSS are published.

ετβητγ, κε=γ, though we find γααν and ταατ, the latter perhaps already due to Sahidic influence. The verbal forms for perfect I, perfect II, past relative, and present II are the same as those in Middle Egyptian¹⁾. The short o within words of Middle Egyptian has become long ω agreeing with the other dialects, e.g. ρωωω, ογωωε, εγωωη. The abbreviation ρ̄N+ has given way to the Bohairic and Fayyumic ϕ̄ϕ̄, but we find ρ̄X̄c and even ρ̄N̄X̄c; unfortunately X̄c does not occur in the extant portions of the texts in Middle Egyptian proper, but the fact that the abbreviation X̄c occurs in certain Achmimic texts and the Berlin Gnostic codex²⁾, makes it probable that ρ̄N̄X̄c was the proper Middle Egyptian form. As noted above, final ε has become ι as in Fayyumic and Bohairic. NEM and MN occur side by side, but NM has given way to NιBι. The mute ě is sometimes written with ε as in Fayyumic and Bohairic when labials are present, but this is not consistent: cwtm and cwtεm, γαρη and γαρεη, γαπατN and γαπατεN (!), etc.. Numerals are not written in full, but as in Fayyumic and Bohairic the Greek figures are used, e.g. β̄, γ̄. In two respects the Didache shows leanings towards Subachmimic: NΔε (and Δε) occurs as in the Acta Pauli and some early Sahidic texts³⁾, and NXι, side by side with NXε and Xε, occurs as in Subachmimic texts generally (but AP N6ι, BM 522 NXε). In agreement with Bohairic we find ογινεμ.

This dialect is of great interest as in some forms, e.g. cεXι, cωXη and ρ for λ, it is closer to Bohairic than Fayyumic proper⁵⁾. The manuscript of the Didache is probably the latest text in this dialect being written about the beginning of the fifth century. If the dialect existed originally as a separate dialect, we should expect it to have

1) See chapter VIII par.150 and cf.above p.222.

2) Cf.Crum,Dictionary p.787b.

3) See chapter VIII par.79A.

4) Cf.above p.222.

5) Cf.below pp.248f..

been current outside the Fayyum in the Nile valley north of Oxyrhynchus. It certainly must have been the spoken language in that neighbourhood during the early Coptic period before it was superseded by Fayyumic.

A remarkable early Middle Egyptian text of this type is BM 711, datable about the middle of the fourth century¹⁾; of special interest is the presence of the letter ζ in $\zeta\gamma\mu$ ²⁾; presumably the Bohairic ζ , though the word in Bohairic is spelt with z .

Before passing on to Fayyumic I may mention the dialect of two small parchment fragments, probably of the early fifth century, in the Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford³⁾; unfortunately I have not yet been able to identify the text which is probably from the Old Testament. The dialect is a strange mixture of Middle Egyptian proper and Middle Egyptian with Fayyumic influence; we find final ϵ for i in $\mu\eta\omega\epsilon$, $\nu\epsilon\zeta\beta\epsilon$, but long ω in $\omega\omega\eta\eta$, $\chi\omega\kappa$; common to both are η - $\rho\alpha$, $\tau\alpha\kappa\alpha$, $\nu\chi\epsilon$, but remarkable is λ for ρ in $\lambda\epsilon\tau\eta$, apparently for $\rho\epsilon\tau\eta$ (= Sah. $\rho\alpha\tau\eta$). α and σ have the form usual in early Fayyumic manuscripts (α and σ)⁴⁾.

IV Fayyumic.

I can only touch briefly on the Fayyumic dialect, since the most important text, the Ms.1 of the Hamburg Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek is still unpublished. This manuscript contains the Acta Pauli and Ecclesiastes in Greek, and the Song of Songs, Lamentations and Ecclesiastes in an Old Fayyumic translation⁵⁾. A short note on the dialect

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- 1) Cf. Bell and Skeat, Scribes and Correctors of the Codex Sinaiticus p.60f.
 - 2) See the facsimile in BM pl.11; a similar form of this letter is to be found in the Old Coptic Horoscope, cf. JEA XXVIII p.21.
 - 3) These were in a box of Coptic fragments given to F.Ll.Griffith by Fanous.
 - 4) The fragments are hardly an early example of a Sahidicised Fayyumic as we have $\mu\eta\omega\epsilon$ (not $\mu\eta\eta\omega\epsilon$), $\nu\chi\epsilon$, and λ - (not $\bar{\lambda}$ -), $\sigma\alpha\lambda\epsilon$ (not $\sigma\alpha\bar{\lambda}\epsilon$), etc..
 - 5) The Acta Pauli and a note on the manuscript were published by C.

of the Old Fayyumic portions of this manuscript was published by Worrell¹⁾ and it is frequently cited in Crum, Dictionary. I am much indebted to Dr. Voigt of the Hamburg Library for enabling me to study the dialect of this invaluable papyrus. From a linguistic, dialectical and biblical point of view this is undoubtedly one of the most interesting Coptic manuscripts that have been found in Egypt. It is the only Coptic biblical text in which the use of Greek verbs and particles is still largely unknown, even Greek nouns being rare, and the language is probably closer to the ancient Egyptian than that of any Coptic text with the exception of the Old Coptic texts only. Judging from the dialect of this papyrus and that of the glosses in the Chester Beatty papyrus of Isaiah²⁾, which are also in Old Fayyumic, it can be stated with fair confidence that the dialect of the earliest manuscripts in Fayyumic proper was standardised under the influence of Bohairic, presumably when the Bohairic Version of parts of the Bible was transposed into Fayyumic³⁾. On the other hand, however, a close relationship between Fayyumic and Bohairic is apparent even in Old Fayyumic; but a detailed discussion of this must wait until the text has been published. The most distinctive mark of Fayyumic, not shared with any other dialect, is the change of ρ to λ, which is also found in Old Fayyumic (Hamburg and Isaiah glosses) and the Old Coptic text published by Worrell⁴⁾.

Schmidt, ΠΡΑΞΕΙΣ ΠΑΥΛΟΥ Acta Pauli (1936).

- 1) Coptic Sounds pp. 120f..
- 2) F.G. Kenyon, The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri, fasc. VI, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ecclesiasticus, pp. ix ff. the Coptic glosses by W.E. Crum. Cf. Bell and Roberts, Merton Papyri vol. I pp. 6 ff. (included in Kenyon's publication); an additional leaf with two further glosses is PSI XII (1951) 1273 (Professor Kilpatrick kindly drew my attention to this leaf).
- 3) See below Appendix II.
- 4) P. Michigan 6131 ed. Worrell in AJSL LVIII, 84.

If the Fayyumic dialect is investigated purely on the basis of the earliest manuscripts, it is perhaps surprising that many of the features commonly ascribed to Fayyumic in the grammars are not found in these early texts. Thus early Fayyumic manuscripts, as also the texts in Old Fayyumic, agree with Middle Egyptian and Bohairic in showing no doubling of vowels with rare exceptions, e.g. $\omega\alpha\alpha\epsilon$ plural of $\omega\omega\epsilon$ Jer. XXIII, 1¹⁾ and $[\alpha\alpha\lambda\epsilon(\kappa)\alpha\alpha\lambda\epsilon ?$ but doubtful) in the Isaiah glosses. The doubling of vowels, so common in Fayyumic manuscripts of the sixth century and later, is undoubtedly due to Sahidic influence²⁾. The status pronominalis of the preposition κ - and of $\kappa\epsilon\mu$ is not $\kappa\eta\epsilon$, $\kappa\epsilon\mu\eta\epsilon$ but $\kappa\epsilon$, $\kappa\epsilon\mu\epsilon$, except in $\kappa\eta\iota$, $\kappa\epsilon\mu\eta\iota$ and $\kappa\eta\tau\eta$, $\kappa\epsilon\mu\eta\tau\eta$; this is also true of the Hamburg text and the Isaiah glosses. In this respect Fayyumic agrees with Achmimic, Subachmimic and Middle Egyptian against Sahidic and Bohairic. Fayyumic proper is closer to Achmimic and Sahidic than Middle Egyptian in writing ω before χ ($\omega\epsilon\chi\iota$, $\omega\alpha\chi\eta$, $\omega\omega\chi\eta$) which is also found in the Hamburg papyrus; the Isaiah glosses, being written without any of the Demotic letters³⁾, naturally write ϵ . On the other hand ϵ becomes ω in $\omega\alpha\lambda\omega\gamma\omega\gamma$ as in Bohairic. Also as in Bohairic we find $\pi\pi\epsilon$, $\phi\phi$ (Hamburg: $\pi\pi\epsilon$, $\phi\phi$)⁴⁾ and $\mu\epsilon\tau$ for $\mu\eta\tau$ - (not Hamburg which has $\mu\eta\tau$ -)⁵⁾, $\omega\tau\epsilon\mu$ for $\tau\epsilon\mu$, the Present II in α -, $\alpha\iota$ -, $\alpha\kappa$ -, etc., and the Neg. Imperf. in $\alpha\lambda\epsilon$ -, $\alpha\lambda\iota$ -, $\alpha\kappa$ -, etc.. Also as in Bohairic an ϵ is written in a syllable of two consonants, if one of the consonants is a labial⁶⁾, e.g. $\epsilon\omega\tau\epsilon\mu$, $\epsilon\omega\tau\epsilon\beta$, but $\epsilon\omega\tau\eta$, but an

1) Till, Koptische Pergamente Theologischen Inhalts, I p. 23.

2) So partly already H. Asmus, Über Fragmente im Mittelägyptischen Dialekt p. 33; cf. H. J. Polotsky in AZ LXVII, 74ff..

3) Cf. below p. 244 note 1.

4) $\phi\phi$ and $\pi\pi\epsilon$ show literary dependance on Bohairic, cf. p. 248 and note 4.

5) Cf. chapter VIII paragraphs 80b, 82c, 83.

6) Stern, Kopt. Grammatik par. 74; cf. Erman, Unterschiede zwischen d. kopt. dialecten bei d. Wortverbindung in Sitzungsb. Preuss. Ak. Wiss. 1915, 182ff.

important exception is $\epsilon\mu$, $\epsilon\mu$ which are written with a superlinear dot between the two letters ($\epsilon\mu$, $\epsilon\mu$). As in Bohairic the definite article is generally α , τ , α . In addition, Fayyumic shares many words with Bohairic against the other dialects, e.g. $\kappa\omega\lambda\epsilon\mu$, $\alpha\lambda\eta\gamma$, etc.. All the texts write $\alpha\gamma\omega$, the specific Fayyumic $\alpha\epsilon\alpha$ being only found in the Hamburg papyrus and Fayyumic non-literary texts of a later period¹⁾. An early Fayyumic text with Middle Egyptian influence is the fragmentary BM 521 which shows normal Fayyumic, but has the Middle Egyptian verbal prefix $\epsilon\alpha\gamma$, $\epsilon\alpha\gamma$.²⁾ An interesting early Fayyumic non-Biblical text is BM 523, an astrological papyrus, we may note especially $\alpha\gamma\eta\epsilon$ (Fut.II), $\alpha\epsilon\epsilon\alpha$, $\alpha\epsilon\epsilon$ side by side with $\alpha\epsilon\epsilon$.

That Fayyumic was the language of the Fayyum is demonstrated beyond all doubt by the large number of non-literary texts in this dialect from the nome of Piam (Arsinoe) and the numerous Fayyumic texts which have actually been found in the Fayyum³⁾. The various types of Fayyumic current during the sixth century and later⁴⁾ need not detain us here, since they all show a marked influence of Sahidic to a greater or lesser extent and have preserved little if any original material not already found in the earlier texts. I hope to return to the dialect of these later texts and in particular the dialect of Fayyumic non-literary texts in a later study.

Before passing on to Bohairic attention may be drawn to two general agreements of Fayyumic with all other Upper Egyptian dialects against Sahidic and Bohairic: one is α for \circ in a large number of instances, e.g. $\epsilon\epsilon\alpha$, $\epsilon\epsilon\alpha\kappa$, $\mu\mu\alpha\gamma$, $\epsilon\alpha\gamma\alpha$, $\circ\gamma\alpha\gamma$, etc., the other is ϵ for α , e.g. $\eta\epsilon\epsilon\kappa$, $\epsilon\epsilon\alpha$,

1) The most extensive early Fayyumic manuscript of the type described above is the BM Ms. of Acts which is republished in Appendix II below.

2) Ed. Crum in *AZ* XXXVI, 139f..

3) So already Worrell, *Coptic Sounds* p. 68 and others.

4) Cf. H. Asmus, *Über Fragmente im Mittelägyptischen Dialekte*, al..

ρϵϵϵ, οϵνϵα, ϵϵϵ, etc..

V,1 Semi-Bohairic.

While Fayyumic and Middle Egyptian show many features in common with Bohairic against the other dialects, nevertheless the difference between the fully developed Bohairic and Fayyumic is still considerable, especially in so far as Bohairic agrees with Sahidic. On the other hand, a very interesting biblical text in the present collection (no.19) which I have published previously¹⁾ is evidence that at an early period Bohairic dialects were current which in many ways were much closer to Fayyumic and Sahidic than Bohairic proper. This will be obvious from the following table of dialectical affinities which I repeat here with certain modifications:

Bohairic only: ϕα, ϕη, νιβεν (6 times), μμωϵ, εθρε-, μενρατ, ρωϵϵ, ϵϵϵ, ϵϵβτ, βνεϵϵϵ, (θεβιο, αρεε).

Bohairic and Fayyumic or Middle Egyptian with F.influence: πι-, τ-, ρου- (also ρεϵ-), νη-, α- (Present II), μαρεϵ-, μαροϵ-, μηερ-, μετμει (also μντ-), με(ϵ)ϵι, νεϵ, νοϵτ, ϕτ, ρωϵι, ϵνηϵϵ, ϵϵϵ, ϵατϵη, ϵεννϵϵϵι.

Bohairic and Sahidic: ανον, εβολ, μμοϵ, ϵοϵϵ, ϵμοτ, ϵμοτ, cf. ραϵι.

Fayyumic or Middle Egyptian and Sahidic: αϵϵ (4 times), ρεϵ- (also ρου-), ετμεϵι and ετνα, ϵεν- (4 times), ϵωντ, μντ- (also μετ-).

A few points may be singled out: the text agrees with all other dialects in the absence of the letter ϵ, in preserving τ before ν, μ (ετνα, ετμεϵι)²⁾, though not before ρ (εθρε-), and in using αϵϵ for οϵοϵ with Sahidic, Subachmimic, Middle Egyptian and Fayyumic. On the other hand the Bohairic features clearly predominate, e.g. ϕη, νιβεν, and words

1) Le Muséon LXIII, 147ff..

2) Forms like ετνα- are sometimes found in Bohairic texts, e.g. the Bohairic life of St. Pachomius cited by Lefort in Muséon XLIV (1931), 124ff.; also in a Vienna fragment published by Till, Koptische Pergamente Theologischen Inhalts, I p.30.

occur which are attested only in Bohairic, e.g. $\eta\iota\beta\tau$, $\delta\eta\epsilon\chi\omega\epsilon$; also in its vowel-system it agrees with Bohairic in so far as that differs from Sahidic, e.g. $\mu\mu\omega\omega\gamma$. The text was found at Deir el-Bala'izah, but there is some evidence that it came from the Delta¹⁾.

V.2 Bohairic.

There is no need to discuss Bohairic proper here specially, as it is sufficiently well known, and many of the points of contact with other dialects have already been mentioned. The two most notable features in which it differs from all other dialects, even the semi-Bohairic Bala'izah fragment, are the use of the letter β and $\omega\omega\epsilon$ for $\alpha\gamma\omega$. In a few points it agrees with all or most of the sub-dialects against Sahidic, e.g. $\epsilon\epsilon\rho\eta\iota$ ($AA^2\alpha\epsilon\rho\eta\iota$) for S $\epsilon\epsilon\rho\alpha\iota$, $\eta\eta\epsilon\iota$ ($A\eta\epsilon\iota$) for S $\eta\alpha\epsilon\iota$, $\omega\gamma\rho\eta\tau$ ($AA^2M\omega\gamma\rho\eta\tau\epsilon$) for S $\omega\gamma\epsilon\rho\eta\tau\epsilon$, and in particular the use of ρ with Greek verbs.

I shall return later²⁾ in this chapter to the question whether Bohairic existed as a literary dialect before the Arab period, where it was spoken and the probable date of the Bohairic Version of the New Testament

1) In the present collection there is a Bohairic tax-receipt from the nome of Busiris(151), and one Sahidic tax-receipt(132) written later than A.D.740 also mentions the nome of Busiris. It is true that more than one Busiris is known in Upper Egypt, especially one near Ashmunein, but only the Busiris in the Delta was a nome-capital, and presumably the Sahidic tax-receipt like the one in Bohairic came from the Delta. The present leaf from a semi-Bohairic biblical text was re-used in the eighth century for a Sahidic tax-receipt(146) and in this connection it seems extremely probable that like the other tax-receipt it also came from Busiris in the Delta, which would explain the presence of a semi-Bohairic literary text at Bala'izah. Cf. chapter VI p.45 and p. 250 below.

2) See below pp.248ff..

Sahidic.

When we come to consider the Sahidic dialect we are faced with very serious difficulties:

I) I have attempted to point out that the sub-dialects from Achmimic to Bohairic form a close interrelationship and Sahidic as we know it in its developed form cannot be made to fit into this scheme. In some ways it agrees with the Achmimic-Subachmimic group, as in the doubling of vowels which is not present in Middle Egyptian, Fayyumic(early) and Bohairic. With Achmimic, Subachmimic and Middle Egyptian it agrees in the final *e* for Fayyumic and Bohairic *i*, e.g. *ρωμε*. With Middle Egyptian, Fayyumic and Bohairic it agrees in the fundamental *e* for *α*, e.g. *εβολ*, *εφοκ*, etc.. But most marked are the agreements with Bohairic in the vowels *ο* for *α*, e.g. *ανοκ*, *εβολ*, *εμοτ*, and *α* for *ε*, e.g. *βαλ*, *πεχα*, *ζαν*. Much the same could be demonstrated for the Sahidic vocabulary which is - at any rate as far as the Bible is concerned - mainly northern e.g. *ταμιο* (AA² *τανο*, *τενο*), *μαγδα* (AA² *ογδεε*), etc..

II) The difficulties are further increased by the fact that we find Sahidic well established throughout Upper Egypt and the Fayyum by the beginning of the fourth century or soon afterwards:

At Assuan it was well established in the sixth century as is demonstrated by a number of documents from there published by Crum¹⁾ and Krall²⁾.

At Thebes it is attested by a number of early Sahidic manuscripts which on dialectical grounds can be shown to have been written there. Worrell³⁾ already pointed to the Berlin Psalter⁴⁾ of the fourth century, but the same is true also of a number of other manuscripts, in particular the

1) BM 447 - 456; for other texts from the south cf. Ep. vol. I p. 232 note 3 and VC 5.

2) Recueil de Travaux VI, 70 no. vi and WZKM XIV, 233ff..

3) Coptic Sounds p. 109.

4) A. Rahlfs, Die Berliner Handschrift des Sahidischen Psalters.

Turin manuscript of the two Wisdoms¹⁾, the Berlin Gnostic codex²⁾ and the Bruce codex³⁾, some of which were actually found or bought at Thebes. For the full dialectical evidence see chapter VIII⁴⁾.

At Deir Chenoboskion its presence is well attested by eleven Gnostic manuscripts in Sahidic side by side with only two in Subachmimic, and in fact some of these manuscripts are reputed to be as early as the third century⁵⁾.

1) Ed.P.de Lagarde, Aegyptiaca pp.65ff..

2) See Sitzungsb.Preuss.Ak.Wiss.XXXVI(1896)p.839. Apparently bought from a dealer at Cairo, said to have been found at Achmim. The few pages published in C.Schmidt, Die alten Petrusakten give a fair idea of the dialect, and these have been cited frequently in chapter VIII. Professor Till is at present preparing an edition of this invaluable manuscript. This is one of the very rare Sahidic texts which make use of p before Greek verbs; see p.256 note 4.

3) The principal edition of this manuscript is by C.Schmidt, Gnostische Schriften in koptischer Sprache aus dem Codex Brucianus, cf. C.A. Baynes, A Coptic Gnostic Treatise contained in the Codex Brucianus. Crum in a note in his copy of Schmidt's edition (in the Griffith Institute, Oxford) mentions that according to Woide, Ms.Clarendon Press c 2,97 Bruce acquired it at Thebes. When found, the manuscript was divided among some 20 other persons, but nothing appears to be known of these other parts. I collated a few passages in the Codex; unfortunately the deterioration of the Codex has continued and much that was legible when Mrs.Baynes collated it is no longer visible.

4) Especially paragraphs 9,10,19,20f,45,53,73,80j,126,143A,149, also 7, 8,17,20d,21,32,38,46A,48,55,56,56B,138,152A; cf.6A,6D,15,40A,78A,80, 85,110,123.

5) For a general survey of these texts see J.Doresse and Togo Mina, Nouveaux textes Gnostiques Coptes découverts en Haute-Egypte in Vigiliae

At Achmim Shenoute's writings are sufficient witness that Sahidic was regarded as the official dialect already in the second half of the fourth century, when Achmimic and Subachmimic manuscripts were still being written.

At Wadi Sarga and Deir el-Bala'izah a considerable number of early Sahidic texts were found, dating from the fourth and fifth centuries, and these show the dialect in an almost unrivalled purity¹⁾.

From Hermopolis we have the important manuscript of Deuteronomy, Jonah and Acts²⁾, dating from the first half of the fourth century, and the fourth century manuscript of the Psalter BM 24³⁾ was found in a jar near

Christiana III(1949)pp.129ff. with two plates, and C.H.Puech, Les Nouveaux Écrits Gnostiques in Coptic Studies in Honour of W.E.Crum (Bull.Byz.Inst. II)(1950) pp.91ff.. For a discussion of the date of these manuscripts see also below p.263 and note 1. Only one legible photo of these manuscripts has so far been published, in the Manchester Guardian 24th June 1949(Professor Černý kindly drew my attention to this and lent me his copy of the page). This page, ascribed to the middle of the fourth century, shows normal early Sahidic(against Vigiliae Christianae III p.131 !) with Greek verbs, nouns and particles, also Ⲛⲉⲓ, and it distinguishes between ⲁⲛ and ⲁⲛⲁ, cf.chapter VIII par.1A; of interest are the use of ⲧ as definite article, see chapter VIII par.94A, and a Subachmimic in the spelling ⲉⲙⲁⲁⲣⲉ for ⲁⲙⲁⲁⲣⲉ, cf.chapter VIII par.7. For the two Subachmimic texts cf. above pp.206 and note 3,219.

- 1) I may draw special attention to number 17 in the present collection, which probably shows Sahidic standardisation at its best, even in superlineation.
- 2) Ed.Budge, Coptic Biblical Texts, cf.Thompson, The New Biblical Papyrus.
- 3) There can really be no question that this manuscript should be dated in the fourth century and Mr.C.H.Roberts, whom I consulted, fully

Deir Abu Hennes. In addition a number of fourth century letters in Sahidic were found in the neighbourhood¹⁾.

From Oxyrhynchus we have a few early unpublished fragments²⁾, and from the neighbouring Cynopolite nome the Melitian archive³⁾ supplies one let-

agreed with me, cf. the photo in Crum's BM Catalogue pl.10. Of special interest are the forms of the Demotic letters ϵ , ω , and in particular ϵ' . This form of the ϵ' made in two strokes (σ) occurs outside Fayyumic manuscripts only in a few fourth century texts: BM 964 (early 4th century), J&C 1921, 1922 (Melitian archive, ca. A.D. 330), BM 1123 (4th century), CMSS 4 (found in the Fayyum), Lefort, Les Manuscrits Coptes ... Louvain no. 9 (early 4th century), Peremans-Vergote, Papyrologisch Handboek pl. XI, Louv. copt. inv. 18b (probably 4th century), P. Mich 136 (4th century, see below p. 254 note 5), cf. also the Manichaean Psalm-book which writes ϵ' in a peculiar shape (ζ); perhaps a late example is BM 1109. It seems highly unlikely, if only for this reason, that the manuscript is a modern copy as Crum thought when he published the BM Catalogue (p. 9a), and even Crum seems to have doubted it. In Crum's copy of the BM Catalogue (in the Griffith Institute, Oxford) there is a letter from Blackden of Nov. 3 1894 stating that the manuscript was found in a jar hidden in a quarry at Deir Abu Hennes. Despite many obvious faults in orthography, especially in Greek words, the dialect of this manuscript is of considerable interest; I hope to return to this elsewhere.

- 1) Ryl. 268 - 276, al..
- 2) A number of documents and literary texts, all very fragmentary, were found by Grenfell and Hunt and are now at the Queen's College, Oxford. I have knowledge of these texts from Crum's copies which are in the Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.
- 3) Bell and Crum, Jews and Christians in Egypt no. 1920. I have collated this text and three corrections may be made: line 5 read $\rho\alpha$ [N], line

ter in good early Sahidic before the middle of the fourth century.

From the Fayyum we have BM 269(=CMSS IV), actually found there, and P.Mich. 136¹⁾, both of the fourth century.

At Saqqara Sahidic is well established by the sixth century and probably earlier as is demonstrated by inscriptions and manuscripts from there²⁾.

III) Further and important evidence for the early spread of Sahidic is provided by the fact that it is found mixed with nearly all the sub-dialects, and manuscripts of this type are among the earliest Coptic manuscripts which have so far come to light.

(A) From Thebes and actually found or bought at Thebes we have the Achmimic Psalm-fragment edited by Crum³⁾ which can be dated as early as the second half of the third century on the basis of Greek texts on the same tablets. This is almost the first Christian Coptic text and certainly the earliest witness of the standard Sahidic Version of any part of the Bible⁴⁾; it is earlier than any Achmimic text known. The dialect of the text is in the main Achmimic: ⲉⲣⲁⲟⲩ, ⲉⲉ, (AA²) ⲟⲩⲣⲏⲧⲉ, ⲁ(ⲩ)ⲣⲁ, ⲛⲁⲕ (=ⲛⲁⲕ); but has ⲁⲩⲱ with A²MFS and semi-Bohairic; ⲉⲧⲃⲁⲁⲃ (= ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ) with A²(not Mani)S; and some of the dialectical features are only found

22 read ⲛⲉⲗⲟⲩⲱⲗⲉ(ut vid.), line 25 read ⲉⲱⲱⲧ(1).

1) See below p.254 note 5.

2) See Sir Herbert Thompson, The Coptic Version of the Acts of the Apostles pp.ixff., Worrell, Coptic Texts pp.25ff.; the inscriptions were published by Thompson in Quibbell, Saqqara vols.III and IV. Coptic non-literary texts from the monastery of Apa Jeremias at Saqqara were published by Revillout, Actes et Contrats, papyri du Louvre II - X, and Krall in Rec.VI,63ff., cf.also the facsimile published by Revillout in Revue Orientale et Americaine 1877, said to be from the same find. Cf.pp.23ff.above and p.249 note 1 below.

3) Miss.LXVI(=Mélanges Maspero vol.II) pp.73-76 and plate.

4) Cf. above chapter II Appendix, especially p.11.

in Sahidic: $\alpha(\epsilon)\rho\alpha_1$, or in Sahidic, Bohairic: $\epsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon$, or in Sahidic, Fayyumic and Bohairic: $\epsilon-$ (passim), $\epsilon\chi\alpha-$. One might also note a few peculiarities as $\chi\epsilon\epsilon_1$ and $\chi\epsilon\epsilon\alpha_1$ for $AA^2\chi\alpha\epsilon\epsilon$, $S\chi\alpha\epsilon\epsilon$, cf. $A^2(AP)\chi\alpha\epsilon_1$ ¹⁾, also $\epsilon\rho\iota-$ found in Achmimic Clement and $A^2(Jo,AP)$.

Another text published by Lefort containing some Hymns or Psalms, perhaps by Hieracas²⁾, is almost as early and has some similar peculiarities, though it is closer to Achmimic. I have already drawn attention to some of the peculiarities on pp.203ff. above; others are as follows:

(a) Peculiar to this manuscript: $\lambda\epsilon\iota\lambda\epsilon$ (? = $A\lambda\iota\lambda\omega_1$, $S\lambda\omicron\gamma\lambda\alpha_1$, $B\lambda\mu\lambda\omicron\gamma_1$); $\mu\alpha\chi\kappa\epsilon = AA^2BS\mu\kappa\alpha\epsilon$, $F\mu\kappa\epsilon\epsilon$; $\mu\epsilon\epsilon\chi\epsilon = AA^2(Mani)F\mu\epsilon\epsilon\chi\epsilon$, $A^2(Jo,ManiP)$ ³⁾ $\mu\epsilon\omega\tau\epsilon$, $B\mu\alpha\omega\chi$ ⁴⁾; $\epsilon\gamma\omicron\gamma\omicron\gamma = A\epsilon\gamma\omicron\gamma$, $A^2S\epsilon\gamma\omega$, $B\epsilon\gamma\omega$.

(b) Not found in any standardised dialect, but occasionally met with in literary and non-literary manuscripts:

i) \omicron and $\omicron\gamma\omicron$ side by side, for $A\omicron,\omega$, $A^2\epsilon\gamma$, $F\omicron\gamma\alpha_1$, $SB\omicron\gamma$; $\omicron\gamma\omicron$ is found once in the Achmimic Minor Prophets and once at Thebes, see chapter VIII par.46A.

ii) $\mu\mu\epsilon$ for $A\epsilon\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ (Clem.), $A^2\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon$ (al.), $F\epsilon\epsilon\tau\epsilon$, $\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon$, $B\alpha\alpha\epsilon$, $S\alpha\alpha\epsilon$; cf. chapter VIII paragraphs 8,22.

iii) $\epsilon\rho\iota-$ for $A\rho-$, $\epsilon\lambda-$, $A^2BS(\epsilon)\rho-$, $F\epsilon\lambda-$; $\epsilon\rho\iota-$ is also found in the Achmimic I Clement, $A^2(Jo,AP)$ and the Achmimic Psalm-fragment, cf. above.

(c) Agreeing with Sahidic (and others) against Achmimic:

i) $\alpha\epsilon\tau\alpha_1$ with Sahidic only; it is interesting to note that this occurs also in the Achmimic Psalm-fragment, cf. above.

ii) $\epsilon\omega\gamma$ with Sahidic only; $AA^2\epsilon\omega\epsilon$, $FB\epsilon\omega\gamma$.

iii) The final ϵ added in certain cases in Achmimic and the Subachmi-

1) See chapter VIII par.23, and cf. above p.204 Diagram, and below p.247.

2) See above p.203 notes 3,4.

3) Cf. above pp.215,217.

4) Cf. perhaps also Paris Magical Papyrus line 76 $\mu\mu\epsilon\epsilon\chi$; on the etymology of $\mu\mu\alpha\epsilon\epsilon$ etc. see Černý in Copt.Stud.in Hon.of W.E.Crum pp.35f.

mic Manichaeic texts¹⁾ is omitted with Sahidic, Subachmimic (Jo, AP), Fayyumic and Bohairic: NHTN , CWTU , XWZU .

(d) Agreeing with Bohairic in $\tau\omicron$ (qual. of \vdash) for $S\tau\omicron$, $A\tau\epsilon\epsilon$, $\tau\epsilon$, $A^2\tau\omicron\epsilon$, $\tau\omicron$, $F\tau\epsilon$, al..

(e) It is interesting to find the verb $\tau\alpha\mu\alpha$ occurring; it occurs only once in Achmimic and never in Subachmimic, the usual word in these two dialects being $\tau\alpha\text{no}$, $\tau\epsilon\text{no}$.

It is to be noted that no distinctive Subachmimic features occur, although it agrees with Subachmimic in a few cases against Achmimic, but in all these instances the same is also found in Sahidic. In fact the dialect may best be described as a mixture of Achmimic and early Sahidic with some peculiarities of its own.

A number of early magical texts fall into the same category in showing a mixture of Achmimic and early Sahidic, sometimes with peculiarities of their own; these texts are: BM 1223, 1224, Lemm, Misc. L²⁾, P. Mich. 1523³⁾, and from a later period with more Sahidicisms the Carnarvon Papyrus⁴⁾ actually found at Deir el Bakhit near Thebes and Bodleian Ms. Copt. c 4(p) edited by Crum⁵⁾. That these texts are not to be regarded as a type of Subachmimic is shown not merely by the absence of any distinctive Subachmimicisms, but especially by the Future III $\alpha\kappa\alpha$ -, $\alpha\mu\alpha$ -, $\alpha\tau\epsilon\tau\alpha$ -, $\alpha\gamma\alpha$ -, ($\epsilon\kappa\alpha$ -, $\epsilon\mu\alpha$ -, $\epsilon\gamma\alpha$ - in the later texts)⁶⁾ which occurs in all of the texts, and the Present II in $\alpha\mu$ -, $\alpha\tau\epsilon\tau\alpha$ -, which is found in some of them. All the texts show distinct Sahidic(-Bohairic) features such as $\alpha\text{no}\kappa$, $\pi\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma$,

1) See above p. 211.

2) Papyrus Lichačev, previously edited by Turaiev.

3) Ed. Worrell in Orientalia IV, 3ff..

4) Edited by Kropp, Koptische Zaubertexte vol. I number K, pp. 50ff.; cf. Crum's notes in Ep. I pp. 207, 235.

5) In AZ XXXIV, 85ff..

6) Cf. chapter VIII par. 129, especially p. 156.

εβολ BM 1223; cnoγ , conen , etcooyv BM 1224; epoy , cnoγ , etxocε Lemm, Misc. I; na-γ , no6 , ezoyn P.Mich.1523. Some of the texts were found at Thebes and it seems likely that the others also came from the same locality¹⁾.

Two texts which are in the main Sahidic, but show marked Achmimicisms, were found with Achmimic texts, the Sahidic Elias and the fragment of the Gospel of St. Luke²⁾. Together with these, though not to the same extent, should be classed the two pages in the Bruce Codex³⁾ and perhaps also the Berlin Gnostic text⁴⁾.

(B) For a mixture of Subachmimic and Sahidic two texts may be cited, both unpublished: one is P.Gol.47⁵⁾ which has mainly Achmimic or Subachmimic forms, e.g. ανηζε , μμε , τερκο; of some interest is εκα for εκνα (?) (four times)⁶⁾; here again we find Sahidicisms like εβολ , ντογ , εχωωγ , and a large number of dialectical spellings⁷⁾. On the other hand, forms like νο (verb and noun) and cαzoy (not cαzoyε) link it up with a dialect

- 1) Cf. chapter VIII paragraphs 10,13,15,22,23,32,48,79A,118D,127E,144, cf. however also 2,66.
- 2) Both form part of the find made in the '80s of last century which was bought by Bouriant and the Berlin Museum. The Sahidic Elias was edited by Steindorff, Die Apokalypse des Elias with an analysis of the dialectical forms. The Sahidic fragment of St. Luke with numerous Achmimic forms was published by Lacau in BIFAO VIII, 76ff.. It may be noted that this fragment is not cited in Horner's edition of the Sahidic Version of St. Luke.
- 3) Pp.139,140(pp.153-4 in the manuscript), as noted by Schmidt p.11; cf. Crum in AZ XXXIV, 86 note 2 and Ep.I p.239 note 1.
- 4) See above p.234 note 2.
- 5) I have made use of a photograph of this valuable papyrus in the Crum Material, Griffith Institute, Oxford(C/Group I, 88).
- 6) See chapter VIII par.129b.
- 7) Cf. chapter VIII paragraphs 2,15,20g,22,66,127E.

of the type of the Manichaean Homilies¹⁾. The second is a fragment of St. John XX given by Crum in 1939 to the Bodleian Library²⁾; apparently it was found at Hermopolis³⁾. This text, probably of the late fourth century (Bell), is mainly Sahidic, but shows forms like αβαλ, ενεζε, νδε, νεξεγ, αν corrected to ον, χεκαc followed by Future II⁴⁾, and in particular ογωγβε which links it up with the Manichaean texts⁵⁾. Two forms are Bohairic: τηβ (not τηβε) and χεχac once for χεκαc which also occurs.

(C) For a mixture of Middle Egyptian and Sahidic I can only cite one of the Melitian letters published by Crum in JEA XIII, 19ff. which is mainly Sahidic, but has several Middle Egyptian forms: ceXe, μεογε, χο=c, νεcK corrected to καcK, and of particular interest is its verbal system which is fully Middle Egyptian⁶⁾. The text like the rest of the Melitian archive can be dated as early as the first half of the fourth century.

(D) I am unable to cite any early Fayyumic text showing a mixture of Sahidic and Fayyumic, but texts from a later period are abundant.

(E) For Bohairic we have the fourth century letter published by Worrell⁷⁾ which has some Sahidic forms: μεριτ, γωχπ(ι), τα=c, and perhaps the semi-Bohairic Bala'izah text⁸⁾ could also be mentioned.

- 1) On reflection there is very little to distinguish the dialect of P. Gol.47 from that of BM 1223, 1224, LMisc.L and P.Mich.1523, and perhaps it should be classed with these.
- 2) This papyrus, Bodleian Ms.Copt.e 150(p), is of considerable interest from many points of view; I am hoping to publish it shortly.
- 3) According to a note in the Crum Material, Griffith Institute, Oxford (C/Group II, 2).
- 4) See chapter VIII par.129 and references there.
- 5) See above p.211 and in particular p.219.
- 6) See chapter VIII par.150, especially the Diagram on p.173.
- 7) Last published in Worrell, Coptic Texts III, 3 (pp.175f.).
- 8) See above pp.231f..

Conclusions.

The evidence brought so far seems to justify the following conclusions:

- 1) Sahidic is a neutral dialect with peculiarities found in, or drawn from, all the sub-dialects(so already Worrell)¹⁾.
- 2) Sahidic was the principal dialect in the whole of Upper Egypt and the Fayyum already at the beginning of the Coptic period(so partly already Crum)²⁾.
- 3) Any attempt to find the home of Sahidic, at any rate in its developed form, whether at Thebes(Chaine), Ashmunein(Steindorff and others), or Oxyrhynchus(Worrell) is bound to fail for obvious reasons³⁾

The Origin of Sahidic.

The answer to these difficult problems evidently lies long before the Coptic period, and it is unfortunate that we have so little evidence for this. On the other hand, a number of considerations seem to confirm the view that in origin Sahidic was much closer to Bohairic than would appear at first sight. The most obvious example for this is the dialect of the Paris Magical Papyrus⁴⁾. Erman⁵⁾, writing at a time(1883) when texts in Achmimic and Subachmimic were still unknown, pointed out that, while the first part of the Old Coptic sections was in more or less normal Sahidic, the second part showed many archaisms. F.Ll.Griffith⁶⁾,

1) Coptic Sounds pp.63ff., especially pp.69 - 73.

2) Ep.vol.I pp.232f..

3) For references see above pp.193ff..

4) Here cited from the last edition by Möller in Preisendanz, Papyri Graecae Magicae vol.I no.IV. A number of corrections may be made from the facsimile in Erman's edition in AZ XXI, 89ff..

5) AZ XXI(1883) pp.89ff., especially pp.106ff..

6) AZ XXXIX(1901)p.79; see also his important comments in his Catalogue of Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands Library vol.III pp.181ff.

writing some twenty years later, drew attention to the strong Bohairic influence in some of the Old Coptic sections. Now that so many dialects are known, it may be of interest to reconsider the estimates of Erman and Griffith; a number of points are of great importance for the present study¹⁾:

1) Lines 11-25, 75-77, 81-84. These lines, as Erman and Griffith rightly observed, are in the main Sahidic, but there are a number of important dialectical variations: σ^+ (17) with BA^2 for σ^+S ; $\rho\epsilon\eta$ (21, 22, 84) with $AA^2M(F)$ for $\rho\alpha\eta$ SB; $\eta\eta\beta$ (11) this word during the Coptic period only in B; α - (25) with AA^2 for ϵ - SMFB; $\mu\eta\tau$ Old Coptic only; $\zeta\sigma\sigma\upsilon\tau$, and $\delta\sigma\upsilon\tau$ again later, see chapter VIII par. 79A p. 103.

2) Lines 94-112. In these lines we have a mixture of mainly Sahidic and Bohairic with a few AA^2 and F forms:

S e.g. $\varsigma(2)\mu\epsilon$, $\eta\epsilon\mu\alpha\iota$, $\mu\epsilon\eta\tau$, $\beta\sigma\sigma\mu\epsilon$, $\eta\eta\mu$, $\tau\sigma\sigma\tau$, $\tau\sigma\sigma\tau\epsilon$.

B e.g. $\kappa\alpha\tau\epsilon$ (vb.), $\sigma\epsilon\rho\iota$, $\sigma\upsilon\varsigma\rho\iota$, $\eta\varsigma\iota$, $\delta\mu\tau$, $\beta\epsilon\eta\eta\eta\iota$, $\varsigma\alpha\tau\iota$, $\mu\epsilon\iota\varsigma\eta$, $\alpha\iota\tau\epsilon\sigma\upsilon$, $\iota\eta\iota$.

$AA^2(F)$ e.g. $\eta\epsilon\sigma\epsilon\varsigma$, $\eta\kappa\alpha\tau\kappa\epsilon$ (A^2 Jo. only), $\mu\epsilon\sigma\upsilon$ (A^2MF), $\rho\epsilon\tau\epsilon$, $\kappa\alpha\tau\epsilon$ (AA^2), $\alpha\chi\omega\iota$, $\alpha\rho\iota$, $\check{\rho}\eta\iota$ (AA^2MFB), $\epsilon\delta\mu$.

M, F e.g. $\eta\beta\iota$ (F), $\tilde{\alpha}\beta$ - (M, verbal prefix, see chapter VIII par. 150).

Most interesting are the corrections in these lines:

S corrected to B: ϵ to ι in $\eta\varsigma\epsilon$, $\kappa\iota\mu\epsilon$, $\varsigma\iota\mu\epsilon$ ²⁾, $\mu\epsilon\eta$ to $\eta\epsilon\mu$.

Semi-B corrected to F: $\eta\beta\epsilon$ to $\eta\beta\iota$ (twice)³⁾

AA^2MF corrected to SB: $\eta\epsilon\sigma\epsilon\varsigma$ to $\eta\epsilon\sigma\alpha\varsigma$, $\eta\epsilon\varsigma\eta$ to $\eta\alpha\varsigma\eta$, $\epsilon\delta\mu$ to $\alpha\delta\mu$ ($\alpha\zeta\sigma\mu$).

A^2MF corrected to SB: $\mu\epsilon\sigma\upsilon$ to $\mu\alpha\sigma\upsilon$.

Incorrect corrected: $\beta\sigma\iota\sigma\iota\theta$ to $\beta\omega\omega\theta$.

Correct made incorrect: $\iota\omega\tau$ to $\iota\sigma\upsilon\tau$, ω to σ in $\rho\omega\varsigma$, $\epsilon\rho\omega\iota$, $\alpha\chi\omega\iota$.

1) A=Achmimic; A^2 =Subachm.; M=Middle Egyptian; F=Fayy.; B=Boh.; S=Sah..

2) For Möller's $\eta\varsigma\epsilon$ (94) read $\eta\varsigma\epsilon$, similarly for $\varsigma\iota\mu\epsilon$ (121) read $\varsigma\iota\mu\epsilon$, cf. the facsimile.

3) In line 115 for Möller's second $\eta\beta\epsilon$ read $\eta\beta\epsilon$ like the first $\eta\beta\epsilon$, cf. the facsimile.

3) Lines 123-131. A Mixture of Sahidic and Bohairic with Bohairic predominating:

S e.g. ΝΙΜ, ΜΕΝ, (ΝΝΟΟΥ).

B e.g. ΕΡΩΟΥ, ΕΜΜΙ, ΝΟΥΤΙ, ΝΕΛΙ, ΟΥΚΙΡΙ, ΩΟΥ (1).

AA²MF (once) ΟΥΕΝΑΒΡΕ.

One correction is from S to B: ΜΕΝ to ΝΕΜ.

4) Lines 139-143. A mixture of Sahidic and Bohairic:

S e.g. ΝΕΛΙΕ, ΟΥΟΙΝ, ΝΙΜ.

B e.g. ΝΕΛΙ, ΟΥΚΙΡΙ.

5) Lines 147-153. A mixture of Sahidic and Bohairic, e.g. ΓΟΜΤΕ, ΓΑΝΤΕΙ, ΜΕΥΙ with one F form: ΙΜΙ, and one AA²F: ΟΥΕ.

6) Lines 1231-1239. Mainly Bohairic with some Sahidic forms:

B e.g. ΦΝΟΥΦΙ, ΚΑΚΦΙ, ΚΩΒΙ, ΠΙ-, ΕΘΑΡΗΙ.

S e.g. ΠΝΟΥΤΕ, ΚΑΚΦΕ.

This part is of great interest as it is written without the additional Demotic letters with one exception, and it is also the only part of the Old Coptic sections in this papyrus which shows Christian influence.¹⁾

1) It is remarkable that in the absence of the Demotic additional letters this Christian section in the Paris Magical Papyrus agrees with the earliest Christian Coptic text known, the Old Fayyumic glosses in the Chester Beatty Isaiah manuscript (cf. p. 228 note 2). It almost suggests that the first Christian attempts to write the native Egyptian language was independent of the pagan attempts, and that at first the Christians did not make use of the additional letters. In time this would have proved unsatisfactory and a number of Demotic letters were taken over; but it should be emphasised that all the Old Coptic texts show more than the usual 5 or 6 Demotic letters (excluding † for which see chapter VIII par. 127E), see p. 253 below. This might explain the extraordinary uncertainty over the precise use of the additional Demotic letters in practically all early texts, in

The considerable Bohairic influence both in spellings and in words can hardly be denied, and this is of particular significance in view of the fact that the papyrus apparently came from Thebes¹⁾.

The evidence of the Paris Magical papyrus is further borne out by a considerable number of Bohairicisms in early Sahidic texts. Among the more obvious examples are single vowels for double vowels²⁾, the use of

particular the frequent omission of the letter ϵ , see chapter VIII paragraphs 65 - 127F(passim) especially 123. Perhaps the Bashmuri practice not to use the additional Demotic letters as late as the eighth century is an ancient survival, though obviously the exact system used then was standardised much later. For these texts see Crum, Coptic Documents in Greek Script (Proceedings of the British Academy vol. XXV).

- 1) If it can be established that the Paris Magical Papyrus was also written at Thebes, we would have to admit that the fusion of dialects before the Coptic period was even greater than has been assumed in the present chapter. In particular the Fayyumic forms $\mu\epsilon\iota$, $\mu\epsilon$, and the Subachmimic-Fayyumic $\mu\epsilon\sigma\gamma$ ($A\mu\omega$, $S\mu\alpha\alpha\gamma$), as also ϵ for γ (see chapter VIII par. 121), are difficult to parallel at Thebes; on the other hand, as has been pointed out in chapter VIII par. 123C, there has been an attempt in at least a part of the papyrus to distinguish between the Egyptian letters \underline{h} and \dot{h} , and this would clearly point to Thebes. There are no definite Achmimicisms in the papyrus, though many of the forms are only found in Achmimic and Subachmimic, in particular $\underline{\alpha}\rho\sigma$, $\underline{\alpha}\chi\omega$, and one agreement with the Subachm. St. John only ($\mu\kappa\alpha\tau\kappa\epsilon$) is very significant. If the papyrus was not written at Thebes, it can hardly have been written north of Assiut.
- 2) The doubled vowels in Sahidic present a most difficult problem. As has been noted above, there were no doubled vowels in Bohairic, early Fayyumic or Middle Egyptian (above pp. 222, 225f., 229), and in Achmimic

ⲡⲓ-, ⲧⲓ-, ⲡⲓ- as definite article¹⁾, ⲡⲉⲙ for ⲙⲡ²⁾, and a few times final ⲓ for ⲉ³⁾; one might also note the use of ⲡⲓ as demonstrative adjective in Acts(Budge)⁴⁾ and many others.⁵⁾ Further evidence is the vocabulary in early Sahidic texts, where we sometimes find words which are otherwise only known from Bohairic, e.g. ⲕⲣⲱⲙ, ⲙⲱⲙ, ⲧⲱⲣⲡ, ⲧⲱⲣⲧⲣ, ⲭⲁⲁⲭⲭ⁶⁾. The frequent confusion of the additional Demotic letters suggests that the precise distinction between the Sahidic and Bohairic use of these letters was a later development⁷⁾. Further early evidence is brought by the

and Subachmimic single for double vowels are so frequent(above pp.198, 212f.,224) that it seems probable that the double vowels in these dialects were due to Sahidic influence. On the other hand, many of the early Sahidic texts write frequently single for double vowels, see chapter VIII paragraphs 13,20,29,38,47A,48,49,630, and while some of these occur in manuscripts clearly influenced by local dialects, their presence in others, like the Old Vienna Psalter, is difficult to explain; furthermore, of all the Old Coptic texts double vowels appear only in the Paris Magical Papyrus. In view of the evidence it seems probable that even in Sahidic double vowels were a secondary development, but one which must have been introduced at a very early period, presumably before Coptic was used by Christians, since they occur in the Paris Magical Papyrus. On the question of double vowels in general see P.Lacau in *ÄZ* XLVIII(1910) pp.77ff..

1) See chapter VIII par.94A.

2) See chapter VIII par.78A.

3) See chapter VIII par.23 and elsewhere.

4) See Thompson, *The New Biblical Papyrus* p.13.

5) E.g. ⲉⲣⲉⲓⲁⲛ in a few early texts, see Crum, *Dictionary* p.59; cf. also the forms of the conjunctive in non-literary texts, chapter VIII, 138.

6) Cf. Crum, *Dictionary* (passim).

7) See p.244 note 1 and cf. Dévaud in *ÄZ* LXI, 109f..

semi-Sahidic-Achmimic texts¹⁾, especially the magical texts which show many Bohairicisms such as short vowels, e.g. BML224 $\chi\omicron\zeta c$, $\kappa\alpha\zeta\eta$, LMisc L $\gamma\omicron\tau^*$, $\kappa\alpha\zeta c$, P.Mich.1523 $\chi\omicron\phi\epsilon\gamma$; also final ι for ϵ in the Achmimic Psalm-fragment²⁾ $\chi\epsilon c\iota$ and $\chi\epsilon\iota c\alpha\iota$ (sic!). Indeed, it seems probable that the final ι for ϵ which occurs also in the Achmimic Ascension of Isaiah, the Berlin Genesis and the Acta Pauli³⁾ is due, not so much to Fayyumic, but to the pre-Coptic Sahidic dialect⁴⁾. The Achmimic Ascension of Isaiah shows in fact an almost certain Bohairicism in $\eta\phi\phi\phi$ for $\eta\phi\phi$ ($\beta\eta\phi\phi$)⁵⁾ I,1.

On the basis of this evidence there would seem to be considerable justification in assuming that the majority of the specific Achmimic and Subachmimic features in Sahidic were either a later intrusion into the original Sahidic dialect, as presumably in the case of final ϵ for ι , or were proper to the original Sahidic dialect and influenced the Achmimic and Subachmimic dialects, as in the case of final accented ϵ for η in e.g. $\tau\eta\epsilon$ ⁶⁾ and perhaps double vowels⁷⁾.

If in addition to this it is borne in mind that the vocabulary of the Sahidic Version of the Bible is mainly northern or peculiar to Sahidic⁸⁾, there can be little question that originally Sahidic came from the north, presumably the Delta, and that long before the Coptic period it

1) See above pp.237ff., especially 239f..

2) See above pp.237f..

3) For the first two texts see above pp.203ff., for the third 193 note3.

4) Cf. chapter VIII par.23 and above pp.204,220ff.,224f.,233,243f.,246; cf. also Griffith, Cat. Dem. Pap. J. Rylands Lib. III pp.187f..

5) For Bohairicisms in Upper Egypt cf. also Spiegelberg, Der Mythos vom Sonnenauge pp.379ff., and in general cf. Lexa, Les Dialectes dans la langue démotique in Arch. Or. VI (1934) pp.165f..

6) See above p.223.

7) See above p.245 note 2.

8) Cf. above p.233.

had spread to the south and had become assimilated to the dialects spoken there to a considerable extent. Before dealing with this question fully it is essential to investigate what evidence can be produced that Bohairic was the language of the Delta, and whether it was the official dialect in the Delta during the early Coptic period.

The date and localisation of Bohairic.

I have attempted to point out above that both Middle Egyptian and Fayyumic have much in common with Bohairic and that in some ways Fayyumic, in others Middle Egyptian, is closer to Bohairic, the Fayyumic dependance being much more prominent¹⁾. This is further borne out by the fact that not only Fayyumic was standardised under the influence of Bohairic²⁾, but the Fayyumic Version of the New Testament can be demonstrated to have been taken over in part from the Bohairic Version before the end of the fourth century³⁾, and perhaps much earlier as is shown by the use of the abbreviation ⲥ in the Old Fayyumic Hamburg text⁴⁾. This is of some significance, because of the two published Middle Egyptian texts of the New Testament one (Romans) shows the Sahidic Version, the other (BM 508) apparently an independent version. In view of the evidence it seems probable that a type of Bohairic, presumably not unlike that of the Bala'izah semi-Bohairic fragment⁵⁾, was the spoken dialect of Memphis and its neighbourhood in early times, perhaps extending as far south as Heracleopolis. Some such dialect must have been the link between Middle Egyptian, Fayyumic and Bohairic proper. To explain the disappearance of such a dialect by the sixth century is not difficult in view of the parallel early

1) See above pp.220ff..

2) See above pp.227ff..

3) See below Appendix II to the present chapter.

4) Cf.p.229 above and in particular see Worrell, Coptic Sounds p.120 and references.

5) See above pp.231f..

disappearance of Subachmimic at Hermopolis by the sixth century. In fact Stern¹⁾ already pointed to a number of Bohairicisms in the texts from Saqqara, but these might have come into the dialect later.

The Coptic grammarian Athanasius bishop of Kus²⁾, writing in the eleventh century, noted that at his time the Coptic language was divided into three dialects: The dialect of Misr(Cairo) which was the same as the Sahidic, the Bohairic which took its name from the province of Bahira, and the Bashmuric used in the country of Bashmur³⁾. This statement is of considerable interest for many reasons: it demonstrates that as late as the eleventh century Sahidic was still the principal dialect of the whole of Upper Egypt and in particular of Cairo, the capital of Egypt since the time of the Arab conquest; that Bohairic was the main, but not the sole dialect of the Delta, and that Fayyumic had already disappeared by this time.

Crum⁴⁾ has pointed to a number of colophons and readers' notes written in various parts of the Delta which are found in Bohairic manuscripts from Nitria. Some of these are in more or less normal Bohairic, others

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- 1) See ÄZ XXIII(1885)pp.152ff. and the full discussion there. The inscriptions from Saqqara(see above p.237 note 2) are in the main correct Sahidic, but we find Ⲫ a few times(317,365,399) and in particular the dialect of 317 shows strong Bohairic influence: ⲛⲉⲙ, ⲭⲟⲃ (=ⲉⲱⲃ), ⲭⲓⲛ- (=ⲉⲓⲛ-), ⲭⲪⲟⲛ, cf.317 note 3. One might also mention some Fayyumicisms which occur, especially in number 41.
 - 2) See Stern in ÄZ XVI(1878)p.23 and before him Quatremère, Récherches pp.20f., and cf. J.Simon in Actes du quatrième Congrès international de linguistes pp.182ff..
 - 3) Near Mansurah in the Delta; see Crum, Coptic Documents in Greek Script p.16 note 14 and references there.
 - 4) In his important review of Hebbelynck-Lantschoot, Codices Coptici Vaticani in JEA XXVII(1941),179ff..

are in a dialect found in a number of documents from the Fayyum which are perhaps Bashmuri¹⁾. In the eighth century a number of Bohairic and Bashmuri(?) texts appear in the Fayyum²⁾ and at Touho³⁾, and a number of Bohairic inscriptions found at Baouit⁴⁾ demonstrate the gradual spread of Bohairic southwards. In the present collection, as already noted⁵⁾, there are two texts from Busiris in the Delta, one in Bohairic(151), the other in Sahidic(132), being written later than A.D.740; and perhaps a third tax-receipt in Sahidic(146) also came from the same locality.

There can be no question that the Bohairic Version of the New Testament was made not later than the fourth century, since it appears not only in the semi-Bohairic text in the present collection(19)⁶⁾, but also in a number of early Fayyumic manuscripts of the late fourth or early fifth century⁷⁾. As has been pointed out above⁸⁾, the Bala'izah fragment(19) brings us very near to Bohairic and the principal differences which distinguish it from Bohairic proper are very significant: 2 for ʃ, and ʌʋ for ʌʋʌ. Both ʃ and ʌʋʌ go back to the ancient Egyptian language, and in particular ʃ must have been taken over either from Demotic direct, as suggested by Till⁹⁾ and Worrell¹⁰⁾, or, perhaps more likely,

1) See Crum, Coptic Documents in Greek Script.

2) Cf. the last note, especially pp.14f..

3) Kr.116,117; these two documents are in a remarkable dialect, e.g. πονβαζεῖ and ταζεῖ for πονχμ and ται; clear Bohairic forms are θοα, ανβολτι, πιτιμ, ωτωρι, νιγεν, π-ογρο, etc.; cf. also p.249 note 1.

4) Pure Bohairic are MIF LIX,102,103(χ̄ε π̄ο̄ς ἀρ̄ι π̄ιναῖ ^(u)νε̄ν πεκβωκ (κακ)).

5) See p.232 note 1.

6) Cf. pp.231f..

7) See Appendix II to the present chapter.

8) See above pp.231f..

9) Altes 'Aleph und 'Ajin im Koptischen in WZKM XXXVI(1929)pp.186ff..

10) Worrell, Coptic Texts pp.175f..

from texts in Old Coptic which contained this letter. In this connection I should like to withdraw the statement I published concerning the Michigan Bohairic school-book edited by Dr.E.M.Husselman¹⁾. Since then I have had the opportunity to study some photostats of this papyrus which Dr.Husselman very kindly sent to me, and I now feel that the arguments for a late date are insufficient against the united opinion of Greek papyrologists who would date the papyrus in the early fourth century(Bell, Youtie,Roberts²⁾). We may regard the Michigan papyrus as an important early witness, both for the dialect and for the Version, which is in fact fully borne out by other considerations.

The question only remains whether Bohairic was the sole dialect (apart from the closely related Bashmuri) or even the principal dialect in the Delta before the eighth century. There are strong arguments against such an assumption: Lefort³⁾ and others have rightly emphasised that the almost complete absence of any Bohairic texts prior to the eighth century is difficult, if not impossible to explain if in fact Bohairic had been the principal dialect in the Delta before the Arab conquest. On the other hand if Bohairic was merely a local sub-dialect somewhere in the Delta, we cannot expect Bohairic texts in Upper Egypt, just as only one Achmimic manuscript has been found in the Fayyum. Also, as has been noted already, Sahidic continued to be the principal dialect of the whole of Upper Egypt and of Cairo until the eleventh century⁴⁾, and as the

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- 1) The text was published with a discussion of its date in JNES VI(1947) 129ff., cf.my note in Le Muséon LXIII(1950)p.150 note 14.
 - 2) Mr.C.H.Roberts whom I consulted thought a date later than the fourth century most unlikely; he, like Bell, would place the fragments about the beginning of the fourth century.
 - 3) Especially in Le Muséon XLIV(1931)pp.115ff.; cf. also Crum in JEA XXVII,pp.179ff..
 - 4) See above p.249.

official dialect of the administrative centre of Egypt under the Arabs it is more than likely to have been the official dialect of the Delta as well as the rest of Egypt; I may compare the use of Fayyumic side by side with the official Sahidic in the Fayyum throughout the Coptic period. This is also supported strongly by the Sahidic tax-receipt from Busiris in the Delta¹⁾ which was written after A.D.740.

The Old Coptic Texts.²⁾

Towards the end of the first century A.D. there appear the first Egyptian texts which are written with Greek letters supplemented by a number of Demotic letters³⁾; and from the third century we have a group of Demotic texts with glosses, again written with Greek and supplementary Demotic letters⁴⁾. All of these texts are magical and reflect as background a period when Demotic had ceased to be an official business language, its place being wholly taken by Greek, and the Demotic script disappeared finally in the fifth century⁵⁾. The so-called Old Coptic texts being written with Greek letters evidently met an urgent desire, particu-

1) See above p.232 note 1.

2) I can only deal with the Old Coptic texts briefly here, but I hope to return to this subject elsewhere.

3) For the texts involved see Crum in JEA XXVIII, 20ff. and cf. above pp. 199 n.3, 223f., 228 n.4, 242-245 and notes. See also P.Lacau in Études de Papyrologie II, 229-246 and Bilabel in Actes Ve Cong. Papyrologie 1938 pp.79f. (P.Heidelberg 414).

4) See the list of manuscripts cited in Bell-Nock-Thompson, Magical texts from a bilingual papyrus (Proceedings Brit.Ac.vol.XVII) p.5.

5) The last inscription is A.D.470, see Spiegelberg, Demotische Grammatik p.1 and elsewhere. In this connection it is of considerable interest that Clement of Alexandria (Strom.V 237) mentions Hieratic as still taught in the schools (ca.A.D.160-220), cf. Griffith-Thompson, Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leyden vol.I p.13.

larly in the case of spells, to lay down exactly the pronunciation of words or to clarify obscure passages in Demotic. We even find definite systems to transcribe words, native and foreign, with full vowels by means of a cipher in Demotic documents¹⁾. The system of transcription which we find in the Old Coptic texts is sufficiently developed and uniform to rule out the possibility of individual attempts²⁾, and the Coptic script is undoubtedly based to a considerable extent on the Old Coptic practice³⁾. All the Old Coptic texts agree in using more Demotic letters⁴⁾ than Coptic, but the transcriptions of the ancient letters h, h̄, h̅, h̆, in the Coptic dialects and in some cases their omission clearly demonstrate that the precise distinction between some or all of them had largely been lost by the beginning of the Coptic period⁵⁾. The retention of these letters, particularly in the later Old Coptic texts, can hardly have signified a distinction in pronunciation, but was probably due to a conservatism to which Christian Coptic was obviously not bound. If we investigate the dialect and language of these texts, we find that the earlier ones correspond roughly to Achmimic(Horoscope)⁶⁾, Middle Egyptian

1) See Griffith-Thompson, Demotic Magical Papyrus vol. I pp. 8ff..

2) It would go beyond the space available to deal with this here, and my estimate is partly based on unpublished material; I hope to return to this elsewhere.

3) Cf. however also p. 244 note 1 above.

4) See Crum in JEA XXVIII, 21.

5) Already in Demotic during the Roman period h, h̄ and h̅ were confused, and sometimes even earlier, see Spiegelberg, Demotische Grammatik pp. 8f. and Spiegelberg, Der ägyptische Mythos vom Sonnenauge pp. 375f.. See also H. Junker, Grammatik der Denderatexte pp. 23ff., noting a confusion of h and h̄, h̅ and h̆, h̆ and h̅, h̆ and š.

6) See above p. 199; cf. however Griffith in AZ XXXIX (1901) p. 80, but his estimate now requires some modification.

(Oxyrhynchus)¹⁾, Fayyumic(Worrell)²⁾ and Sahidic(Schmidt)³⁾. The glosses in the Demotic Magical Papyrus are in a mixture of Sahidic and Achmimic⁴⁾. The latest of the texts, the Paris Magical Papyrus and the Papyrus Mimaut are partly in Sahidic, partly in a mixture of Sahidic and Bohairic with a few Achmimic, Subachmimic and Fayyumic forms. From the Coptic period we have a number of texts which are still Egyptian in religion and thought, and which, presumably, were either copied from Demotic direct or were based on copies of such texts. By far the most important of these is a part of P.Michigan 136⁵⁾, and of the others the more inter-

1) See above pp.223f..

2) Cf.above p.228 and note 4.

3) I have been able to make use of a photo of this invaluable papyrus in the Griffith Institute, Oxford(C/G XII,10).

4) Crum in JEA XXVIII,p.23 note 8.

5) This manuscript, published by Worrell in Orientalia IV,17ff., is a text of unusual interest and importance. It contains miscellaneous medical and magical texts, some of these in Greek, of clearly varying date and origin. Most interesting are lines 53 - 110 which are perhaps the only example of an intermediate stage between the Old Coptic texts and the non-Christian texts from the Coptic period. Many of the spellings can be paralleled only from the Old Coptic texts and in particular ⲁⲛⲟⲩⲱⲧⲣⲓ (line 72) is otherwise only known from these(see Crum,Dictionary p.62b) and even in the same papyrus the equivalent ⲭⲁⲣⲉ occurs in lines 116ff.. The old Gods Isis, Thoth and Amoun are invoked and in these particular lines nothing points to Christian influence; also, again as in the Old Coptic texts, no Greek words appear in this long passage of over fifty lines. There can hardly be a question of 'misspellings'; the manuscript was clearly written at a time when the language was not yet fully standardised. The date of the text is probably the middle of the fourth century, and

esting are Kropp A and B¹⁾. We would hardly expect Greek verbs or particles in these texts, and in fact these are absent in the texts, even Greek nouns being rare, but it is remarkable that all of them are written in Sahidic. This is of some significance in view of the fact that nearly all of the early magical texts influenced by Christianity are written in a mixture of Sahidic and Achmimic or Subachmimic²⁾. We may, therefore, with considerable justification conclude that before Christianity spread to Egypt proper about the middle of the third century, Sahidic was already essentially developed³⁾, and that, as far as the evidence goes, it had become the principal, if not the sole, written and spoken dialect of the more educated pagan Egyptian⁴⁾. Further, the Schmidt papyrus,

this was also the opinion of Mr. C.H. Roberts, to whom I showed a photograph of the manuscript; cf. also above p.235 note 3.

- 1) A. Kropp, Koptische Zaubertexte vol. I numbers A (lines 1-18) and B, both texts are probably of the sixth century. Further early texts are P. Mich. 3565, 4932 (ed. Worrell, Ora. IV pp. 13ff., 184ff.); later texts are BKU 1 col. II and Verso, and to a less extent BKU 4, 5, 11 and BMOr. 1013A ed. Erman in ÄZ XXXIII, 132ff..
- 2) See above pp. 239f. (BM 1223, 1224, LMisc. I, P. Mich. 1523, P. Gol. 47, Kropp K). An exception is an amulet in almost pure Sahidic published by J. Drescher in Coptic Studies in Honour of W.E. Crum (Bul. Byz. Inst. II) pp. 265f. and plate III. The date of this text is probably fourth or fifth century. Remarkable and, as far as I know, unique is the abbreviation of the 'nomen sacrum' ⲥⲧⲁⲣⲟⲥ which is written ⲥⲣⲥ with the ancient 'nh sign ⲡ instead of the usual ⲥⲡⲥ with ⲡ (v. plate). For the use of the ancient 'nh sign in Christian times see M. Cramer, Das alt-ägyptische Lebenszeichen ⲡ im koptischen (christlichen) Ägypten.
- 3) Cf. below p. 265ff..
- 4) Cf. also Sethe's estimate of the importance of Sahidic in ZDMG LXXVII (1923), 162 and in DLZ XXXVII, 1800ff. cited in full on pp. 201ff. above;

being written about A.D.100 is already in the main Sahidic¹⁾, and Sahidic (=Bohairic) forms intruded into other Old Coptic texts at about the same period; thus in the Horoscope we find εγε-(Fut.III) twice for αγα- which occurs regularly, and Crum²⁾ drew attention to the Bohairic features βρωτ, ΝΤΥ- and ΝΤΟΥ³⁾.

Summary: Sahidic the dialect of Alexandria(?)

Arguments have been advanced that Sahidic almost certainly spread from the Delta; that it is unlikely to have been the language of Memphis; that it was the principal dialect before the advent of Christianity; that it probably was the principal dialect of the Delta as well as Upper Egypt until the eighth or ninth century. To these arguments may be added that the frequent use of Greek words and particles and in particular the use of Greek verbs without ρ⁴⁾ are strong evidence that Sahidic must have been in contact with Greek more closely than any of the other dialects. The most obvious conclusion to be drawn from all this evidence is that, at least in origin, Sahidic was the dialect of Alexandria, the most impor-

cf.also Spiegelberg, Der ägyptische Mythos vom Sonnenauge pp.379ff..

- 1) It is Sahidic except for εραει, εραγ, ΝΜ (Crum).
- 2) JEA XXVIII p.23 note 2.
- 3) Cf. also chapter VIII par.138.
- 4) A few early Sahidic manuscripts can be cited where ρ- is used with Greek verbs, but all these texts can be proved on other grounds to have been influenced by Achmimic, Subachmimic or Middle Egyptian. The most important text is the Berlin Gnostic Codex, see above p.234 note 2; other texts known to me are Ryl.270,274,314 and P.Lond.(J&C)1921. It also occurs once in the Berlin Psalter(ed.Rahlf)s XXIV,13 ρ-κληρονουσι (cf.p.45). All of these texts are of the fourth century. In some of the later Achmimic(e.g.the Minor Prophets) and Subachmimic(e.g.the Manichaean texts) manuscripts the ρ- before Greek words is often omitted, but this is clearly due to Sahidic influence.

tant centre in Egypt until the Arab conquest¹⁾. That Sahidic was the official dialect of Alexandria during most of the Coptic period can hardly be in doubt²⁾, but it may reasonably be questioned whether the spoken dialect there had assimilated the Upper Egyptian features in Sahidic as final ϵ for i , e.g. $\rho\omega\alpha\epsilon$ ³⁾, cf. below.

Christianity in Egypt.

The evidence from Greek literary and non-literary papyri for early Christianity in Egypt has been discussed fully by H.I. Bell⁴⁾; he concluded that there were probably a few communities of Greek-speaking Christians in Middle Egypt before the third century, but it is not until the middle of the third century that we have evidence for any considerable number of Christians in Upper Egypt. A. Harnack⁵⁾, C. Schmidt⁶⁾ and for the early Coptic church in particular J. Maspero⁷⁾ and G. Bardy⁸⁾ have investigated the early Christian sources, especially the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius and the writings of Origen, Clement of Alexandria and Epiphanius. We find that there is practically no evidence at all for

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- 1) This conclusion is offered with some reserve and hesitation. A more detailed study and new texts might yet offer a different solution.
 - 2) See above pp. 251f..
 - 3) Cf. above p. 247 and elsewhere.
 - 4) Evidence for Christianity in Egypt during the Roman period in Harvard Theological Review XXXVII, 185ff..
 - 5) Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten, two vols., fourth edition, especially vol. II pp. 705ff.; this is the most detailed study of the problem.
 - 6) Die Urschrift der Pistis Sophia in ZNTW XXIV, 218ff..
 - 7) Histoire des Patriarches d'Alexandrie, chapter II: Le peuple égyptien aux VI^e et VII^e siècles.
 - 8) Les premiers temps du christianisme de langue copte en Égypte in Mémoires Lagrange, Paris 1940, pp. 203ff..

Christianity in Egypt before the time of Demetrius (patriarch A.D.188/9 - 231), and Clement of Alexandria (died A.D.217). We hear that in the persecution under Septimius Severus (A.D.202) Christians ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου καὶ Θηβαΐδος ἀπαχθῆς were brought to Alexandria and were martyred there¹⁾. Of Demetrius we hear that he ordained three bishops²⁾, but his successor Heraclas (patriarch A.D.231 - 247) ordained already twenty³⁾; by the middle of the third century during the time of Dionysius (patriarch A.D.247-264) a considerable Christian community existed in the Arsinoite nome⁴⁾.

The first reference to Αἰγύπτιοι as Christians - as opposed to the Greeks⁵⁾ - is found in Origen (ca.A.D.185 - 255),⁶⁾ but it is not until the time of the Decian persecution (A.D.250) that we hear of them in any number⁷⁾. This was the time of the patriarch Dionysius and he is the first of whom we hear that he was interested in the conversion of the native Egyptians; Bardy⁸⁾ refers to an interesting passage in Eusebius⁹⁾ which mentions that in A.D.250 some peasants, presumably native Egyptians, near Alexandria took the part of the bishop and his adherents against the soldiers of the governor. Delehay¹⁰⁾ significantly noted that three-quarters of the names of the Egyptian martyrs are Greek and probably many of the Christians who bore Egyptian names belonged like Origen to the Greek communities.

1) See Harnack, l.c. p.713 citing Eusebius H.E. VI,1.

2) Eutychius I,332.

3) See Harnack l.c. p.712 and note 2 there.

4) Eusebius H.E. VII,24.

5) Harnack l.c. pp.725f..

6) Harnack l.c. p.725 note 1 and references there.

7) Eusebius H.E. VI,41, cf. Harnack l.c..

8) L.c. p.208f..

9) H.E. VI,49,5f..

10) Les Martyrs d'Égypte, see Bardy l.c. pp.208f..

The first native Egyptian Christian writer of whom it is reported that he wrote in Coptic (συνεγράφετο δὲ Ἑλληνικῶς τε καὶ Αἰγυπτιακῶς) is Hieracas, an Egyptian by birth, who was born about A.D.270 or a little earlier in Leontopolis in the nome of Heliopolis in the Delta and lived to be over 90 years of age¹). Towards the end of the third century we have the beginnings of monasticism in Egypt commencing with St.Antony (ca. A.D.251 - 353/4)²). It is reported that he knew no Greek at all, and Bardy has pointed to a reference in St.Jerome that St.Antony wrote some letters in Coptic which were accompanied by Greek translations³). Here again it is not until the fourth century that any Coptic writers of importance appear, like Pachomius and Shenoute. The end of the third century must also have witnessed the first translations of Gnostic⁴) and

- 1) Cf. C.Schmidt in ZNTW XXIV, 221ff. and references there. E.Peterson, Ein Fragment des Hieracas(?) in Muséon LX, 257ff. makes it probable that the Achmimic hymn-fragment (see above pp.203ff., 238f., also 203 note 3) was written by Hieracas. In that case his writings must have been translated into Achmimic in the far south very early in the Coptic period, since the manuscript clearly dates from the first half of the fourth century. It would be difficult to establish whether Hieracas wrote in Bohairic or Sahidic, though the latter seems more probable. It seems likely that learned men like Hieracas who presumably had a knowledge of Demotic were responsible for the introduction of the additional Demotic letters into Christian Coptic, cf. p.244 n.1.
- 2) I cannot deal here with the question whether Paul of Thebes was earlier than St.Antony, etc.; for a full bibliography on the beginnings of monasticism see B.Altaner, Patrologie, 2nd edition, especially pp. 222ff.; cf. also K.Heussi, Der Ursprung des Mönchtums p.81, also Bardy l.c. and Muséon LII, 11ff..
- 3) See Bardy l.c. p.212.
- 4) For Gnosticism in Egypt and the translation of Gnostic works into

Manichaeen¹⁾ writings into Coptic.

On the evidence it seems that the first serious attempts to convert the native Egyptians to Christianity were not made until the time of Dionysius, about the middle of the third century. There probably were a number of conversions before that date, but these cannot have been many. It is not until the end of the third century that native Egyptian Christians appear in any considerable number and Bardy significantly remarks:²⁾ S'il est assuré qu'au début du IV^e siècle l'élément copte est représenté dans les Églises d'Égypte, il semble bien qu'il reste une faible minorité, et que, dans l'ensemble, le Christianisme en Égypte demeure attaché à l'Hellénisme.

The time of standardisation of the Coptic dialects.

It would seem that the evidence of the earliest Coptic manuscripts is hardly such as to suggest a different conclusion. It is of course possible, and perhaps even probable, that at Alexandria a semi-Sahidic version of parts of the Bible was current a little earlier than the middle of the third century, but it can hardly have spread south much before the second half of the century. It is very notable that texts which can be dated either on external evidence as the Melitian archive, or on the basis of Greek texts in the same manuscripts as the Hamburg manuscript of the Acta Pauli, reveal a rather different picture from that which we obtain from early Coptic manuscripts which have been dated purely on the

Coptic see in particular C.Schmidt, Die Urschrift der Pistis Sophia in ZNTW XXIV, 218ff. and cf. P.Ryl. Greek III number 463; for the new Gnostic manuscripts see above p.234 note 5.

- 1) For Manichaeen texts in general and their translation into Coptic see Allberry, A Manichaeen Psalm-book part II p.XIX and references there, cf. P.Ryl. Greek III number 469 and note there; see also W.Seston in Mélanges Syriens offerts à Monsieur René Dussaud vol.I pp.227ff..
- 2) L.c. p.210.

basis of Coptic supported by Greek palaeography. Our earliest manuscripts in the former group are: the Old Fayyumic glosses in the Chester Beatty Isaiah manuscript(mid.3rd)¹⁾, the Sahidic glosses in the Washington manuscript of the Minor Prophets(late 3rd)²⁾, the Achmimic Psalm-fragment edited by Crum(late 3rd)³⁾, the Greek-Coptic glossary to Hosea and Amos edited by Bell and Thompson(late 3rd)⁴⁾, the Old Coptic portions in the Papyrus Mimaut(late 3rd)⁵⁾, the Hamburg manuscript of the Acta Pauli in Greek with certain books of the Old Testament in an Old Fayyumic translation(3rd-4th)⁶⁾, the Old Coptic portions in the Paris Magical Papyrus(early 4th)⁷⁾, the Achmimic Ascension of Isaiah(early 4th)⁸⁾, the Achmimic manuscript of Hymns(early 4th)⁹⁾, the Melitian archive(ca.330 A. D.)¹⁰⁾, the British Museum manuscript of Deuteronomy, Jonah and Acts which can be dated on the basis of Greek texts found in the binding and the non-literary hand on the last folios(ca.330-350 A.D.)¹¹⁾, the Achmimic manuscript of Exodus and Sirach(mid.4th ?; Wilcken would date the manuscript as late as the fifth century)¹²⁾.

1) See above p.228 and note 2 there.

2) H.A.Sanders and C.Schmidt,The Minor Prophets in the Freer Collection and the Berlin Fragment of Genesis,pp.46ff. the marginal glosses.

3) See above p.237 and note 3.

4) See above pp.220f. and 220 note 3.

5) Ed.Möller in Preisendanz,Papyri Graecae Magicae vol.I number III.

6) See above pp.227ff. and 227 note 5.

7) See above pp.242ff. and elsewhere.

8) See above pp.203ff. and 203 note 1.

9) See above pp.203ff., 238f., 203 notes 3 and 4, 259 note 1.

10) Cf. above pp.195, 206 note 5, 218, 220 note 2, 221f., 235 note 3, 236f., 236 note 3, 241 and note 6, 256 note 4.

11) Cf. above p.194 note 4.

12) Ed. Lacau in BIFAO VIII,45ff.; for the date cf. ib. p.46 note 2.

Judging from these texts alone it could be stated quite confidently that Achmimic and Subachmimic were not standardised until the early fourth century, Middle Egyptian late in the third century¹⁾ and Fayyumic not until the middle of the fourth century. Sahidic is obviously earlier, but it may legitimately be questioned whether before the fourth century it was more standardised than we find it in the first part of the Old Coptic portions in the Paris Magical Papyrus and in the Papyrus Mimaut. This also would explain the uncertainty in spelling and orthography in the Sahidic letter from the Melitian archive²⁾ and the British Museum manuscript of Deuteronomy, Jonah and Acts, though both show already a considerable degree of standardisation. The evidence would in fact bear out fully the estimate of Professor F.Ll.Griffith which he wrote as early as 1901:³⁾

'Can the theory of the early date of the Coptic Versions be reconciled with the overlapping date of the Old Coptic texts? The Old Coptic texts in the Paris Papyrus, dating from the end of the third century or probably later, were evidently written by a 'good scribe' if not a 'learned man', yet the alphabet and orthography are still clumsy. It seems somewhat improbable that the Coptic alphabet and the Versions of the Bible should already have been perfected, though rougher and ill-spelt versions were current at the time'.

On the other hand a number of Coptic manuscripts have been dated before the fourth century, on the basis of Coptic supported by Greek palaeography, as the Achmimic Proverbs⁴⁾, the Subachmimic St. John⁵⁾ and in par-

1) Middle Egyptian was earlier, perhaps because at Oxyrhynchus (see pp. 223f.) a Greek Christian community is known to have existed already in the early third century.

2) See above p.236 note 3, cf. also the other letter, see p.241.

3) In *ÄZ* XXXIX, 78f..

4) Cf. the references in Simon's article in *Mémoires Lagrange* pp.197ff..

5) Stegemann, *Kopt. Paläographie* pp.8b, 12b, cf. Simon, *Muséon* LIX, 501 n.16.

particular the recent Gnostic find¹⁾. If we were to judge from these, it would have to be admitted that a fully standardised Sahidic with a few archaisms had been current in Egypt already during the middle of the third century(!) and Achmimic and Subachmimic a little later. It should be obvious on all considerations that it is extremely dangerous to date fully standardised Coptic texts earlier than the fourth century. In fact, the photo of one of the Gnostic manuscripts which has been dated in the middle of the third century²⁾ shows considerable likeness to the Berlin Achmimic I Clement which Schmidt dated in the second half of the fourth century³⁾. It would be difficult to cite any extensive Sahidic manuscript earlier than the end of the fourth century which does not show at least some archaisms or misspellings. It was not until the end of that century or early in the fifth century that full standardisation was reached as we find it in some manuscripts of the present collection(e.g. number 17). C.Schmidt arrived at much the same conclusions in 1925⁴⁾.

The influence of Christianity on the Coptic language.

As regards the translation of the Bible into Coptic⁵⁾, it must be

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- 1) See above p.234 note 5.
 - 2) See Puech in Coptic Studies in Honour of W.E.Crum(Bull.Byz.Inst.II)p. 104 and note 2 and references there. On the photo Δε is clearly visible, also other Greek words, hence Greek particles were freely used. The dialect as far as visible is pure early Sahidic and would hardly justify a date before the fourth century.
 - 3) C.Schmidt, Der Erste Clemensbrief p.10.
 - 4) ZNTW XXIV, 221ff..
 - 5) I find it difficult to accept the arguments tentatively suggested by Lefort(Muséon LXI, 168f, LXII, 19f.) that the Old Testament was translated into Coptic earlier than the New Testament, and that it was made by Jews. If the translation and syntax of the Coptic Old Testament are more primitive than those of the New Testament, this is merely a

remembered that until the Council of Chalcedon in A.D.451 Greek was the principal language of the Church in Egypt and obviously served for all

sign that the Coptic Version of the Old Testament was not considered sufficiently important to be revised as thoroughly as that of the New Testament. The dangers involved in arguments of this kind are clearly demonstrated if we compare the Sahidic, Subachmimic and Achmimic versions of the Gospel of St. John. All of them essentially have the same version, yet the variants are considerable (cf. above pp. 11ff.). The Subachmimic St. John shows us the Sahidic Version in a form which must have been current in Sahidic during the latter half of the third century. Whether certain archaisms, as the participle $\epsilon\pi$ - (cf. p. 215 and n. 5), were taken over from the Sahidic original, or are due to the original Subachmimic dialect, is difficult to establish, though the former seems more probable since $\epsilon\pi$ - occurs also in the Pistis Sophia. At any rate, this example, like others, e.g. chapter VIII par. 129, demonstrate clearly that the syntax of the Sahidic Version could be, and in fact was, frequently revised in early times, just as phrases and words were altered. The New Testament, being far more important for missionary purposes than the Old Testament, was consequently more liable to be revised and corrected at an early period.

In any case it is difficult to understand what would have led the Jews in Egypt to translate the Bible into a language which few of them can have spoken, and at a period - the third century - when Judaism was little interested in proselytism. At Adiabene and elsewhere where a Jewish translation of the Old Testament was made before a Christian translation of the New Testament into Syriac, the position was quite different and can hardly be compared, cf. P. Kahle, The Cairo Genizah pp. 179ff.. In places like Adiabene there were large Aramaic-speaking Jewish communities, but it would be difficult to cite any evidence for Coptic-speaking Jewish communities in Egypt.

official purposes¹⁾. Until the middle of the fourth century the Coptic scriptures can hardly have been more than a useful means of interpreting the Bible for native Egyptians and in particular for the use of the rapidly growing number of hermits and communities who, coming mostly from the poorer classes, would be ignorant of Greek, like St. Antony and even St. Pachomius who had to learn Greek late in life.

I have attempted to point out above that Sahidic or a form of Sahidic was already the official language of the more educated native Egyptian long before the advent of Christianity; obviously Sahidic would be the first dialect into which the Bible was translated, and in fact this is borne out by textual considerations²⁾. As Sahidic was already essentially developed, the Christian influence on the dialect was comparatively small and gradual. We may point to the strong influx of Greek words and in particular Greek particles, though many of the earliest texts still have native for Greek words and show a reluctance to use Greek particles.³⁾

1) Cf. Bardy l.c. p.210 and elsewhere.

2) Especially Kenyon, Handbook to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament, 2nd. edition, 1912, pp.176ff., Our Bible and the Ancient Manuscripts 4th. edition, 1939, pp.165ff., and in Mémorial Lagrange pp.245ff.; cf. also P.L.Hedley, The Egyptian Texts of the Gospels and Acts in The Church Quarterly Review 118 pp.23ff. and 188ff..

3) In particular the Hamburg Old Fayyumic Papyrus, see above pp.227ff.; cf. also p.254 note 5 and p.255. See also Thompson, The Gospel of St. John p.XX where he lists 9 examples of native words in that manuscript where the Sahidic Version has Greek words, and only two examples for the converse, and he concludes: 'The above list hardly gives support to the suggestion that the use of Greek words is a sign of a primitive text'. See also Thompson, The Coptic Version of the Acts of the Apostles pp.XXIIIff. and the list published by J.Ziegler, Beiträge zur koptischen Dodekapropheten-Übersetzung in Biblica XXV p.126. Many

We may also point to the use of the particle ⲛⲟⲓ which, though of rare occurrence in Demotic, was used to ensure a literal translation from the Greek. It can actually be demonstrated from our earliest texts that this particle was regarded as an innovation¹). The principal influence of Christianity on Sahidic is to be seen in the gradual standardisation of the dialect, and the effect of this even on the non-Christian native Egyptians will be obvious if we compare the dialect of the Papyrus Mimaut and the Paris Magical Papyrus with that of P. Michigan 136 and later Kropp

more examples could be cited, e.g. Sap. XIV (Lagarde) ⲙⲟⲟⲩⲛ (=Thompson ⲛⲟⲓ), Achm. Sir. XXII, 25 ⲟⲩⲣⲁⲧ (=Sah. ⲉⲩⲡⲣⲁⲛⲉ), ib. XXIII, 2 ⲙⲁⲧⲉ (=Sah. ⲙⲁⲕⲧⲓⲛⲉ), etc..

- 1) There are perhaps few Coptic words concerning which there is so much uncertainty and variety of spelling as ⲛⲟⲓ. In Achmimic it occurs as ⲛⲟⲉ, ⲟⲓ, ⲟⲉ, ⲭⲉ, cf. Crum, Dictionary p. 252a; in Subachmimic we find ⲭⲓ in John, ⲛⲭⲓ in Mani, ⲛⲭⲉ in BM 522 and ⲛⲟⲓ in AP; in the Middle Egyptian Didache it occurs in no less than three spellings: ⲛⲭⲓ, ⲛⲭⲉ, ⲭⲉ, see above p. 226; in early Fayyumic it is ⲛⲭⲉ as in Bohairic, but it does not occur at all in the Old Fayyumic Hamburg papyrus and in later Fayyumic texts it also occurs as ⲛⲟⲓ, ⲛⲟⲉ, ⲛⲟⲩ, ⲛⲭⲓ, ⲭⲉ, see Crum, Dict. p. 252a. In addition it is often omitted in Achmimic, see Stern in ÄZ XXIV, 133 and Malinine in Coptic Studies in Honour of W.E. Crum p. 369; and in some early texts it seems to be replaced by ⲛ, see chapter VIII par. 79A(e). For the origin of ⲛⲟⲓ see also Griffith, Stories of the High Priests of Memphis p. 145 note, cf. also ÄZ XXXVIII p. 76 and Rec. XXX pp. 149ff..

In non-literary texts ⲛⲟⲓ is extremely rare and in many of the instances it is in quotations from the Bible or biblical phrases, e. g. ⲙⲟⲛⲉ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ Bal. 187¹² and note 16 there, cf. Crum in Ep. I p. 251. It is obvious that ⲛⲟⲓ never became part of the spoken language of the people.

A and B.¹⁾

On the other hand, the influence of Christianity on the local dialects is very much more marked and decisive. This will be obvious at once if we compare on the one hand the dialect of the Old Coptic Horoscope with Achmimic, the Old Coptic Oxyrhynchus text with Middle Egyptian, and on the other hand the dialect of the Schmidt Papyrus (ca. A.D. 100), the Papyrus Mimaut and the Paris Magical Papyrus with Sahidic²⁾. Despite the fact that many lines are complete and often the reading is not in doubt, the Horoscope and the Oxyrhynchus text are largely incomprehensible to us, whereas the Paris Magical Papyrus, the Papyrus Mimaut and even the Schmidt Papyrus can be understood and translated with some certainty. The influence of Sahidic or an early form of it must have been so strong that already, long before Christianity spread to the south, these local dialects, except Fayyumic and Bohairic, had largely disappeared and probably continued in some form only among the poorer classes. When Christianity spread to the south there was obviously a desire to convert these poorer classes and the first attempts must soon have been made to standardise the local dialects to make a translation of the Bible possible. This would obviously be done under the influence of Sahidic, and in fact it was almost invariably the Sahidic Version which was transposed into the dialects current south of the Fayyum. Thus it is not surprising that the first attempts were in a mixture of Sahidic(-Bohairic) and Achmimic (or Subachmimic, Middle Egyptian). In time the dialects were fully standardised, but there is abundant evidence to show that these fully standardised dialects (Achmimic, Subachmimic, Middle Egyptian) only partly represented the ancient dialects spoken in those regions, and certainly did not represent properly the language of the people which was presumably the main reason for their early disappearance. In the Fayyum the

1) See above pp. 242ff., 254ff., also p. 254 note 5 and 255 note 1.

2) For the manuscripts etc. cf. above pp. 252ff. and elsewhere.

position was somewhat different, because the local dialect was much stronger. But even in Fayyumic the dialect of the Hamburg Old Fayyumic Papyrus and Fayyumic letters of a later period¹⁾ are sufficient evidence that the dialect standardised under the influence of Bohairic, and later Sahidic, did not properly represent the language of the people²⁾. We may assume that much the same happened with Bohairic in the Delta. In both regions a local version of the Bible in Fayyumic and Bohairic existed side by side with the official Sahidic Version, though part of the Fayyumic Version was taken over from the Bohairic and later the Sahidic Version³⁾. In both regions the local dialects were so strong that Sahidic was never more than the official dialect; and although in origin Sahidic was probably very close to Bohairic, it must have departed more and more from the spoken idiom of the people in the Delta, probably even at Alexandria. But the question how and when Bohairic superseded the official Sahidic in the Delta and later the whole of Egypt raises very serious difficulties. At any rate it seems certain that this cannot have taken place before the tenth or eleventh century when Arabic had become well established as the official language of Egypt.

1) Cf. Crum in the Preface of his Varia Coptica: 'Coptic documents, whether contracts or letters, even when flawlessly preserved, seem fated to remain here and there obscure. If that is true of Sa'idic texts, far more it is so of those in Fayyûmic, whereof nos. 114, 115, 116, 128 are fine examples. I have failed to interpret satisfactorily any one of these; indeed I am often uncertain still how the words are to be divided'.

2) Cf. especially Ⲫⲏ (and Ⲫ) in literary texts, but ⲙⲛⲟⲩⲧⲓ in documents.

3) See below Appendix II.

Appendix I: A List of early Coptic Manuscripts

On the suggestion of Mr. C. H. Roberts I have been collecting material for a list of Coptic manuscripts prior to the sixth century. I feel that a publication of this list will be useful, but, while I have attempted to collect at least all published material, it cannot claim to be complete. I have attempted to date all manuscripts of which I have seen either the original or a photo, but the methods of my dating may well be open to criticism; in most of the doubtful cases I have consulted Mr. Roberts. For my dating of these manuscripts I have used five criteria:

- 1) Paleography, based on Greek paleography.
- 2) The shape of the Demotic additional letters, cf. p. 235 note 3.
- 3) The systems of superlineation used in the manuscripts.
- 4) The dialect of the manuscripts.
- 5) External evidence, cf. pp. 260ff..

It may be added that for the fifth century more Sahidic manuscripts can probably be cited, but I have included only those manuscripts about which I felt reasonably certain that they should be assigned to the fifth rather than the fifth-sixth century.

A) Sahidic Manuscripts.

Texts	Century	Papy- rus	Parch- ment	I Co- lumn	II Co- lumn
Ecclesiastes (Lefort, Louvain 9)	III-IV	X		X	
Deut. Jonah, Acts (see p. 235 n. 2)	IV	X		X	
Deuteronomy (BM 934)	IV		X		X
I Samuel (BM 935)	IV		X		X
Kings (Bal. 7)	IV		X		X
Psalms (Wessely, <u>Sah. Gr. Ps. Fr. 6ff.</u>)	IV	X		X	
Psalms (Wessely, ib. 63ff.)	IV	X		X	
Psalms, Berlin (see p. 233 n. 4)	IV		X	X	
Psalms (BM 24, see p. 235 n. 3)	IV	X		X	
Psalms (Lefort, Louvain 7)	IV	X		X	

Texts	Century	Papy- rus	Parch- ment	I Co- lumn	II Co- lumn
Psalms(BM 949)	IV		X	X	
Minor Prophets(Crum's,Bodleian)	IV	X		X	
Is.,Ps.,Jn.,I Cor.(P.Mich.3992) (Worrell,Copt.Texts p.5f.)	IV	X		X	
Matthew(Till 12,Biblica XX,251ff.)	IV		X	X	
Luke,semi-Achm.(see p.240 n.2)	IV	X		X	
John(Gardiner, ined.)	IV		X		X
John(see p.241 n.2)	IV	X		X	
Gr.-Copt.Lect.(Bal.25)	IV		X		X
Romans(BM 964)	IV		X		X
Paul.Eps.(Till 58f.,61,Bibl.XX, 382ff)	IV		X	X	
Catholic Eps.(Bal.22)	IV		X		X
Catholic Eps.(Bal.23)	IV		X	X	
Berl.-Lond.Apoc.,I John,Phil.(see p.13 n.3)	IV		X	X	
Sahidic Elias(see p.240 n.2)	IV	X		X	
Asc.Isaiah(Lefort,Louvain 12)	IV	X		X	
Sophonias(Lefort,Louvain 13)	IV	X		X	
Melito on Passion(WS 17)	IV		X		X
Homily(BM 269 = CMSS iv)	IV		X		X
Gnostic(Bal.52)	IV		X	X	
11 Gnostic MSS(see p.234 n.5)	IV	X		X	
P.Mich.136(see p.254 n.5)	IV		X	X	
Genesis(BM 932)	IV-V		X		X
Psalms(Till,Muséon L,200f.)	IV-V		X	X	
Psalms(Ryl.6)	IV-V		X	X	
Psalms(BM 37)	IV-V		X	X	
Psalms(BM 30)	IV-V		X	X	
Psalms(BM 945)	IV-V		X	X	
Turin Wisdoms(see p.234 n.1)	IV-V		X	X	
Sirach(Till,Ryl.Suppl.6)	IV-V		X	X	
Isaiah(BM 46)	IV-V	X		X	

Texts	Century	Papy- rus	Parch- ment	I Co- lumn	II Co- lums
Daniel(BKU 165)	IV-V		X		X
Daniel(BKU 166)	IV-V		X	X	
Daniel(Till, Ryl. Suppl. 9)	IV-V		X	X	
Zephaniah(BM 952)	IV-V		X	X	
Luke(BKU 171)	IV-V		X	X	
John(BM 105)	IV-V		X		X
Paul. Eps. (BM 132, 135, 137)	IV-V		X		X
Romans(BM 124)	IV-V		X		X
I Cor. (BM 126)	IV-V		X		X
Hebrews(Ryl. 16)	IV-V		X		X
Catholic Eps. (Bal. 21)	IV-V		X		X
James(BM 509, see p. 13 n. 2)	IV-V		X		X
Homily(BM 279)	IV-V	X		X	
Fragment(BM 1220)	IV-V		X	X	
Bruce Codex, 1 Ms. (see p. 234 n. 3)	IV-V	X		X	
Pistis Sophia	IV-V		X		X
Kings(Till, <u>Muséon</u> L, 192f.)	V		X		X
Psalms(Wessely, <u>Sah. Gr. Ps. Fr.</u> 162ff.)	V		X	X	
Psalms, Gr.-Copt. (Wessely ib. 165ff.)	V		X	X	
Psalms, Gr.-Copt. (Wessely ib. 168ff.)	V		X	X	
Psalms(Freer, fragment 1)	V		X	X	
Psalms(BM 941)	V		X	X	
Prov. (Till 2, <u>Biblica</u> XX, 246f.)	V		X	X	
Isaiah(Bal. 10)	V		X	X	
Hosea(Bodleian, ined.)	V		X		X
Matth. (Till 13, 24, 26, <u>Biblica</u> XX, 253f., 262f.)	V		X		X
Matth. (Till 16, <u>Biblica</u> XX, 255)	V		X	X	
Matthew(Bodleian, Ms. Copt. g. 3)	V		X		X
Matth., John(Horner's 1)	V		X	X	
Gospels(Horner's c)	V	X		X	

Texts	Century	Papy- rus	Parch- ment	I Co- lumn	II Co- lums
Gospels (BMO.7561)	V	X		X	
John (BM 115, Horner's d)	V	X		X	
John (Bal.15)	V		X		X
Acts (Vienna, ed. Wessely)	V		X	X	
Paul. Eps. (Bal.17)	V		X		X
Paul. Eps. (Bal.18)	V		X		X
Paul. Eps. (BMO.6695)	V		X		X
Paul. Eps. (Lefort, Louvain 18)	V		X		X
Paul. Eps. (Lefort, Louvain 21)	V		X		X
Paul. Eps. (BM 130, 133)	V		X		X
Paul. Eps. (BM 962)	V		X		X
Paul. Eps. (BM 965)	V		X		X
Paul. Eps. (Morgan XVIII, p.201)	V		X		X
I Cor. (Till 53, <u>Biblica</u> XX, 379)	V		X	X	
Sheph. Hermas (Lefort, Louvain 26)	V		X	X	
Lemm, <u>Apokr. Apostelakten</u> II	V	X		X	
Martyrdom (BM 1002)	V	X			X
Homily, Gr.-Copt. (BM 285)	V		X		X
Berlin Gnostic (see p.234 n.2)	V	X		X	
Bruce Codex, 1 Ms. (see p.234 n.3)	V	X		X	
Job (see Worrell, <u>Copt. Texts</u> p.6)	V	X		?	?
Acts (Till, Ryl. Suppl.13)	V		X	(3 Columns)	
Cf. P. Mich. 1190 (Ora. IV, 5ff.) Magical	V	X		Roll ?	

B) Achmimic Manuscripts.

Hymns, Hieracas ? (see p.203 n.3,4)	IV	X		Roll	
Ascension of Isaiah (see p.203 n.1)	IV	X		Roll	
Maccabees (see p.197 n.5)	IV	X		Roll	
Genesis (see p.203 n.2)	IV		X	X	
Exodus (<u>Muséon</u> LXVI, 1ff.)	IV	X		X	

Texts	Century	Papy- rus	Parch- ment	I Co- lumn	II Co- lumn
Exod.Sir.(BIFAO VIII,45ff.)	IV	X		X	
Psalms(cf. <u>Mémorial Lagrange</u> p.199)	IV(?)	X		X(?)	
Proverbs(see p.197 n.4)	IV	X		X	
Matth.Gr.-Copt.(Symb.Osl.XXIV,121ff.)	IV	X		X	
Luke(<u>Muséon</u> LXII,199ff.,LXVI,16ff.)	IV	X		X	
James(see p.200 n.1)	IV		X	X	
I Clement(Schmidt,Berlin)	IV	X		X	
Acta Pauli(ined.Rylands)	IV		X	X	
Sheph.Hermas(see p.197 n.1)	IV	X		X	
Apoc.Elias(ed.Steindorff)	IV	X		X	
Fragm.(Wessely, <u>Sa.Gr.Ps.Fr.</u> p.64)	IV	X		X(?)	
Till, <u>Osterbrief</u>	IV-V	X		Roll	
Minor Prophets(Till,Malinine)	IV-V		X	X	
Galatians(Worrell, <u>Copt.Texts</u> p.8)	IV-V(?)	X		X(?)	
Schmidt, <u>Gespräche Jesu</u> (TU 43)	IV-V	X		X	
I Clem.,James,John(ed.Rösch)	V	X		X	

C) Subachmimic Manuscripts.

John(see p.206 n.4)	IV	X		X	
Fragment(Vienna, see p.207 n.1)	IV	X		X(?)	
Fragment(Florence,see p.207 n.2)	IV		X		X
2 Gnostic MSS(see p.206 n.3)	IV	X		X	
Gnostic(BM 522,cf.p.206 n.7)	IV	X		X	
Hebrews(see p.208 n.3)	IV(?)	?	?	?	?
Manich.Psalm-book(ed.Allberry)	IV-V	X		X	
Manich.Kephalaia(ed.Polotsky,Böhlig)	IV-V	X		X	
5 Manichaean MSS(see p.194 n.2)	V	X		X	
Acta Pauli(see p.193 n.3)	V	X		X	

D) Middle Egyptian Manuscripts.

Cf.Gloss.to Hosea,Amos(see p.220 n.2)	III	X		Roll	
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Texts	Century	Papy- rus	Parch- ment	I Co- lumn	II Co- lums
Homily(Hoskyns,see p.220 n.4)	IV		X	X	
Genesis(ined.,see p.220 n.4)	IV-V		X		X
Eccl.(P.Mich.3520,see p.225 n.1)	IV-V	X		X	
John(P.Mich.3521,see p.225 n.1)	IV-V	X		X	
Romans(see p.220 n.2)	IV-V		X		X
Ephesians(BM 508,see p.225 n.3)	IV-V		X		X
Fragm.(Wadi Sarga,ined.,see Addenda)	IV-V		X		X
Didache(see p.225 n.2)	V	X		Roll	
Job(WS 1, see p.220 n.2)	V		X	X	
Fragment(see p.227 n.3)	V		X	X	
Fragment(ined.Oxyrh.Oxford)	V	X		X	

E) Fayyumic Manuscripts.

Hamburg Papyrus(see p.227 n.5)	III-IV	X		X	
Astrological(BM 523)	IV	X		Roll(?)	
I Samuel(ined.Bodleian)	IV-V		X		X
Acts(see Appendix II below)	IV-V		X	X	
Homily(BM 521,see p.230 n.2)	IV-V	X		X	
Jeremiah(see p.229 n.1)	V		X		X
Romans(<u>Muséon</u> XLIX,197f.,no.K)	V		X	X(?)	
Romans(BM 506)	V		X		X
Romans(Till,Ryl.Suppl.16)	V		X		X
Romans(ined.Bodleian)	V		X	X	

F) Bohairic Manuscripts.

Cf.Boh.School-book(see p.251 n.1)	IV	X		X	
Philippians,semi-Boh.(see p.231)	IV-V		X	X	

Conclusions and Summaries.

Perhaps the most revealing feature of this list of early Coptic manuscripts is the preponderance of manuscripts in Sahidic over those in

other dialects; and this demonstrates even further the universal importance of the Sahidic dialect already at the beginning of the Coptic period(cf.above pp.256f. and elsewhere). In the list published above even the smallest scraps in the local dialects have been cited, and if the same were done with the numerous small early Sahidic fragments scattered in various museums, the relative proportion would be considerably higher. The following is a summary of the number of manuscripts in the Coptic dialects:

Dialects	Century:	III	III-IV	IV	IV-V	V	Total
Sahidic		-	1	41	25	36	103
Achmimic		-	-	16	4	1	21
Subachmimic		-	-	6	2	6	14
Middle Egyptian		(1)	-	1	6	4	12
Fayyumic		-	1	1	3	5	10
Bohairic		-	-	(1)	1	-	2
Total:		(1)	2	66	41	52	162

Roll or Codex.

Rolls are extremely rare in Coptic and only eight out of 162 manuscripts can perhaps be described as such. Out of these two are magical, and are hardly rolls in the proper sense(P.Mich.1190 ed.Worrell in Ora.IV pp.5ff. and BM 523); two others are written on the back of earlier Greek texts(Glossary to Hosea and Amos, see p.220 n.2, and the Achmimic Ascension of Isaiah, see p.203 n.1). Of the other four one was probably a writing exercise(Till,Osterbrief) and two are merely short extracts and were never meant to be complete(Achm.Maccabees, see p.197 n.5, and the Didache, see p.225 n.2); there only remains the Achmimic manuscript of Hymns(see p.203 notes 3,4) of which only one complete column and parts of another column are preserved.

It may be noted that, with the possible exception of P.Mich.1190, none of these texts is in Sahidic, and no less than four of them are in Achmimic and were presumably written in the far south.

We may conclude that by the beginning of the Coptic period the codex had become universally used by Christians in Egypt, and this is in fact fully borne out by the evidence of the Greek papyri, see C.H.Roberts in JTS L(1949)pp.155ff..

Papyrus or Parchment.

The following is a summary of the evidence in the Coptic dialects:

Dialects	Century:	III	III-IV	IV	IV-V	V	Total
Sahidic	papyrus	-	1	24	3	8	36
	parchment	-	-	17	22	28	67
Achmimic	papyrus	-	-	13	3	1	17
	parchment	-	-	3	1	-	4
Subachm.	papyrus	-	-	5	2	6	13
	parchment	-	-	1	-	-	1
Mid.Egypt.	papyrus	1	-	-	2	2	5
	parchment	-	-	1	4	2	7
Fayyumic	papyrus	-	1	1	1	-	3
	parchment	-	-	-	2	5	7
Bohairic	papyrus	-	-	(1)	-	-	(1)
	parchment	-	-	-	1	-	1
Total	papyrus	1	2	44	11	17	75
	parchment	-	-	22	30	35	87

This summary yields some very interesting results. Except for the fourth century parchment was mostly used for manuscripts in Sahidic, the official dialect; an exception in this is only Thebes where the use of parchment seems to have been practically unknown until long after the Arab conquest. The only early parchment manuscripts known to me from Thebes are the Berlin Psalter(ed.Rahlf's) and the Turin manuscript of the two Wisdoms(ed.Lagarde), cf.pp.233f.. Further north parchment became commonly used by the end of the fourth century and most of the manuscripts of the fourth to sixth centuries found at Bala'izah and Wadi Sarga were written on parchment.

This evidence receives important confirmation by the fact that most of the Achmimic manuscripts were written on papyrus and this is of some significance as Achmimic was probably the literary dialect of Thebes, cf. above pp.198ff.. In fact, of the four parchment manuscripts in Achmimic one was found in the Fayyum(see p.200 and n.1), another was probably found near Achmim(the Minor Prophets, cf.p.200) and a third shows Subachmimic influence(Genesis, cf.pp.203ff.); the provenance of the fourth (Acta Pauli,Rylands ined.) does not seem to be known. The Subachmimic manuscripts are all written on papyrus with only one exception(the fragment found at Antinoe, see p.207 n.2); on the other hand, parchment seems mostly used for Middle Egyptian and Fayyumic manuscripts, except the earliest texts.

I Column or II Columns.

The following is a summary of the evidence in the Coptic dialects:

Dialects	Century	III	III-IV	IV	IV-V	V	Total
Sahidic	I column	-	1	32	15	18	66
	II columns	-	-	9	10	16	35
Achmimic	I column	-	-	13	3	1	17
	II columns	-	-	-	-	-	-
Subachm.	I column	-	-	5	2	6	13
	II columns	-	-	1	-	-	1
Mid.Egypt.	I column	-	-	1	2	3	6
	II columns	-	-	-	4	-	4
Fayyumic	I column	-	1	-	2	2	5
	II columns	-	-	-	1	3	4
Bohairic	I column	-	-	(1)	1	-	2
	II columns	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total:	I column	-	2	52	25	30	109
	II columns	-	-	10	15	19	44

It may be noted that all papyrus manuscripts are written in one column with only one exception(BM 1002, a fifth century manuscript). Also

all early Sahidic manuscripts from Thebes(see pp.233f.), the Gnostic manuscripts from Naǧ Hammadi, all Achmimic manuscripts and all except one of the Subachmimic manuscripts are written in one column. The practice of writing Coptic manuscripts in two columns seems to have spread from the north and did not become commonly used until after the fifth century. Here again the evidence is fully supported by the Greek papyri, see C.H. Roberts in JTS L(1949)pp.155ff., especially pp.162f..

Contents.

The relative proportion of manuscripts containing books of the Old or New Testaments, and of manuscripts containing biblical or non-biblical texts is of some interest, and the following is a summary:

Contents:	Century:	III	III-IV	IV	IV-V	V	Total
Old Testament(excl.Psalms, incl. LXX Apocrypha)		1	2	11	13	7	34
Psalms		-	-	7	5	5	17
New Testament		-	-	17	14	25	56
OT Apocrypha(excluding LXX)		-	-	5	-	-	5
NT Apocrypha, Apostolic Fathers		-	-	3	1	5	9
Homilies, Martyrdoms, etc.		-	-	4	3	2	9
Gnostic		-	-	15	2	2	19
Manichaeae		-	-	-	2	5	7
Fragments, contents uncertain		-	-	3	2	2	7

Here again it is of some interest to compare the result with the evidence of the Greek papyri, see C.H.Roberts in JTS L(1949)pp.155ff..

Appendix II: The Bohairic Version in early
Fayyumic Manuscripts.

I have already drawn attention to the fact that an important witness for the Bohairic Version is to be found in certain early Fayyumic manuscripts¹⁾. The most extensive and important of these is the British Museum manuscript of Acts. This manuscript, Ms.Or.6948(3-4), consists of two leaves written in one column on parchment, each measuring $6\frac{1}{4}$ by $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches. It is written in a very fine small uncial hand of the late fourth or early fifth century, resembling many other early Coptic hands²⁾. The text was first published in 1910 by Sir Stephen Gaselee³⁾ and independently a few years later by L.Th.Lefort and H.Coppitiers⁴⁾. The hair-sides of the two pages are well preserved and present little difficulty, but the flesh-sides are extremely difficult to read and the two editions differ very considerably in their readings⁵⁾. This attracted my attention and during repeated visits to the British Museum I collated and re-collated the manuscript, and I am now publishing below a revised edition of this important text.

When I first read the text of this manuscript in the published

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- 1) Muséon LXIII p.153 note 23, cf.JTS NS II(1951)p.57 note 1, and see above pp.228,250f..
 - 2) See below plate III,8 in the present edition; Lefort compares Hyvernat, Album pl.IIb..
 - 3) In JTS XI,514ff..
 - 4) Muséon XV,49ff.. The editors do not seem to have been aware of the fact that the manuscript had already been published. Part of the text was re-published by Till, Koptische Chrestomathie für den Fayyumischen Dialekt pp.21f., cf.Gaselee in BSOAS VI,257ff..
 - 5) Cf.Lefort in Muséon XV,50 '...cependant il est probable qu'une nouvelle collation avec l'original permettrait de préciser encore certaines lectures considérées comme douteuses'.

editions I was struck by the close similarity to the Bohairic Version, and when I had collated the manuscript, it became clear that this text preserves almost literally the text of the Bohairic Version: in fact, in the 27 verses which are extant there are no more than 12 variants for which there is no support from any Bohairic manuscript. This is all the more surprising in view of the fact that for this part of the Bible the earliest extant Bohairic manuscripts were written 900 and 1000 years later. There are naturally a few variants which are due to differences in dialect¹⁾, but these can hardly be regarded as true variants. I am publishing side by side with the text of one page of the Fayyumic manuscript that of the Bohairic Version which will make the close agreement of the two clear beyond all possible doubt. I have chosen for comparison one of the well preserved pages where the Fayyumic text is certain. For the text of the Bohairic Version I have not chosen the printed text of Horner's edition,²⁾ but, where there are variants among the Bohairic manuscripts, I have always chosen the text which is closest to the Fayyumic manuscript, even if, as in a few cases, this is attested by only one Bohairic manuscript. I feel that no useful purpose would be served in publishing a full apparatus criticus in the present study, since this can easily be supplied from Horner's edition. The principal interest of this manuscript lies in the fact that it represents the Bohairic Version already in the fourth/fifth century and its text will have to be studied in close connection with the text of the Bohairic manuscripts. A few points of interest may be mentioned here: Sir Herbert Thompson fully investigated the Sahidic and Bohairic Versions of the Acts, and on the

1) E.g. ⲁⲩⲱ for ⲟⲩⲟⲩ (passim), ⲙⲛ for ⲛⲉⲩ (passim), ⲟⲩⲁⲩⲱ for ⲕⲛⲟⲩ VII, 17, 20, 23, and especially ⲣⲱⲉ for ⲟⲩⲱⲣⲛ IX, 30, 38, cf. Crum, Dictionary p. 453a, this word ⲣⲱⲉ occurs only in the present text.

2) The Coptic Version of the New Testament in the Northern Dialect vol. IV, Oxford 1905.

Bohairic Version he writes¹⁾ (p.357):

'The manuscripts fall by date into two groups:

- | | |
|--------------------------|---------------------|
| (1) <u>AB</u> <u>FGK</u> | 12th - 14th century |
| (2) <u>NOPST</u> | 17th - 18th century |

None, therefore, is very early.

As regards their text they fall even more distinctly into two main groups:

- (1) ABP and FS
- (2) I NOT

GK lie between these two groups.

ABP are closely associated; but B is a very close follower of the Greek Codex Vaticanus, while A is an eccentric Ms. with many peculiar, often corrupt, readings. A was unfortunately adopted by Horner for his text and translation, which therefore do not correspond to the average Bohairic Version. Practically A, B, and I are the only manuscripts of any importance.'

Also on p.cxliv: 'The digest of the collation ... will show the extraordinary fidelity of this version to the text of the old Greek Uncials, which extends in some cases to the Codex Vaticanus in particular'.

This statement is fully supported by the evidence of the present Fayyumic manuscript. For the 27 verses extant in the manuscript the Bohairic manuscripts show 81 variants. None of the manuscripts seem to agree more closely than any other with the Fayyumic text, and the agreements with the Fayyumic text are between 51 and 60, the disagreements between 21 and 30. On the other hand, the Bohairic manuscript A has for this passage no less than 24 peculiar readings unsupported by any other Bohairic manuscript, and it is remarkable that in 7 of these it agrees

1) See F.J.Foakes Jackson and K.Lake, The Beginnings of Christianity, part I, The Acts of the Apostles, vol.III: The text of Acts by J.H.Ropes, pp.cxl.ii ff. and Appendixes IV and V by Sir Herbert Thompson.

with the Fayyumic manuscript¹⁾. Other interesting agreements with the Fayyumic text are: FS twice (but in 10 peculiar readings they differ from the Fayyumic); AFS once; BP and Hunt 18' once. Two lectionaries are extant for part of the text: Hunt 18' which agrees once in a peculiar reading with the Fayyumic²⁾, and the 'Consecration manuscript'³⁾ which in two out of eight peculiar readings agrees with the Fayyumic.

Of the twelve variants where the Fayyumic manuscript is not supported by any Bohairic manuscript only one is of importance, but this one is peculiarly significant: In Acts VII, 24 the manuscript adds αγκανυ εα ηγα with the Greek manuscript Δ καὶ ἐκευθεν αὐτον εν τη αμνω and the Latin Vulgate manuscript w⁴⁾.

The conclusions which I was able to draw from this Fayyumic manuscript led me to investigate all Fayyumic fragments of the New Testament, and the result is of some significance. I am proposing to publish some detailed studies on the Fayyumic Version of the Bible, but for the present study it is perhaps not without interest to give a brief survey of some of the results⁵⁾:

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- 1) Ms. A, the British Museum Ms. Or. 424, dated A.D. 1307, is a copy of a manuscript written by a priest in A.D. 1250 who later became patriarch (Gabriel III, 1268-1271). The Bohairic manuscript A₂ of A.D. 1794 is a second copy of Gabriel's manuscript, and in a few instances seems to have copied the original more faithfully. It is obvious that Gabriel's text is based on some very ancient manuscripts. For the life of this patriarch see H.G. Evelyn White, The Monasteries of Wadi 'N Natrun p. 391.
 - 2) Written in A.D. 1298 and thus the earliest Bohairic Ms. extant here.
 - 3) G. Horner, The Consecration of Church and Altar, the manuscript is dated A.D. 1307.
 - 4) This was already noted by Gaselee l.c..
 - 5) This survey does not include the manuscripts in Middle Egyptian.

For the Gospels we have 22 manuscripts dating from the sixth to the ninth century; of these 19¹⁾ present a version largely independent of both the Sahidic and Bohairic Versions; two manuscripts, BM 498 and 500, of the sixth and eighth centuries show the Bohairic Version with hardly any variants, and one manuscript, BM 501, probably of the seventh century has the Sahidic Version without any variants²⁾.

- 1) (a) The White Monastery manuscript published by Zoëga, Catalogus pp. 149f., Chassinat in BIFA0 II, 193-200, and David in Revue Biblique NS VII, 80-92, probably of the ninth century.
 - (b) Morgan XXX pp. 1, 2 of the sixth century, from a lectionary.
 - (c) Morgan XXXI pp. 3, 4, 141, 142 of the sixth or seventh century.
 - (d) Morgan XLVI pp. 63, 64 of the sixth or seventh century.
 - (e) Lemm in Études Leemans pp. 95-102, cf. JTS NS II (1951) pp. 49ff..
 - (f) Crum CMSS number 1 of the ninth century.
 - (g) BM 502 of the sixth or seventh century.
 - (h) BM 503 of the sixth or seventh century.
 - (i) BM 499 perhaps of the ninth century.
 - (j) BKU 168 perhaps of the seventh century.
 - (k) Till in MR (neue Folge) number 3 of the sixth or seventh century.
 - (l) ib. number 4, perhaps of the sixth century.
 - (m) Muséon XLIX, 187f. (F) of the eighth or ninth century.
 - (n) ib. (G) perhaps of the eighth century.
 - (o) Muséon LI, 232 (date ?).
 - (p) ib. pp. 227f. (date ?).
 - (q) ib. pp. 236f. probably of the sixth century; the recto is Matth. I, 10-12 not I, 15-17.
 - (r) JTS I, 415ff. and Munier, Manuscripts Coptes pl. VII (9239) of the sixth century; cf. Crum in JEA IV (1917) pp. 67ff..
 - (s) Muséon LIII, 3ff..
- 2) On the recto line 6 read $\eta_2 \mu \alpha \alpha c$ for $\eta_2 \alpha \alpha$ (collated).

For the Acts we have two manuscripts; one is the text re-edited below of the fourth/fifth century, the other is a manuscript at Vienna¹⁾, a late manuscript. Both show the Bohairic Version, but the Vienna manuscript has a number of variants.

For the Pauline epistles we have fourteen manuscripts. Of these one of the fifth century has a text independent of both the Sahidic and Bohairic Versions²⁾; another two³⁾, probably both of the sixth/seventh century, have a version which is largely independent, but with some leanings towards the Bohairic Version; ten manuscripts, among these three of the fourth/fifth century⁴⁾, and the rest not later than the seventh century⁵⁾ have the text of the Bohairic Version; the three earlier ones have hardly any variants, and in this respect they are very like the manuscript of Acts re-edited below. One manuscript of the ninth century⁶⁾

-
- 1) Ed.Till in Muséon XLII,193ff..
 - 2) An unpublished fragment of Romans in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.
 - 3) Muséon XLIX,169ff. numbers L and O.
 - 4) BM 506, Muséon XLIX,169ff. number K and Bull.J.Rylands Library XXXIV (1952)pp.453f..
 - 5) The manuscripts are:
 - (a) Muséon XLIX,169ff. number N.
 - (b) Morgan XXXVIII pp.3,4,103,104.
 - (c) Morgan XLIII pp.2,299,300.
 - (d) BM 505.
 - (e) BM 507.
 - (f) Muséon XLIX,169ff. number M.
 - (g) Worrell in BSAC VI,127ff., a Michigan manuscript; considerable portions of this manuscript, still unpublished, are in the Pierpont Morgan Collection(M.660).
 - 6) The White Monastery manuscript published by Zoëga,Catalogus pp.151ff., Chassinat in BIFAO II,201ff., Wessely,Sitzungsb.Vienna Acad.158(1908)

is based on the text of the Sahidic Version, but a number of variants point to influence from the Fayyumic-Bohairic text.

For the Catholic Epistles we have three manuscripts¹⁾ of the fifth to seventh centuries showing a version independent of the Sahidic and Bohairic Versions, and one manuscript²⁾, probably of the eighth century, has the Bohairic Version with a few variants.

It is particularly significant that, where Fayyumic manuscripts follow the Bohairic Version, the agreements with that Version are much closer in the earlier than in the later manuscripts.

Something may be said about the Fayyumic dialect in which these manuscripts are written. As is only to be expected, the manuscripts which follow the Sahidic Version have Sahidicisms to a greater or lesser extent, and in particular the White Monastery manuscript of the Pauline Epistles is only half-Fayyumic. The manuscripts which have an independent version are written in a much more pure Fayyumic, and this is especially noteworthy in the case of the White Monastery manuscript of the Gospels³⁾. The manuscripts which follow the Bohairic Version are written in a very pure Fayyumic with hardly any Sahidicisms, and this is particularly true of the earlier manuscripts.

pp.1ff. (Corrections by Till in Mitt.Rainer, neue Folge, p.XVI), and Hebbelynck in Muséon XXXV, 3ff..

- 1) BM 509 and Muséon XLIX, 169ff. numbers I and J. The fragment of number I, published on pp.195ff., contains James I, 21-23, 24-26.
- 2) Two wooden tablets in the Cairo Museum, unpublished.
- 3) Hebbelynck in Muséon XXXV, 3ff. • demonstrated convincingly that the manuscript of the Gospels and that of the Pauline Epistles came from the White Monastery; presumably they were written in the Fayyum like so many of the Sahidic manuscripts from the White Monastery, cf. A. van Lantschoot, Recueil des colophons des manuscrits chrétiens d'Égypte vol. I fasc. 2 pp. 16f. (XII note 3) and references there.

Text:

BMO.6948(4) Recto: (hair-side) Acts VII,14 - 22.

(margin)

[...]

- VII,14 μ̄ν τε σὺν γενίᾳ τηλς· αὐω [ἵταϣ] μ̄ν
 15 ὅε μ̄ψυχῇ αὐί ἵξε ἰακωβ εἰ[λ]ηί ἐκκμ[ι]
 16 αὐω ἀμμου ἵταϣ μ̄ν νενίᾳ† αὐω αὐ
 οὐατβοῦ ἐσυχέμ αὐκεοῦ εἰμ πιμ
 2εοῦ ἐταϣωπῇ ἵξε ἀβραμ εἰ αὐτί 5
 μῇ ἵζετ' ἵτατοῦ ἵν σῆλῖ νενωρ.
 17 εἰν συχέμ κατὰ τὴν δε ἐταϣωντ ἵ
 ξε ποῦαίϣ ἵτε πελλήτ πῇ ἐταφ†
 ωλκ ἐτβήτῃ ἵαβραμ: ἀγαίει ἵξε
 18 πλάος ἀγαψεί εἰλῇ εἰν κῆμῖ σῶν τεϣ 10
 τωνῃ ἵξε κερρᾶ ^(sic!) εἰλῇ ἐξεν κῆμῖ ἐν
 19 ἡσαοῦν ἐν ἵω σῆφ ^(sic) πεί αὐοέμ οὐ
 μετ̄ σῆβ ἐσοῦν ἐπενγενος ἀπτεμ
 κε νενίᾳ† ἐτροῦζιοῦ ἵνευκοῦ!
 20 ἡλλαῖ ἐβαλ ἐϣτεμτανεαῦ εἰλῇ 15
 εἰμ ποῦαίϣ ἐτῶμεϣ αὐμῖς ἡμω^[ε]ϣ[ης]
 αὐω νεοϣαστιος πε μ̄φ† πεί αὐ
 σῶνοῦϣ ἵΓ ἵαβᾱτ εἰμ πῇ ἡπεϣίω[τ]
 21 ἐταϣεῖτῃ δε ἐβαλ ἀσϣίτῃ ἵξε τῶν[λῖ]
 μ̄φᾱρᾱω ἀσῶνοῦϣ νες εοῦϣ[ηλῖ] 20
 22 [αὐω] αὐτᾱβε μω̄ς ης εἰν σβ[ω νῖβῖ]

(margin)

1. [ἵταϣ] μ̄ν; definitely not [εἰλῇ] εἰν as in the Bohairic manuscripts.

13. μετ̄ σῆβ; a σ seems to have been written over the c.

21. εἰν σβ[ω]; definitely not εἰν σβ[ω].

N.B. 2. not μ̄ψυχῇ, αὐί; 6. not ἵν σῆλῖ νενωρ; 15. not ἡλλαῖ; 18. not εἰμ;

20. not μ̄φᾱρᾱω.

Text of the Bohairic Version:

As noted on p.280 above I have not chosen here the printed text of Horner's edition, but, where there are variants among the Bohairic manuscripts I have chosen the text which is closest to the Fayyumic.

- VII,14 ΝΕΜ ΤΕΥΣΥΓΓΕΝΙΑ ΤΗΡC ΕΞΡΗΙ ΞΕΝ
 15 ὁε μψυχη αψι δε ν̄χε ιακωβ εξρηι εχημι
 16 ουοz αψμου ν̄θου ΝΕΜ ΝΕΝΙΟ† ουοz αυ-
 ουοθβου εcyχεμ αυχαυ ΞΕΝ ΠΙμ-
 ραυ εταcyωπy ν̄χε αβρααμ Ξαουτι-
 μη ν̄ρατ ντοτοy ν̄ΝΕΝcyηρι Νεμωρ
 17 ΞΕΝ cyχεμ κατα φρη† δε εταcyωντ ν̄-
 χε πchoy ντε †επαγγελια θη εταφ†
 ωрк εθβηтс ν̄αβρααμ αψαϊαι ν̄χε
 18 ΠΙλαοc αψαψαι ν̄ερηι ΞΕΝ χημι cyαντεy
 τωνy ν̄χε κεουρο εχεν χημι εν-
 19 ycωoυν αν ν̄ιωcηφ φαι αyχεμ ου
 cβω εβoυν επενγενoc αyτρεμ
 κο ν̄ΝΕΝΙΟ† εθpoυγιοyι ν̄ΝΟΥΚΟΥXi
 20 ν̄αλwoyι εβολ εyτεμτανξωoy ν̄ερηι
 ΞΕΝ ΠΙchoy ετεμμαy αyμici μμωycηc
 ουοz νεoуaстioс πε μφ† φαι αυ-
 cyανοycyη ν̄Γ ν̄αβοτ ΞΕΝ ΠΗΙ μπεqιωτ
 21 εταyγитy δε εβολ αcoλy ν̄χε τcyepи
 μφараω αcyανοycyη nαc eycyηρι
 22 ουοz αυτcαβε μωycηc ΞΕΝ cβω ΝΙΒΕΝ

BMOr.6948(4) Verso: (flesh-side) Acts VII,22 - 28.

(margin)

[.]

- VII,22 [ΝΤΕ ΝΙ]ΛΕΜΝΚΗΜΙ ΝΑΥΧΑΡ ΔΕ ΖΗΝΕΥ
 23 ΨΕΧΙ [Ν] ΝΕΥΖΒΗΟΥΙ ΕΤΑΥΧΩΚ ΔΕ
 ΕΒΑΛ ΝΕΥ ΝΧΕ Μ ΝΛΑΜΠΙ ΝΟΥΔΙΨ ΑΣΙ
 ΕΖΛΗ¹⁷ ΕΠΕΥΖΗΤ ΕΘΕΜ ΠΨΙΝΙ ΝΝΕΥ
 24 ΣΗΝΟΥ ΝΨΗΛΙ ΜΠΙΣΡ¹⁸ ΕΤΑΥΝΕΥ ΔΕ 5
 ΕΘΥΕΙ ΕΥΧΙ ΜΜΑΥ ΝΘΑΝΣ ΑΥΨΕΝΖΗΤ
 ΑΨΙΛΙ ΝΟΥΧΙ ΜΨΙΨ ΜΠΗ ΕΝΑΥΤΕΜΚΑ
 ΜΜΑΥ ΑΥΖΩΤΕΒ ΜΠΙΛΕΜΝΚΗΜΙ ΑΥΚΑ
 25 ΠΥ ΖΜΠΨΩ ΝΑΥΜΗΟΥΙ ΔΕ ΠΕ ΧΕ ΥΝΕ
 † ΝΟΥΣΑΟΥΝ ΝΝΕΥΣΗΝΟΥ ΧΕ Φ† ΝΕ 10
 † ΝΟΥΟΥΧΕΙ ΝΕΥ ΕΒΑΛ ΖΙΤΑΤΥ ΝΤΑΥ ΔΕ
 26 ΜΠΟΥΙΜΙ ΠΕΥΛΕΣ† ΔΕ ΑΥΟΥΑΝΖΥ
 ΕΖΕΝΚΕΚΑΥΙ ΕΥΜΛΕΕ ΑΥΩ ΝΑΥΖΩΤΠ
 ΜΜΑΥ ΠΕ ΕΥΖΙΡΗΝΗ ΕΥΧΩ ΜΜΑΣ ΧΕ
 [Ν]ΤΕΤΕΝ ΖΕΝΛΩΜΙ ΝΣΗΝΟΥ ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ 15
 ΤΕΤΕΝΧΙ ΜΠΕΤΕΝΑΛΗΟΥ ΝΘΑΝΣ—
 27 ΠΕΤΧΙ ΟΥΝ ΜΠΕΥΑΛΗΟΥ ΝΘΑΝΣ ΑΥ
 ΤΑΘΝΕΥ ΕΒΑΛ ΕΥΧΩ ΜΜΑΣ ΧΕ ΝΙΜ
 ΠΕΤΑΥΚΕΚ ΝΑΡΧΩΝ ΙΕ ΛΕΥ†ΖΕΠ ΕΖ
 28 [Λ]ΗΙ ΕΧΩΝ ΑΚΟΥΨΨ ΕΖΑΤΒΕΤ Ν[ΤΑ]Κ 20
 [ΝΤΖΗ] ΕΤΑΚΖΩΤΕΒ ΜΠΙΛΕΜΝΚΗ[ΜΙ Ν]

(margin)

1.[ΝΤΕ ΝΙ]ΛΕΜΝΚΗΜΙ (as also in Bohairic) seems required by the space.

16.ΝΘΑΝΣ—; — is a space-filler, it recurs later.

N.B. 1.not ΛΕΜΝΚΗΜΙ (so again line 8); 3.not ΝΟΥΔΙΨ ΑΣΙ ; 6.ΑΥΨΕΝΖΗΤ(sic);

17.not ΝΘΑΝΣ; 18.ΜΜΑΣ ΧΕ (sic); 21.apparently ΛΕΜΝΚΗΜΙ(not ΛΕΜΝΚΗΜΙ) as in lines 1 and 8.

BMOr.6948(3) Recto: (flesh-side) Acts IX,28 - 34.

(margin)

[...]

IX,28-29 εμ πλεν' ὑποσ· ναυαγεῖσι δε
 αὐω ναυαγῖνι μῆννιοϋεῖεν[ιν]
 ἡταυδε ναυοῦωϋ εἶνι ἡνε[γριχ]
 30 εἰληνι εἰωϋ εἰσφτβεϋ εταγῖμι δε
 ἡξε νισνηοϋ αϋεντϋ εἰληνι εκε
 5 σαρια αὐω αὐτϋεϋ εἰλην⁷ εταρσοο

31 Τεκκλησια μεν ουν ἡτε τοῦδε[α]
 τηλς μῆν τγαλιλεα μῆν τσαμαρια
 νεοϋαντεϋ ἡοϋεῖρηννη εϋκητ—
 εϋμαϋι εἰν τγατ ὑποσ αὐω ναυ
 10 ἡοϋ ἡαϋεῖ εἰν τμεττατζητ ἡ—
 (sic)

32 τε πεπῆα ετοϋεβ : αςϋ[ωπι]
 Δε ελε πετρος νεινι ε[βα]λ εἰ⁷
 χωοϋ τηλοϋ αϋι ϋα νιγαγιος

33 ετϋαπ εἰν λυααα αϋχεμ οϋλωμ[ι]
 15 ἡμεϋ επεϋλεν πε ενεα εαϋελ^(sic)
 ἡν ἡλαμπι εϋχτηοϋτ εχεν οϋ
 μα ἡνκατ πεῖ δε ναϋχοϋ πε

34 πετρος δε πεσεϋ νεϋ ξε ενεα
 ϋτελοα ἡμακ ἡξε ιης πχρς τω[ντ]
 20 πωλϋ γαλακ αὐω ἡτευνοϋ αϋτ[ωνϋ]

(margin)

6. αὐτϋεϋ; see above p.280 note 1.

17. ἡν; the line is over both letters (sic!).

εϋχτηοϋτ; definitely not εϋϋτηοϋτ.

N.B. 1. apparently not εἰμ; 11. ἡ— not certain, but probable.

BMOr.6948(3) Verso: (hair-side) Acts IX,35 - 39.
(margin)

[. . .]

IX,35 [αυ]νευ ελαγ τηλου νχε νετ^ωαπ ζν[λ^υΔ]Δ μ^ν σαρων αυω αυκατου επ^ως36 [Ν^ελ^ηΔ]δε ζ^ν ιοπηη νεο^ωαν ουμα^θητης ης^εμι μ^ευ επε^ελε^ν πεταβι^θα τηε^εω^ωυ^υε^εε^ες η^ςεμου† ε^λας χ^ε τ^ωε^εας τ^ει να^ςμε^εζη^εω^ε να^αα^αθ^ον μ^ν νι^με^τνα^ητ37 ε^να^ςι^λι μ^μα^υ α^ςω^ωπ^ι Δ^ε ζ^ννε^εα^ωυ ε^τμ^ευ α^ςω^ων^ι α^ςμ^ωυα^υχα^κμε^ς Δ^ε α^υκε^ς ζ^μ πι^με38 ε^τσα^πω^ι να^λε λ^υΔ^Δ Δ^ενα^ςε^ζη^ητ ε^ιο^πη^η νι^μα^θη^ητ^ςο^υν ε^τα^υς^ωτε^μ χ^ε υ^μμ^ευ νχ^ε πε^τρο^ς α^υτ^ωε λ^ωμ^ι β^ωαλα^υ ευ^τω^ε μ^μα^υ χ^ε μ^πε^λτ^α39 ε^ι ω^αλα^ν α^υτ^ων^υ Δ^ε η^χε πετρο^ς α^υι νε^με^υ. ε^τα^υι Δ^ε α^υχιτ^υ ε^ελ^ηι επ^ιμ^ε ε^τσα^πω^ια^υω α^υο^ζι ε^λε^το^υ να^ελ^ευ η^χε ν^ι[χ]η^ρα τη^λο^υ ευ^λιμ^ι ευ^τα μ^μα^υ[ε]ν^ιω^τη^η μ^ν νι^εβ^ως τη^λο^υ

(margin)

1. αυ]νευ; not room for αυω αυ]νευ.

3. Ν^ελ^ηΔ]δε seems certain.20. ευ^τα μ^μα^υ (sic !) for ευ^ταμ^α μ^μα^υ.N.B. 1. not ζ^ν ; 5. apparently η^ςε- for η^ςε-; 6. τ^ωε^εας (sic !); 7 not να^αα^αθ^ον.

P A R T I I

=====

T E X T S

(A) Literary Texts.

- 1 - 10 Old Testament.
- 11 - 25 New Testament.
- 26 - 63 Literary Texts.

GENESIS

(c 20) 7 by 6 in. complete. Lines ruled. Written in square uncials of the VIth century, see Plate II,1. The scribe sometimes at the end of lines writes the ω as \downarrow ; a small sign (\rightarrow) used as space-filler is also sometimes found. Parchment.

4 Fragments, containing (a) Gen.XXI,28 - XXII,6; (b) XXIX,11 - 16; (c) and (d) unidentified. Chapter XXI,28 - 30 (το σωπε) and 32 (πεφυνημ.) - 34 (end) is also preserved in some fragments at Louvain, edited by L.Th.Lefort in Le Muséeon vol.I (1937). Chapter XXII,1 - 6 is also preserved in a manuscript of the Borgian Collection, edited by A.Ciasca: Sacrorum Bibliorum Fragmenta Copto-Sahidica Musei Borgiani vol.I (Rome 1885). Most of the text of chapter XXIX,11 - 16 is also found in a fragment in the British Museum, edited by J.Schleifer: Sahidische Bibel-fragmente aus dem British Museum zu London vol.II in Sitzungsberichte d.k.Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Wien (Wien 1911). The Bala'izah fragment agrees closely with the fragments at Louvain and in the British Museum, but differs considerably from the fragment in the Borgian Collection.

Text:

(a) Genesis XXI,28 - XXII,6 Recto.

(margin)

XXI,28	αα[β]ρ[αα]μ ταεο	XXI,32	εΙΧΝ τα[ωτε μ]
	ερα[το]υ ΝΑΑΩΥΕ		ΠΑΝΑΩ [αβει]
	ΝΕΙ[ΕΕΒ]Ε ΝΕΟΟ		ΜΕΛΕΧ ΔΕ [?]
	ΟΥ [ΝΑ] ΟΥΣΑ		ΑΥΩ ΟΧΟ[αα]
29	ΠΕΧΕ ΑΒΕΙΜ[Ε]		ΠΕΦΝΥΜΦ[α]ΓΩ
	ΛΕΧ ΝΑΒΡΑΑΜ		ΓΟC ΜΝ ΦΙΧΟΛ
	ΧΕ ΟΥ ΠΕ ΤΕΙCΑ		ΠΑΡΧΙCΤΡΑΤΗ
	ΩΥΕ ΝΕΙΕΕΒΕ Ν		ΓΟC ΝΤΕΥΒΟΜ
	ΕCΟΟΥ ΕΝΤΑΚ		ΑΥΚΤΟΟΥ ΕΞΡΑ[Ι]
	ΤΑΓΟΟΥ ΕΡΑΤΟΥ		ΕΠΚΑΕ ΝΝΕΦ[Ι]

XXI,30

ΝΣΑ ΟΥΣΑ· ΠΕ >

XXI,32

ΛΙΣΤΙΕΙΜ·

ΣΑΥ ΧΕ ΕΚΕΔΙ Ν

33

Α ΑΒΡΑΞΑΜ ΤΩΣ[Ε]

ΤΕΪΣΑΥΓΕ ΝΖΙΕ

ΝΟΥΣΕΤΕ!ΩΣ[Ε Ε]

ΕΒΕ ΝΕΣΟΟΥ Ν

ΣΡΑΙ ΕΧΝ ΤΩΩ

[ΤΩ]ΟΤ ΧΕΚΑΣ ΕΥΕ

ΤΕ [ΜΠ]ΑΝΑ[Υ ΑΥ]

[ΥΩΠΕ Ν]ΑΪ ΜΜ

ΕΠΙΚΑ[ΛΕΙ ΜΠΜΑ]

[ΝΤΡΕ ΧΕ] ΑΝΟΚ ΑΪ

ΕΤΜΜΑΥ [ΜΠΡΑΝ]

[]ΤΕΙΣΩ

ΜΠΧΟΕΙ[Ε ΠΝΟΥ]

31

[ΤΕ ΕΤΒΕ] ΠΑΪ ΑΥ

ΤΕ ΝΩΑΕΝ[ΕΣ Α]

[]ΑΝ

34

ΑΒΡΑΞΑΜ [ΔΕ ΟΥ]

[]Υ

ΩΣ ΣΜΠΚ[ΑΣ Ν]

[]

ΝΕ[Φ]ΙΛΙΣΤΙΕΙ[Μ]

ΝΣΑΣ ΝΟΥΟΕΙΩ

XXII,1

ΑΣΩΩΠΕΔΕ ΜΝ

ΝΣΑ ΝΕΪΩΑΧΕ·

ΑΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΕΙΡΑ

[Ζ]ΕΝΑΒΡΑΞΑΜ

(margin)

Variants: verse 29.σιεεβε, Louvain:σιαιβε; verse 32. Louvain omits
εεραι; φιλιςτιειμ, Louvain:φυλη[στ].

(a) Verso:

(margin)

XXII,1

[ΠΕΧ]ΑΥ· ΧΕ ΑΒΡΑ

XXII,3

ΤΕ ΧΟΟ[Ε·]ΑΥΩ

[ΣΑΜ] ΑΒΡΑΞΑΜ·

ΠΜΕΣ[ΩΟΜ]ΝΤ

[ΝΤΟΥ] ΔΕ ΠΕΧΑΥ

4

ΝΣΟΟΥ [ΑΑ]ΒΡΑ

[ΧΕ ΕΙ]ΣΕΝΗΤΕ

ΣΑΜ ΥΙ [ΝΝΕΥ]ΒΑΛ

2

ΑΝ[Ο]Κ· ΠΕΧΑΥ

ΕΣΡΑΙ ΑΥΝΑΥ Ε

ΧΕ ΧΙ ΜΠΕΚΩΝ

5

ΠΜΑ ΜΠΝΟΥΕ· ΠΕ

ΡΕ ΠΕΚΜΕΡΙΤ

ΧΕ ΑΒΡΑΞΑΜ Ν

ΠΕΝΤΑΚΟΥΑ

ΝΕΥΣΜΣΑΛ ΧΕ

ΩΥ ΙΣΑΑΚ ΝΓ

ΣΜΟΟΣ ΜΠΕΪΜΑ

XXII,2	[B]ωκ ερραι ενκαε	XXII,5	μ̄N τεω· ανοκ
	[Nα]i ετχοσε n̄r		δε μ̄N πωηρε
	[T]αλοу ερραι μ		ωημ [ε]Nναπωε
	μαу nouταλο		ωαπειμα NTN
	[εX]N ου[α NN]το		ουωωτ NTN
	[ou ε]TN[αταμ]ου		κτον ω[α]ρωτ[N]
3	[εpок α]αβραεαμ	6	ααβραεαμ [χι]
	[δε τα]οуN εστο		NNωε [NTθYCIα]
	[oue α]ηεωκ N		αηταλ[ο μμοου]
	[τεφει]ω· αηχι		εXN i[caak πεη]
	[δε N]μμαη n̄m		ωηρε
	[εαλ c]Nαу αуω		ο[
	[i]caak πε[η]ωη		[
	[p]ε αηπωε NN		[
	ωε επταλο αη		[
	τωоуN αηβωκ·		[
	αηει ερραι εXμ		X[
	πμα Nτα πnou		ε[

(margin)

Variants: verse 1. πεXαу, Ciasca: πεXαу Nαу; [NTOY] δε πεXαу, Ciasca: πεXαу;

verse 2. πεXαу Xε Xi , Ciasca: πXoeic πεXαу Nαу XετωоуN ηrXi ;

ηrβωκ ερραι ενκαε, Ciasca: ηrγитγ ερραι επκαε; ταлоу, Ciasca: талоу
 Nαi; μμαу nouταло, Ciasca: nouθYCIα εμμα εтμμαу; таμ^(sic)оу [εpок ,
 Ciasca: тcaβок epou;

verse 3. αηχι [δε N]μμαη n̄m[εαλ c]Nαу, Ciasca: αηχι NNεμεαλ cNαу Nμμαу;

αуω, Ciasca: μN; αηπωε, Ciasca: αηχι; ωε επταло, Ciasca: ωε μπταло;
 αηβωκ αηει ερραι εXμ πμα, Ciasca: αημooωε epμα; Xoo[· α]ηω, Ciasca:
 Xooс Nαу εTBHHTY; πμεε[ωωμ]NT n̄rooy, Ciasca: μNNca ωωμNT n̄rooy
 αηπωε epμα εтμμαу;

verse 5. πεXε αβραεαμ, Ciasca: πεXαу; εμοос, Ciasca: εεμοос NHTN;

ανοκ δε μN πωηρε ωημ [ε]Nναπωε ωαπειμα NTnouωωт, Ciasca: таβωк

ΑΝΟΚ ΜΝ ΠΩΗΡΕ ΩΝΗ ΤΑΟΥΩΩΤ;

verse 6. αβραζαμ [χ], Ciasca: αβραζαμ δε αχχι.

(b) Genesis XXIX, 11 - 16.

<u>Recto:</u>	(broken)	<u>Verso:</u>	(broken)
XXIX, 11	[αχ]	XXIX, 14	[εαε]ΤΗΥ
12	ριμ[ε αγω αχτα]		[νου]εβοτ Ν2ο
	με ε[ρ]αχΗ[λ δε]	15	[ου] πεζε λαβαν
	πCON μπε[σει]		[δε] Ν1ακωβ· δε
	ωτ πε· αγω [δε]		[εβο]λ δε Ντκ π[α]
	πωΗρε Νε[ρεβεκ]		[CON Ν]νεκρ̄ εμ
	κα πε· α[σπωτ]		[εαλ Να]ī ΝΣΙΝ
	δε Νβι τ[ωεερε]		[ΣΗ μ]αταμοī
	ωνμ αςχ[ι μπου]		[δε] ου πε πεκ
	ω μπεσε[ωτ]	16	[βεκε] λαβαν δε
	κατα Νεῑ[ωαδε]		[νευ]Ντ̄χ ωεε
13	ασωωπε[δε Ντε]		[ρε CN]τε· πρ[αν]
	[ρ]ε λαβαν [σωτμ]		[ΝτΝ]οδ πε λεδ
	επραν Ν[ιακωβ]		[αγω π]ραν Ντ
	[η]ωΗρε [Ντεγσω]		[κοι πε] ερα[χΗλ]
	[νε] αχ[ηωτ]		(broken)
	(broken)		

verse 16. λεα, Schleifer: λεiα.

(c) Unidentified, apparently from the same manuscript.

<u>Recto</u> ?:	(margin)	<u>Verso</u> ?:	(broken)
1	εβΗρ[	1	[]μβ[
	αγω[		[ ]λγ[
	εμπνο[		[ ]οσ[
	[]ΥΝ[		[ ]οεογοο[
5	πμεεγε[	5	[]αρ ου[
	οογεετ[		ε2i..[

7	[.]C NΘE E[μμOC ENN[.ΛHCIA TH.[	7	[]ΔΥΩ ΤΕΥΩ[[]ΕΒΟΛ ΝΝ[]ΝΕ ΝΝΖΗΤ[
10	[]ΜΙΑ ΝΙΜ Α[[]ΝΗ[.] Δ[{ω}ΡΩΤΝ ΑΖ[[]ΧΙCΕ ΝΖΗ[[]ΟΥ ΔΕ ΥΑΡ[	10	[]Π ⁽⁶⁴⁾ ΑΙΟ ΜΠΕ[]ΟΥΑΝΑΟΥ[Ε]ΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΜ[]ΝΑΙ[]ΧΙ[
15	[? ΤΕΝC]Υ ΘΕ Ν[]Χ[(broken)	14	(broken)

recto, line 8. not ENN[ΕΚ]ΚΛΗCΙΑ.

(d) Unidentified, apparently from the same manuscript.

<u>Recto</u> ?:	(broken)	<u>Verso</u> ?:	(broken)
1	..[ΤΕΝΧ[.ΕΤΝΑ[ΕΝΕΤ[	1	[]ΖΜΠ. []†† ΝΒΩ []ΝΑΚ []...
5	ΚΕ. Δ[ΝΖ[ΧΙ[ΤΕ[	5	[]ΖΩC []Ν []Ο. 8 []Τ.
9	Π[(broken)		(broken)

2

EXODUS GREEK

(Ms. Greek Bibl. g 2) $3\frac{1}{2}$ by $2\frac{1}{4}$ in. complete. Parchment. Written in square uncials of the IVth or (more probably) Vth century, see Plate I, 5.

Fragment of one leaf containing Exodus IV, 4-6 in Greek. The text

of the fragment agrees with Codex B except for two variants:

IV,5. κ̄ϛ̄ ὁ θ̄ϛ̄ Bal. with AFM etc. against ὁ θεός B only and κ̄ϛ̄ Ms w only.

IV,6. τὴν χεῖρα (3°) Bal. with MSS b and w; A and B al. read τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ;
FM al.pl. read τὴν χεῖρα αὐτῆν.

Text:

<u>Recto:</u>	(margin)	<u>Verso:</u>	(margin)
	. Δ .		
IV,4	καὶ ἐπὶ λ[αβοῦ τῆς κερ[κοῦ ἐκτείνας] οὐκ τῇ χεῖρα] ἐπελάβ[ετο ?] τῆς κερ[κοῦ καὶ] ἐγεν[ετο] ρα[βδος] ἐν τῇ χεῖρι αὐ 5 τοῦ ἵνα πιστεύ ωσιν σοὶ ὅτι ὦ · πταί σοὶ κ̄ς ὁ θ̄ς των πρῶν [αὐ] [των] θ̄ς ἀβραά[μ] (margin)	IV,5	[καὶ θ̄ς ἱσὰκ καὶ 6 [θ̄ς ἰακώ] β̄ εἶπεν [ἀε αὐτ]ῷ κ̄ς πα [λὴν εἰς] νερκον [τῇ] χεῖρα σοῦ [εἰς τ]ὸν κ[όλ]πον σοῦ καὶ εἰς ἡνέ κεν τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν κ[όλ] πον αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς ἡνέγκεν τὴν χεῖρα ἐκ τοῦ (margin)

The Δ above the text of the recto is a quire-number; the page-number is lost on both the recto and verso.

3

DEUTERONOMY

(d 53) 7 by 5¼ in. complete. Parchment. Columns ruled, lines not ruled. Written in square uncials of the Vth or VIth century, see Plate I,7. The ω is once written α.

One complete leaf containing Deuteronomy VIII,1-8. The text is also found in the Pierpont Morgan manuscript number I (M.566) fol.116. Except for some orthographic variants the Bala'izah manuscript agrees

remarkably closely with that manuscript.

Text:

(margin)

Recto:

VIII,1

ρεε εροου ε
 ααυ δεκας ε
 τετνεωνε
 ντετναωαι
 εματε· αω
 ντετνβω[κ]
 ερουν ντε
 τνκληρον[ο]
 μι μπκαε· παϊ
 ενταπχοειс
 ωрк nnetn
 ειοτε ετβн
 2 нтγ αω εκε
 ρπμεεε n
 τεεин τηrc
 ενταпχοiс^(m)
 πεκνουτε
 тpeκmooye
 нгнтс·εтmeε
 εμε npoμne
 τε таї εn τε
 рμoc· xe
 καс εεmo
 кεk αω nγ

VIII,2

χι χνιτ μ[μoк]
 нте net[εμ]
 πεκεнт [οу]
 ωnε εβολ [χε]
 [εκ]naεape[ε]
 ενεφενт[ο]
 λн χин μ[μ]o[n]
 3 αω αφem[κοκ]
 αчкаак ек[εo]
 кр· αω on αч
 тμμoк μпμa
 na παї ετε n
 cecooyн μ
 moy an nб!
 nekeioтe·
 δεκας εφета
 мoк xe nne
 pe пpωme na
 ωnε an eoik
 умaтe· αλλα
 εyαxe нim
 εтннy εβολ[ε ε]
 [μ]пpωч мп[ноу]
 4 τε [ε]peпp[ωme]

(margin)

verse 1. αω ντετнβωк, Morgan: ντεтнβωк; κληροноми, Morgan: κληρονομει;
 εντα, Morgan: нта.

verse 2. εντα, Morgan: нта; αω нγχι, Morgan: нγχι; πεκεнт, Morgan: пкент.

ΧΙΝ ΜΜΟΝ, Morgan: ΧΙΝΕ ΜΜΟΝ.

verse 3. αὐτῶμοκ, Morgan: αὐτῶμοκ; παῖ ετεῖνσεσοοὺν, Morgan: παῖ νσε-
σοοὺν; Χε ἦνερε, Morgan: Χε νερε; οἶκ ἡμάτε, Morgan: οεῖκ μαγὰαγ.

Verso:

(margin)

λ

VIII,4

[Να]ωνε ερ[ο]ου

[Νε]κροεῖτε

[μπ]ουεῖτε εἰ

[ω]ωκ· νεκ^(sic)οῦ

οὐερητ[ε] μ[π]ου

[λ]ωωτε εροκ

εἰς [εμ]ε ἦρομ

5

πε· αὖω εκε

εἰμε εἰμ πεκ

εἰτ Χε ἦθε ἦ

οὐρωμε εγ

νατсвω μ

πεγωηρε·

ταῖ τε θε ετε

ρε πῶοεἰς πεκ

νοῦτε νατ

свω νακ·

6

αὖω εκεεαρεε

ενεετολν

μπῶοεἰς πεκ

νοῦτε ετρεκ

μοοωε εἰ

[Ν]εγεῖοο[γ]ε

[αγ]ω ν[κρ]εο

VIII,7

τε εἰτ[ε] πῶο

εἰς γαρ πεκ

νοῦτε ναχ!

τῆ εσοῦν εγ

καε ενανοῦγ

αὖω εναωωγ

πμδ ετερε εἰ

χειμαρρος μ

μοοῦ νεἰτ[ε]

αὖω εεεπн

гн μμοοῦ ε

ναγωοῦ εγ

ннγ εβολ εἰ

тн нсωγε

μῆν ἦτοῦεἰн·

8

οὐκαε нсοο

εἰεἰωτ· εἰεε

μα ἦελοολε

μῆν εεεβω ἦ

κῆτε αὖ[ω] εἰ

βω нεεрман·

οὐκαε ἦῶο

εἰт ннеε· εἰ

[ε]β!ω· οὐκαε

(margin)

verse 4. ^(sic)οὐοὐερητε, Morgan: οὐερητε.

verse 7. ΝΑΧΙΤΚ, Morgan: ὑΝΑΧΙΤΚ; ΧΕΙΜΑΡΡΟΣ, Morgan: ΧΙΜΑΡΡΟΣ; ΠΗΓΗ,
Morgan: ΠΥΓΗ.

verse 8. ΕΙΩΤ, Morgan: ΙΩΤ; ΕΙΣΕΝΑΑ, Morgan: ΑΥΩ ΣΕΝΑΑ; ΝΧΟΕΙΤ ΝΝΕΣ,
Morgan: ΝΧΟΕΙΤ ΣΙΝΕΣ.

4

I SAMUEL

(c $\frac{16}{1-4}$ etc.) 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ by 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. complete. Papyrus. Columns and lines not ruled. Written in rounded uncials of the seventh century. The manuscript is in a very fragmentary state and there are a large number of small detached fragments. About 40 of these I have been able to join to existing pieces, and in particular the first fragment (4a) I pieced together from 17 fragments which are mounted separately under 6 different sheets of glass.

There are fragments of seven leaves containing I Samuel (Kings) II, 24 - 30; III, 6 - 9; VI, 14 - 21; XIV, 3, 5, 7, 10, 11; XV, 13, 15, 17, 19, 20; XXI, 13 - XXII, 6; XXIV, 12, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20. The complete text of I Samuel is preserved in the Pierpont Morgan manuscript II (M. 567) from which all the lacunae here have been supplied with obvious exceptions. Professor J. Drescher is editing the Morgan manuscript and in the textual apparatus will give the variant readings from other manuscripts including the Bala'izah manuscript which I have put at his disposal. He will also publish a photo of one page of the Bala'izah manuscript. He kindly sent me a copy of I Samuel II, 16 - 30 from the Morgan manuscript based on some infra-red photographs, as that page is almost illegible and this was of great help to me in piecing the first fragment of the Bala'izah manuscript together. The Bala'izah manuscript agrees closely with the Morgan manuscript; there would however be no point in publishing the variants from the Morgan manuscript here as these will be published by Drescher.

Text:

(a) (c $\frac{16}{2}$ b, c, d; c 18a, b, c; d 175a; d 183a, b, c, d, e; d 190a, b, c, d; d 192a)

Recto: I Samuel II, 24 - 27. (broken)

→	[]	II, 26	[. τ α κ] ο ο υ
	[]		[α υ ω] π υ η
	[]		[ρ ε ψ η μ]
	[]		[]
	[]		[]
	[]		[]
II, 24	[.] Ν []		[]
	πλα[ρς] ε ρ		[]
	ε μ ε α [λ μ]		[]
	π χ ο [ε ις]	27	[ο υ ρ ω] μ ε δ ε
25	ε ρ υ [α] ν ο υ		[ν τ ε] π ν ο υ
	ρ ω [μ ε ε] ρ ν ο		[τ ε α υ] ε ι ψ α
	β ε ε ο [υ ρ ω]		ε η λ ε ι ε υ χ ω
	μ ε ψ [α υ τ ε] β ε		μ μ ο ς ν α υ
	π χ ο ε ις ε		χ ε ν αι ν ε
	χ ω υ ε τ ρ ε υ		[τ] ε ρ ε π χ ο
	κ ω ν α υ ε		ε ις χ ω μ
	β ο λ ε υ ψ α		μ ο ο υ χ ε
	ε ι ρ ε δ ε ε ω		[ε η ο υ] δ ω [λ η]
	ω υ ε π χ ο		[ε ι ν α δ ω] λ η [?]
	ε ις ν η μ π ε τ		[]
	ν [α] ψ λ η λ ε		[]
	χ ω υ α υ ω		ε υ [ε μ π κ α ε]
	[μ] π ο υ ς ω		ν κ [η μ ε ε υ ο]
	[τ] μ ε π ε ρ ο		ν [ε μ ε α λ]
	[ο υ]		[]

(broken)

(a) Verso: I Samuel II, 28 - 30.

(broken)

II, 28	↑	[.]2[N neφy]	[]
		λη τηρου]	[]
		[[]
		[[]
		[	II, 29	[]εy
		[		[χιμου] ε
		[		[βολ ε[N]τα
		[		[π]αρχ[η] nτε
		[θυcia]		[θυcia] τηrc
		[τ]ηρι[ον ετrey]		[μ]πιηλ ε ^(αι) εη
		ταλε φ[υcia εε]	30	[μ]μοϊ [ε]τ
		ραϊ [αyω N]		[βε]
		σεβοολοy μ		[]π]
		πεφουδ.		Χοεις ηνο[y]
		αyω αι† μ		[τ]ε μπιηλ
		πηει μπεκ		χω μμοoy
		ειωτ n̄ka		χε αιχοος
		νιμ εψαρε		χε πε ^(αι) κει α
		[N]αηρε[μ]		[y]ω πκει μ
		[πι]ηλ τ[αλο]		πεκειωτ
		[		ceναμοο
		[		ye eyam
		[ε]τ		ye μπam
		[reyoy]μου		το εβολ ψα
29		[αyω ετβε] οy		eneε. τε
		[ακδωyτ]		[noy δε]

(broken)

(b) (c $\frac{16}{2}$ a) I Samuel III, 6 - 9.Recto: (2nd column)Verso: (1st column)

→ (broken)
 III,6 [α]π[ω]τ ον [ε]
 [ρ]ατ[υ] ν[ε]λ[λ]
 [ε] μ[υ]μ[ε]ε
 [ε]π[ε]ναυ
 [ε]χ[ω] μ[υ]μ[ε]
 ν[α]χ[ε] ε[ι]c
 ε[ι]η[ε]τε α[ι]ε[ι]
 χ[ε] ακ[υ]ο[υ]
 τε [ε]ρ[ο]ι· πε
 χ[ε] ε[ι]η[ε]τε
 [ν]αχ[ε]· χ[ε] μ[υ]
 [π]ι[μ]ο[υ]τε
 [ε]ρ[ο]κ β[ω]κ
 [ν]κ[ν]κ[ο]τ[κ]
 7 [α]υ[ω] σα[μ]ο[υ]
 [η]λ μ[υ]π[α]τ[υ]
 σο[υ]ν π[νο]γ[υ]
 τε· α[υ]ω ε[τ]ε[ε]
 ρ[ε] π[ω]α[ε]
 (margin)

↑ (broken)
 III,8 [μ]ο[υ] [η]λ α[υ]
 τ[ω]ο[υ]ν [ο]ν
 [α]π[ω]τ [ε]ρ[α]
 τ[υ] ν[ε]λ[λ]ε[ι]
 ε[υ]χ[ω] μ[υ]μ[ε]
 ναχ[ε] ε[ι]c
 [ε]η[ε]τε α[ι]ε[ι]
 [χ]ε ακ[υ]ο[υ]
 τε ε[ρ]ο[ι]· α[υ]
 ω ε[ι]η[ε]τε [α]χ
 ε[ι]μ[ε] χ[ε] π[α]ο[υ]
 ε[ι]c πε[ν]τα[υ]
 μ[ο]υ[τε] ε
 π[ω]η[ρ]ε ω[η]μ[υ]
 9 πε[ε] ε[ι]η[ε]τε
 ναχ[ε] ε[ι]c κ[ο]
 τ[κ] ν[κ] ν[κ]ο
 [τ]κ πα[ω]η[ρ]ε
 α[υ]ω ε[υ]α[ν]
 μ[ο]υ[τε] ε[ρ]ο[κ]
 ε[κ]ε[χ]ο[ο]c χ[ε]
 (margin)

(c) (c $\frac{16}{1}$; c $\frac{16}{4}$ b; c 18d,e; c 28a,b,c; d 189a; d 190e)Recto: I Samuel VI, 14 - 18.

↑
 VI,14 ε[τ]η[ε]c ν[ο]υ

(margin)

λ[ε]
 VI,16 [ν]ν[α]λλοφ[υ]

VI,14

ΝΟΒ̄ ΝΩΝΕ·

ΑΥΠΩΞ Ν̄Ν̄

ΩΦ[ΝΤΑ]ΒΟΛ

[Τ]Ε ΑΥΞ[Α]ΡΒΟΥ

[Β]ΥΩ [ΝΑ]ΖΟΥ

Α[Υ]ΤΑΛΟΥ Ε

Ζ[Ρ]ΑΙ ΕΧΩ[Β]Υ

ΝΟΙ^ωΛΙΛ Μ̄Μ[ΑΞ]

15

ΠΧΟΕΙC· ΝΛ[Ε]Υ

ΕΙΤΗΣ ΔΕ Α[Υ]

ΧΙ ΕΞΡΑ[Ι ΝΤ]ΚΙ

ΒΟΥ[ΤΟΣ Μ]

ΠΧ[ΟΕΙC] ΑΥΩ

Π[ΕΡΗΤ] ΕΤ

[ΝΜΜΑ]C· ΜΝ

Ν[ΕCΚΕ]ΥΗ Ν

ΝΟΥΒ ΕΤΖΙ

ΧΩC ΑΥΚΑΔΥ

Ζ[Ι]Χ[Ε]Μ ΠΝΟΒ̄

[ΝΩΝ]Ε· Ν̄ΡΩ

[ΜΕ] ΔΕ Ν̄ΒΗΘ

[ΒΑ]ΜΥC ΑΥΕΙ

ΝΕ ΝΖΕΝΒ̄ΛΙΛ

Μ̄Ν ΖΕΝΘΥCΙΑ

Μ̄ΠΕΖΟΥ Ε

Τ̄ΜΜΑΥ Μ̄

ΜΑΞ ΠΧΟΕΙC

16

ΑΥΩ Π̄ΟΥ

ΝCΑΤΡΑΠΗΣ

VI,16

[ΛΟC Ν]ΕΥ [ΝΑΥ]

[]

ΑΥΩ ΑΥ[ΚΟΤ]

ΟΥ ΕΞΡ[ΑΙ] ΕΑC

ΚΑΛΩ[Ν] ΖΜ

ΠΕΖΟΥ [ΕΤΜΜ]

17

ΑΥ[]

[]

[]

[]

[]

[]

[]

[]

[]

[ΒαCα]

Ν[ΟC ΟΥ]ΜΑ

Ν̄ΖΜΟ[ΟC] ΖΑ

ΤΑΞΩ[Δ]ΟC

ΚΕΟΥΑ [ΖΑ] ΓΑ

ΖΑ· ΚΕΟΥΑ]

ΖΑ ΓΕΘ[· Κ]Ε

ΟΥΑ Ζ[ΑΔCΚ]Α

ΛΩΝ· ΚΕ[ΟΥΑ]

ΖΑ ΑΚΚΑΡ[ΩΝ]

18

ΑΥΩ ΝΚΕΠ[ΙΝ]

Ν̄ΝΟΥΒ ΚΑ[ΤΑ]

ΤΗΠΕ Ν̄Μ[ΠΟ]

ΛΕΙC Ν̄ΝΑΛ[ΛΟ]

(margin)

(c) Verso: I Samuel VI, 18 - 21.

→

(margin)

λ 5

VI, 18

φυλος ᾤπ[+]]

ου [N]σατ[ρα]

[πης x]N ου

[ноб μ]πολις

εσχ[ο]ρ ψα

εραι [ε]Nκω

[μн η]πεφε

[πισσαιος]

[]

[]

[]

[]

[]

[]

μ[]

π[]

ω[]

πε [εβολ 2N] βηθ

σα[μυς.]

19

N ψηρε δε N
ιε[χο]νιας μ

πο[υ]ραγε

εx[N] ᾤρωμε

NB[ηθα]μυς

δε [αυη]αυ ε

[τκι]βωτος

[μ]πχοεις

[α]ω πχοεις

VI, 19

ωγε ᾤρωμε

αυω του N

TBα ᾤρωμε.

πλ[αος 2]ε αυ

ρεη[βε] δε α

πχο[ει]ς ειN[ε]

NουNοb [μ]

πληγη ε[μα]

[τε] εxμ πλα

20 [ο]ς. αυω N

} ρωμε ᾤβηθ

σα[μ]υς πε

xα[υ η]Nε[υ]ε

ρ[η]υ δε N[i]μ

πετ[ναμο]

ου[ε] ε[βη]μ

πχοει[ς]

αυω [ε]ρε τκι

βωτος μ

πχοεις Nα

βωκ εε[ραι]

ᾤNιμ N[ελο]

εαετη[N.]

21 αυxο[ο]υ δε

ᾤεNψαΐωι

Nε ερατου

ᾤNετουη2

2N καριαθα^(sic)

VI,19 [θ]γπατασσε
[N]ζητοу N̄

VI,21 ριμ ευχω
μμος ναυ
ξε ναλλο

(margin)

(d) (c $\frac{16}{4}$ c,d; c 18f; c 28e,f,g,h; d 181a,b,c)Recto: I Samuel XIV,3 and 5.

→

(margin)

XIV,3 [·]ψηρε
[μ]φιν[ε]εσ
[π]ψηρε νζη
[λ]ει πουημβ
[μ]πνο[υ]τε νη
[σ]ηλω]νεу
[γ]ι μπεφ[ο]υδ·
[α]υω πλω]οс

XIV,5 τογεί νζηη
εσχι χι[N]πεμ
εит εεραι ε
μαχ[μαс·]
αυ[ω] τκεοуеи
εс[χι χιη]πρηс
[]α
[]

(broken)

Verso: I Samuel XIV,7,10,11.

↑

(margin)

XIV,7 Хе αρι πετε
ρε πεκзнт
оуауу εααу
т[ηρυ] εисζη
[ητε αν]ок †
[оуηз нс]ωк
ερε [παζη]т
тн[δ']

XIV,10 εис таа[у] εεραι
етоо[т]N· [пαι]
πε п[μ]φει[N]
етN· αωω[πε]
11 [N·N] αυω [N]
το[оу] μπε
сN[αу] αυβωк
εε[ραι]

(broken)

(e) (c $\frac{16}{4}$ e,f; c 28i) Three fragments.

Recto: I Samuel XV,13 and 15.

→

(broken)

XV,15 } πεχ[ε σαουλ]
 } ναυ [χε νται]
 } ε[ντοϋ εβ]
 } [ολ εν αμ]
 } [αληκ] ἄς
 } [ωτπ ννοε]ε ἡε
 } [σοϋ μν] νε
 } []

XV,13

[]
 [αμαλ]ηκ.
 [αυω σα]μου
 [ηλ αχ]ει ερα
 [γυ νσα]ουλ

(margin)

Verso: I Samuel XV,17,19,20.

↑

(broken)

XV,17

[] νε]κ σο
 [βεκ αν ντ]οκ
 [μπεμτ]ο ε
 [βολ μπιμν]
 [η]ω[ε ννεφυλ]
 η μ[πιηλ]
 αυω [πχοεις]
 αχ [ταεσκ]
 []

XV,19

[]

20

εβολ [μηχο]

εις. [πεχε]

} σαουλ [νσα]
 } μουη[λ χε]

(margin)

(f) (c $\frac{16}{3}$; c 18g,h; d 175b)

Recto: I Samuel XXI,13 - XXII,2.

→

(broken)

	[]	XXI,14	ζητ[]
	[]		ζε[ατε]τ̄νει
	[]		νε[μη]αῖ ε
	[]		εου[Ν] ετρεϋ
XXI,13	νητ μπε		ῥ ν[εϊςμ]ο[τ]
	εου ετ̄μ		ναε[ραι παι]
	μαυ. αυω		νη[ναρπεουν]
	νεϋτ̄βλᾱ ε		α[Ν:]
	πισᾱ μ̄ν παῖ	XXII,1	α[αυ]ε[ι]α δε
	μ̄πευμ̄το		[αϋ]μοοϋε
	εβολ. εϋ		[εβο]λ ε̄μ πμα
	ζηυ εεραῖ εῖ		[ετ]μμα[υ. αϋ]
	ῥ̄ν. ῥ̄ρο̄ ῥ̄τ̄πυ		[νοϋ]ε̄μ [αυω]
	λη. ερε νεϋ		[]
	Σιε ϋοῡο̄ [ε]		[μ]εαα[υε]
	Σ̄ν τεϋμ̄ο̄		[νοδ]ολλαμ
14	ῥ̄τ. πεξε		[νε]ϋςνηυ
	αγχοϋς ῥ̄νεϋ		α[ε] αυσω[τμ]
	ε̄μ̄εαλ ξε		μ̄ν ν[απ̄νει]
	βωϋτ̄ ετε		μ̄π[εϋειωτ]
	τ̄ν̄ναῡ επ̄εῖ		αυει [ερατϋ]
	ρωμε ετ		επμ[α ετμ]
	ποϋ̄ς ῥ̄ετ̄.	2	μαυ [αυσω]
	ετβε οϋ̄ ατε		ουε ε[ροϋ Ν]
	τ̄ν̄ῥ̄τ̄ϋ̄ ναῖ		βί ου[ον νιμ]
	εεοῡν [.]		ετω[οο]π
	[]		ενεε[ε]ωϋ
	[(margin)]	(margin)	

(f) Verso: I Samuel XXII,2 - 6

XXII,2	↑	(broken)	
			[]
			[] ON NIM
			ΕΝΥ[ΜΟΤ]Ν ΑΝ
			ΝΕΝ[Τ] ΑΥΩ
			ΕΥΟ [Ν]ΑΠΕ
			[Ε]Ρ[ΑΙ] ΕΣ[ΩΟΥ]
			[ΑΥΩΩΠ]Ε Ν̄Μ
			[ΜΑΥ ΝΒΙ] Α
			[Υ]ΤΟ[ΟΥ ΝΥΕ ΝΡ]Ω
3	}		ΜΕ. ΔΑ[Υ]
			ΕΙΔ ΔΕ ΑΥ[ΠΩ]
			ΩΝΕ ΕΒΟ[Λ ΕΜ]
			[ΠΜΑ] ΕΤ[ΜΜ]
			[ΑΥ Ε]Ε[ΡΑΙ Ε]
			[ΜΑССΗΦΑ ΕΜ]
			ΠΚΑ[Ε ΜΜΩ]
			ΑΒ. ΜΕ[ΧΑΥ]
			[Μ]Π̄ΡΡΟ [ΜΜ]Ω
			[ΑΒ] ΧΕ ΜΑΡΕ
			[ΠΑΕΙΩ]Τ ΜΝ
			[ΤΑΜΑΔΥ] ΒΩ
			[ΕΔΕΤΗ]Κ ΨΑΝ
			[ΤΝΑΥ Χ]Ε ΕΡΕ
			[ΠΝΟΥ]ΤΕ ΝΑ
4			[ΡΟΥ ΝΑ]Ι. ΑΥ
			[Ω ΠΕΟ] Μ̄Π̄Ρ
			ΡΟ Μ̄ΜΩΔΒ
		XXII,5	}
			ΑΥΩ ΓΑΔ ΠΕ
			ΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ
			ΠΕΧΑΥ Ν̄
			ΔΑΥΕΙΔ ΧΕ
			Μ̄Π̄ΡΕΜΟΟC
			Ε̄Ν ΤΕΪΠΕΡΙ
			Ο[Χ]Η. ΤΩΟΥ
			Ν̄ΓΒΩΚ ΕΞΡΑΪ
			ΕΠΚΑΕ Ν̄ΙΟΥ
			ΔΑ. ΔΑΥ
			[ΕΙ]Δ ΔΕ ΑΥΤΩ
			ΟΥΝ ΑΥΜΟΟ
			ΩΕ ΑΥΕΪ ΑΥ
			ΕΜΟΟC Ε̄Ν
			ΟΥΠΟΛΙC ΧΕ
			CΑΡΙΧ.
		6	}
			CΑΟΥΛ ΔΕ ΑΥ
			CΩΤ̄Μ ΧΕ
			ΑΥΕΙΜΕ Ε
			ΔΑΥΕΙΔ Μ̄Ν
			Ν[Κ]ΕΡΩΜΕ
			[ΕΤΝΜΜ]ΑΥ.

(margin)

(g) (c $\frac{16}{4}$ a; c 18i,j,k)Recto: I Samuel XXIV,12 and 15.

	→	(broken)	
XXIV,12	[ε]με δε	XXIV,15	[N]
	[NΓNΔY] μπο		τοκ πρρ̄ μ
	[οY XE] μ̄N κα		π̄Hλ εκκω
	[κiα λαα]Y N		TE Nca [Nιμ]
	τοοτ ε2οY		[α]Yω εκπH[τ]
	[ε]ροκ. ουτε		[N]τοκ Ncaο[Y]
	μ̄NτψαYτε.		αY μμ!N[ε]
	ουτε νεiα		εκπHτ N
	2ε αν N[βο]λ		τοκ Nca ^(sic) ο[Y]
	[ε]ροκ. μ̄[τ]ι		ου2ορ εYμ[ο]
	ερNοB[ε ερ]οκ.		ουτ. αYω[?]

(margin)

Verso: I Samuel XXIV,17,18,19,20.

	↑	(broken)	
XXIV,17	[πε]	XXIV,19	[]
	XE caoyλ NaY		αYω [μπεκ]
	XE тексμH		τωο[YN ε]
	τ[ε] ταϊ παωH		μo[οYτ]
	[p̄]ε λaYει2	20	αYω XE ερ
	[α]Yω caoyλ		ω2αν οYα 2ε
	[α]Yγι 2paY ε		επεYXαX[ε]
	[β]ολ αYριμε.		2N οYθλι
18	[πε]XαY N		ψ[ic] NYοYο
	λaYει2 XE		ο[τY ε]βολ

(margin)

I SAMUEL

(e 14; d 188a,b) 8 by 5½ inches, complete. Parchment, columns and lines are ruled. Written in square uncials of the fifth or sixth century, see Plate I,6. The $\bar{\nu}$ is once assimilated to ρ before ρ as in other early Coptic manuscripts, see Crum, Dict. p.215a, here in numbers 7, 17, 18, 21, 22. Remarkable is the system of superlineation in this manuscript in that it distinguishes between the single letter stroke and the two or three-letter stroke, e.g. $\bar{\nu}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\nu}\bar{\tau}$, $\bar{\nu}\bar{\tau}\bar{\kappa}$ οὐαγαθός; the same phenomenon is found in number 14 below.

One leaf containing I Samuel XXIX,3 - 9. The text agrees closely with that of the Morgan manuscript, cf. number 4, introduction, above. The only real variant is XXIX,4 $\alpha\upsilon\mu\kappa\alpha\epsilon\ \bar{\nu}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\nu}\bar{\tau}$, Morgan omits $\bar{\nu}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\nu}\bar{\tau}$.

Text:

Recto: I Samuel XXIX,3 - 5.

(margin)

XXIX,3	[$\bar{\nu}\bar{\epsilon}$]ατραπεης	XXIX,4	[
	[$\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}$]αλλοφυλο[ς]		[ρ]ω[μ]ε
	[πεχδ]υ· ξε νιμ		[επαζδ]υ· αγ
	[νε να]ϊ ετμο		[ω μαρ]εχκτογ
	[οω]ε ετνηυ		$\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}$ [β]ωκ εεραϊ
	[$\bar{\nu}\bar{\mu}$]μαν· πεχε		επε[γ]μα· πμα
	[ατ]χογς $\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}$		εντ[α]κκααγ
	[νο]δ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}$ αλλο		$\bar{\nu}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\nu}\bar{\tau}$ [γ] $\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\tau}$ α
	[φ]υλος· ξε παϊ		ει εβ[δ]λ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\mu}$
	[πε] δαυειδ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\nu}$		μαν [ε]ππολε
	[εαλ] $\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}$ αουλ·		μος [$\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}$]τ $\bar{\mu}$ ωω,
	[πρρο] $\bar{\mu}$ πιηλ		πε $\bar{\nu}$ [ε]πιβογ
	[εαγδ]ω $\bar{\nu}\bar{\mu}$ μα		λος [η] $\bar{\nu}$ κρογ
	[ε $\bar{\nu}$ ε $\bar{\nu}$ ε $\bar{\nu}$ ο]ου τη		$\bar{\nu}\bar{\tau}$ ε[μ] παρεμ
	[ρογ τμεε] $\bar{\rho}\bar{\mu}$		βολ[η] ερε παϊ
	[πε ε $\bar{\nu}\bar{\tau}$ ε τε τ]αϊ		γαρ $\bar{\nu}$ [αγ]εωτ $\bar{\tau}$

XXIX,3 [αυω μπι]ζε ε
 [εωβ εεο]υν ε
 [ροϋ νχινη]εεο
 [οϋ εντ]αϋει
 [εβολ] ναι' [ωα]
 [εε]οϋν ε[πο]
 4 οϋ [N¹εοοϋ αϋ
 ω αϋμκαε ν
 εητ [ετβηη]
 [τ]η ν[δι]
 []
 []

XXIX,4 επεϋ[χ]οεις ε̄ν
 [οϋ ειμ]ητι ε̄ν
 [ναπη]υε ν̄ρ
 [ρωμε ε]τ̄μμ̄αϋ.
 []
 []
 []
 5 []
 [] εϋ]χω
 [μμοc·χε ε]α
 [οϋλ] αϋπαταc
 [σε ε̄ν] νεϋω[ο]

(margin)

Verso:

I Samuel XXIX,5 - 9

(margin)

XXIX,5 [δαυειδ δε εω]
 ω[ϋ ε̄ν]νεϋτβα]
 6 α[τ]χο[ϋc δε]
 αϋμο[ϋτε ε]
 δαυειδ [π]εχαϋ
 ναϋ·χε πχο
 ειc ον[ε] χε
 κcοϋ[τ]ων ν̄
 τoκ· α[ϋ]ω ν̄τ̄κ
 οϋαγαθoс ν̄
 ναερα' αϋω
 τεκε'ιη ν̄βωκ
 εβολ α[ϋω] τεκ
 ε'ιη ν̄ε[]ε̄εοϋν
 νεc[ν̄μ]μα'ι
 ε̄ν τ̄η[αρ]εμ
 βολη [α]ϋω χε

XXIX,7 ν̄τ̄βωκ ε̄ν[οϋ]
 ειρηνη·[ν̄τ̄μ]
 ειρε ν̄ο[ϋκα]
 κ'ια ν̄η[αεραϋ]
 ν̄ν̄cατ̄ρα[πηc]
 ν̄ναλλοφ[ϋ]
 8 λoс·πεχε [δαϋ]
 ειδ ν̄αγχο[ϋc]
 χε οϋ πε [πno]
 βε εντα'ια[αϋ]
 νακ· αϋω [οϋ]
 πε πεω[β εν]
 τακεε ε[ροϋ ε]
 εοϋν επεκ̄ε̄μ
 εα[λ νχινη]πεεο
 οϋ[εντα'ει]
 ν̄η[αερακ ωαε]

XXIX,6 ᾠπ12[ε ε2ωβ]

ε420[ογ ε2ογN]

ερo[k]

[]

[]

[]

[Nca]

τρ[απnc δε N]

σε[τнт N2нт]

7 Nμαακ [αν τε]

νογ δε κ[τοκ]

XXIX,8 2ρα[ι επooy N]

2οο[γ δε NNα]

ε1 εβ[ολ αnok]

[ε]μ1ω[ε μN N]

[X]αδε μπ[αXo]

9 ε1c πρo αγω

αγχοyc αγογ[ω]

[ω]β ναγ εγ[Xω μ[μ]

[oc N2αγ]ε1δ [Xε]

[]

[]

(margin)

6A

I (III) KINGS

(d 11a; d 188c) 6 by 4½ inches, complete. Parchment. Columns and lines perhaps ruled, but not certain. Written in square uncials of the fifth or sixth century. The manuscript is extremely difficult to read and the superlinear strokes are mostly illegible. At first it seemed as though it was part of number 6B(Crum), but a close investigation showed that this was not the case; some of the letters are written quite differently, and it is fairly certain that the manuscript was written about two centuries before 6B.

One leaf containing I (III) Kings I,51 - II,5. The text of this is not known in any published Sahidic manuscripts, but I found a small fragment in the Bodleian Library which contains part of the text. In view of the interest of that text I am publishing it here as an appendix to this manuscript. It is one of a number of fragments given to the Bodleian Library in 1889 by the Rev. Greville J. Chester and is mentioned in the summary catalogue of western manuscripts under number 301220. It is now numbered Ms.Copt.e 162(p).

Verso: I (III) Kings II,2 - 5.

(margin)

12

II,2

[6]ομ ΝΓωωπε

νουρωμε Ν

3

χωωρε ΝΓε[α]

ρεε επεντα

πνουτε μη

сpαηλ таαυ

ετοотк ε

тpεκμοоуе

εnνευεioу

ε ΝΓεα[ρ]εε ε

[N]εу[εN]τολн

[μNне]υδika

[ωμa] μNнеу

[]

[]

[]

[]

[]

[]

[]

[]

[]

[]

[]

II,4

таго ерату [μ]

πεуωαξε

εnтаυтау

εтвннт еу

χω μμοc δε

еруан нек

уnре гaреε

εтeуεиH ε

тpеуμооуе

εиεH μμοi εN

оуμe εμпeу

εнт тнpу μN

тeуψуχн тн

pc N†nαтa

ко aN εβαλ N

εнтк nouρω

μ[ε] εχ[μп]εθpо

5

[N]oc μп[нλ] a

[γ]ω πтoк δε

[ε]ωωк aкeи

[μe] εNεNтaу

[αα]у Naï Nбi iω

[a]β пуnре Nca

[poyia]c εтe ne

(margin)

verse 3. πноуτε μηсpαηλ, the Chester fragment has πχοεic πεκnouτε; cf. the Greek manuscripts and Versions.

Appendix.

Oxford, Bodleian Ms.Copt.e 162(p).

Parchment, $4\frac{3}{4}$ by $5\frac{3}{4}$ in. Written in late rounded uncials of the ninth or tenth century. From a lectionary containing I (III) Kings XXI,4 and II,1 - 4. Except for two verses which are also extant in the Bala'izah manuscript, the text is not known in any other published Sahidic manuscript.

Text:

Recto: I (III) Kings XXI,4; II,1,2. Verso: I (III) Kings II,3 - 4.

(margin)

(margin)

XXI,4 ζαροϣ· αυω πεχαϣ
 ναι ξε ντεινα†
 νακ αν ντεκκλν
 [ρ]νομια νναειοτε

 τμντερο νκολομον

II,3 επεντα πχοεις πεκ
 νουτε τααϣ ετοοτκ
 ετρεκμοοϣε ζινεϣζιο
 οϣε· νγεαρεε ενεϣντ[ο]
 λη μν νεϣδικαιωμ†
 μν νεϣζαπ ναι ετχηε
 εμ πνομος μμωϣ

II,1 αυεων
 δε εζοϣν νβι νεζοοϣ
 νδ αυειδ ετρεϣμοϣ
 αϣωαξε μν σολο
 μον εϣω μμοc

 cηc· ξεκαc ^(με)εκαειμε
 ενετκνδδϣ ενζωβ
 νμ ετειεων μμο
 4 οϣ ετοοτκ· ξεκαc
 ερε πχοεις ταζο[]

2 [ξε] παϣνρε ειcεη
 [ητε]

(broken)

(broken)

II,3. επενταπχοεις , perhaps †πενταπχοεις is to be read here.

εκαειμε for εκναειμε, this is frequently found in non-literary texts, see above chapter 8 par. 129.

I (III) KINGS

(d 11b) $5\frac{3}{4}$ by $8\frac{3}{4}$, single leaf; each page $5\frac{3}{4}$ by $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. complete.

Parchment. Columns and lines are not ruled. Written in square uncials of the seventh or eighth century, see Plate III, 1.

Two pages forming single leaf containing I (III) Kings XXII, 39 -- end, followed by a colophon or reader's note. The text is not otherwise known in the Sahidic Version in any other manuscript. In parts this manuscript is almost illegible.

Text:

(a) Recto: I (III) Kings XXII, 39 - 44.

(margin)

смг

XXII, 39 μν κκεβνηε
 τηρου νταγ
 ααγ αυω [πνι]
 νελεφαν[τιν]
 ον ενταγ[ααγ]
 μν κκε[τιμν]
 τηρου εν[ταγ]
 [ααγ μν ναι ν]
 σε[εενοут] ε
 πχωωμε [νν]ε
 ω[α]δε ννεεοο[γ]
 νηε[ρρωου μ
 40 π[ι]ηλ: αχααβ δε
 α[γ]νκοτκ μν
 νεγειοτε αυ
 ω οχοζ[εια]ς π
 εγ[α]ηρε αγρ
 [ρρο]
 41 []

XXII, 42 αγρρρο ευων
 ρε πε εγεν μ
 αβτη νρομ
 πε νтереγρ
 ρρο αυω αγρ
 δοутη νρομ
 πε εγ[α]ωπε нрро
 ενηιλημ π[ραν]
 δε нтеγμα[аγ]
 те азева т[ае]
 ερε нсеμε[еи]
 43 αυω аγμο[оуе]
 εнтегн т[н]
 [с]наса п[ег]
 ειωт емп[ег]
 рактγ εβο[λ]
 μμος етр[ег]
 εире мп[т]
 соутω[н эн]

XXII,41 [(illegible)]
 []
 []
 []ΕΝΔΧΑ
 42 [αβ ιω]αφατ

XXII,43 ΝΕ[βαλ μ]
 44 ΠΧΟ[ΕΙC ΠΛΗΝ(?)]
 μμα ε[τχοε]
 εμπυγ[ιτου]
 μμαυ·[αλλα]

(margin)

(a) Verso: I (III) Kings XXII,44 - 53

(margin)

ΣΜΔ

XXII,44 ΕΤΙ ΝΕΡΕ Π
 ΛΑΟΣ ΡΟΥCΙΑ
 45 ΑΥΩ ΝΕΥΤΕΗ
 ΝΕ ΕΞΡΑΪ ΖΙ
 ΔΝ ΜΜΑ ΕΤ
 ΧΟCΕ ΙΩCΑ
 [φα]τ Δ[Ε] ΑΥΡ
 ΕΙΡΗ[ΝΗ ΜΝ]
 ΠΡΡΟ ΜΠΙΗΛ
 46 [αυ]ω ΠCΕΕΠΕ
 [Ν]Ν^ωΔCΕ ΝΙΩ
 [C]αφατ ΜΝ Ν
 [Εγ]μντΧωω
 [ρε] ΕΝΤΑΥΑΔΥ
 [Ε]ΙC ΝΑΪ ΝCΕC
 [ΖΗ]ΟΥΤ ΑΝ ΕΠ
 [Χ]ωωμε ΝΝ
 [ω]ΔCΕ ΝΝΕΡ
 [ρωου] ΝΙΟΥΔΑ
 51 [αυω ιωCα]φατ
 [αγνκοτ]κ ΜΝ

XXII,51 ΕΙΔ ΠΕΥΕΙΩΤ
 ΑΥΩ ΙΩΡΑΜ Π
 ΕΥΩ[ΗΡΕ ΑΥΡ]
 [ρρο]μπεγμ[α]
 52 [οχο]Ζ!αC ΔΕ ΠΩ
 [ΗΡΕ Ν]αχααβ [αυ]
 [ρρρο]
 []
 [] ΖΝΤ
 [μ]ΝΤωα[ωυ] Ν
 ΡΟΜΠΕ Ν[ιωCα]
 ΦΑΤ ΠΡΡΟ Ν[ΙΟΥ]
 ΔΑ· ΟΧΟΖΙΑ[Ε ΑΥΡ]
 ΡΡΟ ΖΜΠΙΗΛ [Ν]
 ΡΟΜΠΕ CΝΤΕ
 53 ΑΥΩ ΑΥΕΙΡΕ ΜΠ
 ΠΟΝΗΡ[ΟΝ ΜΠΕ]
 ΜΤΟ[ΕΒΟΛ ΜΠΧ]Ο
 Ε[ΙC ΑΥΜΟΟΩ]Ε
 ΖΝ[ΤΕΖΙΗ ΜΠ]ΕΥ
 ΕΙΩΤ [αχ]ααβ:-

XXII,51 [NEYE]OTE AY
[TOM]CY EN T
[PO]ΛIC NΔAY

XXII,53 AYΩ ENTEEIH N
TECABEL TEY
MAAY AYΩ ENN

(margin)

The manuscript omits verses 47 - 51 with B and the majority of the Greek manuscripts against A, the Syriac and Armenian Versions.

(b) Recto: I (III) Kings XXII,53 - end.

(margin)

CME

XXII,53 NOBE MPHI
NEIEROBOM
ΠΩΗPE NNΔ
BAT ENTAY[T]
PE ΠHΛ P[NOBE]
54 AYPEMEL [NN]
BAGAL A[YOW]
YT NAY [AYΩ]
A[YTP]E ΠXO
EIC ΠNOY[TE M]
ΠICPAHΛ []
[] TH
POY ENTAPET
EIOY AY:—
MΩAB ΔE AYΔ
ΘETI H AYAGE
NBOΛ EPICPA
H[Λ EMΠ]TP
A[XAB MOY]:
II [IIIIII]
TMEZYOMTE M

(second column
blank)

ΜΝΤΕΡΟ: —

XXXXXX —

XXXXXXXX —

(margin)

verse 54. ἀγαθετὶ ἢ ἀγαγε ΝΒολ, Professor Drescher pointed out to me the interesting use here of translating a particularly difficult Greek word kept in the Coptic text by adding ἢ followed by the Coptic equivalent. This use is common in the Pierpont Morgan manuscript of I and II Samuel.

(c) Verso: Reader's note or colophon. Unfortunately the script is badly faded and much of the text has remained obscure.

Text:

(broken)

1	Βο[]
2	Γ Δ[]
3	ΤΗC ΝΤΕ[Κ]Τ[Ι]	
4	ΑΝΟC ΝΤΜΕΞ	
5	ΜΝΤ[	ΝΡ]ΟΜ
6	ΠΕ Μ[]
7	ΕΓΦ ^(Μ) , ΜΗ[ΝΙ] ΜΕ	
8	ΧΙΡ	

(margin)

2. ΔΕΚΑ]ΤΗC or ΕΝΔΕΚΑ]ΤΗC, ΔΩΔΕΚΑ]ΤΗC etc.

3. ΝΤΕ[Κ]Τ[Ι]ΑΝΟC for ΙΝΔΙΚΤΙΟΝΟC see 102¹⁴ note.

4. ΝΤΜΕΞ; Crum read ΕΤΕ[COY] here, but I think ΝΤΜΕΞ is almost certain.

5 and 6. These lines present considerable difficulties. Perhaps line 6 contained the name of some important person in which case translate: "...]tenth(?) indiction in the tenth(?) or eleventh etc) year of [....."

II (IV) KINGS

(d $\frac{12}{1-2}$) $7\frac{1}{2}$ by $6\frac{1}{2}$ in. originally about $8\frac{1}{2}$ by $6\frac{1}{2}$ in. Parchment. Columns and lines ruled. Written in square uncials of the fourth century, see Plate I,2. The manuscript is one of the earliest in this collection and the script is rather similar to the second hand of the Pistis Sophia (see Hyvernât: Album II). Compare also Crum and Bell: Wadi Sarga number 17 (Plate I) and here numbers 22 and 25, see Plate I,3. The \aleph is once (XIV,21) assimilated to ρ before $\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$ as in a few other manuscripts of this collection, see above chapter X.

Two fragments forming single leaf containing II (IV) Kings XIV, 17 - 22, 24, 25, 27 - 29, XVII, 13 - 23, and four small unidentified fragments. The text of XVII, 13 - 23 is not otherwise known in Sahidic; the text of XIV is also known from a White Monastery manuscript published by G. Maspero, Fragments de la version thébaine de l'Ancien Testament (Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique Française du Caire vol. VI) On the whole the Bala'izah manuscript agrees closely with that manuscript.

Text:

(a) Recto: II (IV) Kings XIV, 17 - 22. (flesh-side)

(margin)

XIV, 17 []
 [NAK]EY^FN[TH N]
 18 [POM]PE AYW NKE
 [CEE]PE NN[OY]A
 [XEN]AMECCIA
 [MN]NKEZBYE
 [THP]OY ENTAY
 AY [MH] NAII NCE
 [CZHOYT]AN EPXW
 [OME NN]YAXE
 [NNEZOY]NNEP

XIV, 20 [E]^FN TTPOLIC NDA]Y
 21 EID. NLAOC DE]TH
 PY NIOYDA[C] AYXI
 N[AZAP]EIA[C] AYW N
 T[OY]N EYWHPE PE
 [EY]⁽⁶¹²⁾E]N MNTACE P
 P[OM]PE AYAY N
 P[PO] EP[AY]A AY^FY
 [E]WT AMECCIA
 22 [NT]OY PENTAY
 [KW]T N]THOLIC

XIV,18 [ρωον νῖο]υδαc.
 19 αυ[ειρε ε]ρογ N̄
 [ο]υ[ωοxνε α]γτω
 [οyn εxωγ] ε[N̄]
 (about 6 lines lost)
 α[γγωμ δε N̄cωγ]
 εε[ραι ελαχιc αυ]
 τα[ρογ αυμοογ]
 τγ [εμπμα ετω]
 20 μα[γ αυω αυτα]
 λογ εε[ενετωρ]
 αυειN[ε μμογ]
 εεραϊ ε[θιερογca]
 λnm αυ[τομcγ]
 εεετεN [νεγειοτε]

XIV,22 [ετογμογ]τε ε
 [ροc]
 (broken)

(margin)

verse 18. εптаααγ, Maspero: нтаααγ.

verse 20. εεετεN, Maspero: εεετηN.

verse 21. [ααα]εια[c]αυω N̄τ[ογ N̄]ευωηρε πε, Maspero: αααiaс ευωηρε πε ;
 ρρ[ομ]πε, Maspero: нромπε.(a) Verso: II (IV) Kings XIV,24,25,27 - 29. (hair-side)

(1 line missing)

XIV,24 ρ[χοε]c εμπε[γ]
 ca[ε]ωγ εβολ N̄N̄
 νοβετηρογ μπн
 ει N̄ειεροβο[α]μ
 πωηρε N̄N̄[αβα]τ
 εптаγτρε [πicpaнλ]
 25 ρноβ[ε] N̄то[γ η]εN̄
 таγπωωνε [μ]

XIV,27 [επic]paн[λ μπε]
 η[χο]εic δε[ωαxε]
 [εγ]ωτε εβ[ολ μπε]
 cπepμα μ[πicpaнλ]
 εapογ N̄тп[ε αυ]
 ω αυναεμ[ογ εN̄]
 тоотγ [N̄ε]iεpοβ[ραμ]
 πωηp[ε N̄]ωα[c]

XIV,25

πτοϋ μ̃η[ι]σρ[α]ηλ
 χιν τεζιη [εζουη]
 ν̃εμαθ· ϣ[α]ζραι
 [ε]τεθ[α]λλασσα ντα
 [ρ]αβα [κατα πωα]
 χε μ̃η[χ]οεις πνου
 τε μ̃η[ι]σραηλ πεν
 τ[α]χσοοϣ
 (broken)

XIV,28

πκ̃εσεεπε δε ν̃
 ν̃ϣ[α]χε ν̃ζιεροβο
 αμ μ̃η̃ νενταϣ
 ααϣ [τηροϣ αϣω
 νεϣ[κεβομ] τη
 ροϣ ενταϣααϣ
 εϣ[πολεμει]
 (about 5 lines lost)

29

[ζμ̃ πισρα]ηλ·
 [μη ναι ν̃σεε]ζη
 [οϣτ αν επχω]ωμε
 [ν̃ν̃ϣαχε ν̃]νε
 [ζοοϣ ν̃νερρ]ωοϣ
 [μ̃η̃ πισραη]λ· αϣω
 [ζιεροβοα]μ αϣν̃
 [κοτ̃κ̃ μ̃η̃ νεϣιο
 [τε μ̃η̃ ν̃]ερρωοϣ μ̃
 [πισραη]λ· αζαριδ[ε]

(margin)

verse 24. τηροϣ μ̃η̃ν̃ει ν̃ζιεροβο[α]μ , Maspero: τηροϣ ν̃ζιεροβοαμ;
 ενταϣτρε-, Maspero: πενταϣτρε-.

verse 25. ν̃εμαθ, Maspero: εημαθ.

verse 27. ζαροϣ , Maspero: ζαροε.

verse 28. [ν̃ζιεροβο]αμ μ̃η̃ν̃ νενταϣ[α]αϣ, Maspero: ν̃ζιεροβοαμ πωηρε νιωας
 νενταϣααϣ.

(b) Recto: II (IV) Kings XVII,13 - 17.

(hair-side)

(broken)

XVII,13

[
 ..ε κατα ν̃ϣ[α]
 [χ]ε ενταϊ̃χοοϣ

XVII,15

16

[ετ̃β]ηητοϣ
 [ε]τ̃[μ̃τ̃]ρεϣειρε
 καταροοϣ· αλλα

XVII,13	[c]y n ay z n too	XVII,16	[a]ykw n c w o y n
	[T]oy n a z u z a l n e		n e n t o l h u p x [o]
14	π ρ ο φ η τ η c α y		ε ι c π ε y n o y t e
	ω u π o y c ω t u		α y ε ι ρ ε z p a i n z h
	n a y a l l a a y t		t o y a y o y ω t z n
	n w o t u p e y c o		b a z c e c n t e a y w
	e i e z o y e p a n e y		a y t a m i o n z e n
15	e i o t e a y w u p o y		m a n w h n a y o y
	z a p e z e n e y u n		ω ω t n t e c t p a
	t [u n t] p e e n t a y		t i a t h p c n t p e
	[p u n t p] e n a y n		a y w a y u m a y e
	[] a l . a y	17	u p b a z a l . n [e] y
	[] o y n n e y		a y h p e u n n e [y]
	[e n t o l h] u n p e y		a y e e p e a y e i n e
	[]		u [m o] o y e b o l [z n]
	(ca.7 lines lost)		[o y c a t e a] y u y i n [e]
	e i t []		[n z e n w y i n e] a y w
	a z o y []		[] n []

(broken)

(b) Verso: II (IV) Kings XVII,18 - 23. (flesh-side)

(margin ?)

XVII,18	[] k []	XVII,22	[]
	o n w []		[]
	t e f y l h [n] o y [a c]		u p i c p a n h [m o]
19	m a y a a c . p k e [i] o y		o y e z n n n o [b e]
	a c u p t z a p e [z e]		t h p o y n z i e p [o b o]
	n e n t o l h u p [x o]		a m n a i e n t a [y a]
	e i c p e y n o y t e		a y e m p t c a z w y
	a y m o o w e z w o y	23	e b o l u m o o y a n
	z n n d i k a i w a		t e p x o e i c p w a

XVII,19 ᾠπισρανλ ναϊ εν
 20 ταυαυ· αυω αυ
 κω ντσωου ᾠπχο
 εϊс εῤ̄ πεсперма
 τηρῤ̄ ᾠπισρανλ·
 αυκῤ̄του δε αυω
 [α]υπαραδ[ιδ]ου ᾠ
 [μο]ου εερα[ι]ε[т]оо
 [то]у ν̄нетзарпа
 [зе] ᾠμοоу φαν
 [тῤ̄]νοχου εβ[ολ] εα
 [πε]υεο[]πi
 21 ραηλ]
 εβ[]

XVII,23 νε εβολ ᾠπισρα
 ηλ νῤ̄γитῤ̄ εα
 πευεο· κατα θε
 ενταπχοϊс φα
 φε εῤ̄т[оотου] ν̄
 νευεῤ̄[εαλ т]η
 ρου н[επροφη]
 της [αυω писра]
 ηλ αυ[]
 []
 []
 (ca.7 lines lost)
 []ρα
 []νεμ

(broken)

(c) Unidentified.

Flesh-side (col.1)

Hair-side (col.2)

(broken)

[] ᾠαχιкам
 [] φ ματε
 [] ηῖ τη
 [ρυ] εтεα
 [] εape
 [] ο]υα εβολ
 [] φαεραϊ
 [] φα
 [] βера
 [] κεοуа
 [] та вер
 []

(broken)

(broken)

н . . . γс[]
 (sic!) — ᾠγαλ[]
 οуа[? п φη]
 ρε н[]
 ᾠβ[]
 пк[]
 ре[]
 ᾠга[]
 каε[]
 п̄р̄р̄о[]
 ауω[]
 тв[]
 сi[]

(broken)

αχιδαμ, a proper name, occurs in II(IV) Kings XXII,12,14, XXV,22 but none of these passages fit the text here.

The paragraph-marks are remarkable; for similar paragraph-marks cf. Budge, Biblical Texts plate III, also in particular the Greek Codex Vaticanus, cf. the facsimile edition.

(d) Unidentified. Hair-side (col.2) Flesh-side (col.1)

(broken)		(broken)	
Β[	]	[	] λ ο
Ν[	]	[	ο γ δ
ω[	]	[	] ω η ρ ε
π η [	]	[	] π κ α ε
π ω [	]	[	] π κ ε
α ι μ [	]	[	] ω η
Δ ω [	]	[ ρ ε	] π κ α ε
ρ γ ν [	]	[	? ο γ ο] ε ι ν .
τ ν [	]	[	] ω η
(broken)		(broken)	

(e) Unidentified. Hair-side (col.2) Flesh-side (col.1)

(broken)		(broken)	
[γ η [	]	[	] ρ ο []
Ν ε [	]	[	] ω []
ε ρ ε Ν [	]	[	] ο γ δ [.]
η [	]	[	? ι ο γ] Δ α .
ε ρ ε [	]	[	] Δ π ε
(margin)		[	] π ω η
		(margin)	

(f) Unidentified. Hair-side:] Ν Τ [|] ε ε ρ ε [|] Ν ε ρ [|] μ [|] Χ α [

Flesh-side:] ε [| [.] α ! [| μ μ [| τ ω [| μ [| η [

- 16 [ANEKZOTE CYTPTW]T
- 17 [AYKWTE EPOI NΦE NN]MOOY
[AYAMAZTE MMOI ZIO]YCOM MPE
[ZOY THP]
- 18 [AKTRE NAWBEP OYE] MMOI
[AYW NETCOOYN MMOI] EBOL
[ZNTATALLAPWPIA]
- LXXXVIII [TH TUNTPTWNZHT NNAIΘ]AN NIC
[PAHLITHC] } script
[(?)] } slightly
smaller
- 1 [TNAΣW NNA MΠXO]EIC YAE NEZ
[YAOYXWM MNOYXWM] TNAΣ[w]
[NTEKME ZNTAT]AΠPO
- 2 [XE AKXOOC XE CEN]AKWT NOYNΑ
[YAE NEZ]
[ENACOBTE NTE]KME ZN M ΠHYE.
- 3 [AICMINE NOYΔIAΘ]HKH MN NACWTΠ
[AIWPK NΔAYEIA MA]EMZAL
- 4 [XE TNA COBTE MΠ]EKCEPMα
[YAE NEZ]
[TNA KWΤ MΠEKCEPMα XIN] OY
[XWM]

(broken)

(b) Recto: Psalm CX, 9, 10 (broken)

- ↑ 9 [YAE[NEZ]
[PECPAN OYΔAB]AYW [OY]ZOTE [NE]
10 [TAPXH NTCOΦ]IA TE ΘOTE
[MΠNOYTE]
[NANOY TUNT]PMN[Z]HT ΔE NO[Y]
[ON NIM ETE]! PE [M]MOC.

10

[ΠΕΥΣΜΟΥ ΩΘΟΠ] ΩΔΕΝΕΖ

[ΝΕΝΕΖ]

(broken)

(b) Verso: Psalm CXI, 6, 7 (broken) —→

6

[Ν]ΥΝΑΚΙΜ Δ[Ν ΩΔΕΝΕΖ]

ΠΑΙΚΑΙΟΣ ΝΔ[ΩΩΠΕ ΝΡΠΜΕ]

ΕΥΕ ΩΔΕΝΕ[Ζ]

7

ΝΥΝΑΡ[ΖΟ]ΤΕ Δ[Ν ΖΗΤΥ ΝΟΥ]

COE[Τ Ε]ΥΖΟ[ΟΥ]

ΠΕΥΖΗΤ[ΣΒΤΩΤ ΕΖΕΛΠΙΖΕ]

ΕΠΧΟ[ΕΙC]

(broken)

9

PSALMS

(f 4) 5½ by 4 inches, almost complete. Parchment. Written in square uncials of the fifth or sixth century, see Plate I, 8.

One page containing Psalms CXLVII, 6 - CXLVIII, 4.

Recto: Psalm CXLVII, 6 - 13 (margin)

6

[Ν]ΤΟΥ ΠΕΝΤΑΥΕΩΝ Δ[ΥΩ]

ΔΥΩΝΤ·

ΔΥΤΑΖΟΥ ΕΡΑΤΟΥ ΩΔΕΝ[ΕΖ]

[Δ]ΥΩ ΩΔΕΝΕΖ ΝΕΝΕΖ·

[Δ]ΥΚΑΔΥ ΝΟΥΠΡΟСТАΓΜ[Δ]

ΕΝΝΕΥΟΥΕΙΝΕ ΠΚΑΖ

7

[C]ΜΟΥ ΕΠΧΟΕΙC ΕΒΟΛ ΖΩ

[Ν]ΕΔΡΑΚΩΝ ΜΝ ΝΝΟΥΝ Τ[ΗΡΟΥ]

8

[Π]ΚΩΣΤ· ΤΕΧΑΛΑΖΑ ΠΧΙ[ΩΝ ΜΝ]

ΝΕΚΡΥСТАЛЛОС· ΠΕΗ[ΠΔ]

ΝΘΑΤΗΥ ΕΤΕΙΡΕ ΜΠΕΥ

ΩΔΧΕ·

- 9 [N]ΤΟΥΕΙΗ Μ̄Ν ΝCΙΒΤ ΤΗ[ΡΟΥ]
 [N]ΩΗΝ ΕΤ+ΚΑΡΠΟΣ Μ̄Ν [N]
 ΚΕΔΡΟΣ / ΤΗ[ΡΟΥ]
- 10 [N]ΕΘΗΡΙΟΝ Μ̄Ν ΝΤΒΝΟ[ΟΥΕ]
 ΝΧΑΤΥΕ Μ̄Ν ΝΞΑΛΑΤΕ· Ν[ΙΜ]
- 11 ΝΕΡΡΩΟΥ Μ̄ΠΚΑΖ Μ̄Ν Λ[ΑΟΣ]
 ΝΑΡΧΩΝ Μ̄Ν ΝΡΕΥ+ΖΑΠ [ΤΗ]
 ΡΟΥ Μ̄ΠΚΑΖ·
- 12 ΝΖΡΩΥΙΕ Μ̄Ν Μ̄ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟ[Σ]
 ΝΖΛΛΟ Μ̄Ν ΝΩΗΡΕ ΩΗΜ
- 13 ΜΑΡΟΥCΜΟΥ ΕΠΡΑΝ Μ̄ΠΧ[ΘΕΙC]
 (margin)

Verso: Psalms CXLVII,13 - CXLVIII,4 (margin)

- 13 [ΧΕ] ΑΠΕΥΡΑΝ ΧΙCΕ ΜΑΥΑ[ΑΥ]
 ΑΥΩ ΠΕΥΟΥΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ [Ε]
 Χ̄Μ ΠΚΑΖ Μ̄Ν ΤΠΕ·
- 14 ῥ̄ΝΑΧΙCΕ Μ̄ΠΤΑΠ Μ̄ΠΕΥ[ΛΑΟΣ]
 ΠΑΪ ΠΕ ΠΕCΜΟΥ Ν̄ΝΕΥΠ[ΕΤ]
 ΟΥΑΔΒ ΤΗΡΟΥ·
 [ΝΩ]ΗΡΕ Μ̄ΠΙCΡΑΝΛ ΠΛΑΟ[Σ]
 ΕΤΖΗΝ ΕΡΟΥ:

CXLVIII,1

- [Α]ΛΛΗΛΟΥΪΑ·
 [Χ]Ω ΕΠΧΘΕΙC ΝΟΥΧΩ Ν[ΒΡΡΕ]
 [ΠΕ]ΥCΜΟΥ Ζ̄Ν ΤΕΚΚΛΗ[CΙΔ Ν]
 ΝΕΤΟΥΑΔΒ·
- 2 [ΜΑ]ΡΕ ΠΙCΡΑΝΛ ΕΥΦΡΑΝΕ [ΕΧ]
 [Μ]ΠΕΝΤΑΥΤΑΜΙΟΥ·
 [ΜΑ]ΡΕ Ν̄ΩΗΡΕ Ν̄CΙΩΝ Τ[ΛΗΛ]
 [ΕΧ̄Μ] ΠΕΥΡΡΟ·
 [ΜΑΡ]ΟΥΦΑΛΛΕΙ ΕΡΟΥ Ζ̄ΝΟΥ
 ΤΥΜΠΑΝΟΝ Μ̄Ν ΟΥΦΑΛ

3

ΤΗΡΙΟΝ·

4

[X]Ε ΖΝΕ ΠΧΘΕΙC ὤΠΕΥΛΑ[OC]

[α]Υ[ω Ε]ΥΝΑΧΙCΕ Ν̄Ν̄Ρ̄Μ̄ΡΑΥ [Ζ̄Ν̄]

\ οὐοὐ[Χαί]

(margin)

10

ISAIAH

(g 9) 3½ by 3½ inches, width complete. Parchment. Written in small square uncials of the fifth century. The script is badly faded in places and the manuscript is extremely difficult to read.

Fragment of one page containing Isaiah LII,14 - LIII,4. The text agrees very closely with the Pierpont Morgan manuscript III(M 568); other manuscripts extant for this text were published by Ciasca, Fragmenta Copto-Sahidica and Maspero(Miss.VI), the latter is only extant for LIII,3,4. LIII,1 - 12 is also found in the Achmimic I Clement chapter XVI, but the version there differs considerably from the Sahidic Version.

Recto:

(margin)

Verso:

(margin)

[...]

LII,14

[ΠΕΚ]ΕΙΝΕ ΝΑCΩC

Ν̄Τ̄Ν̄ Ν̄Ρ̄ΩΜΕ·ΑΥΩ

ΠΕ[Κ]ΕΘΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄Ν̄

15

Ν̄[Ρ̄]ΩΜΕ· Ν̄ΖΕΘ̄ΝΟC

ΕΤΟΥ ΝΑΡ̄[ΥΠ]ΗΡΕ

Ν̄ΤΕΙΖΕ Ε[Χ]ΩΥ·ΑΥΩ

ΝΕΡΡΩΟΥ ΝΑΥΤΑΜ

ΝΤΕΥΤΑΠΡΟ ΧΕΝΕΤΕ

Ἰ̄ΠΟΥΧΩ ΝΑΥ ΕΤ

[Β]ΗΗΤ̄Ῡ [Ν]ΑΝΑΥ ΕΡΟΥ

ΑΥΩ ΝΕΤΕἸ̄ΠΟΥCΩ

LIII,1

Τ̄Μ̄ ΝΑΕΙΜΕ: ΠΧΘ

LIII,2

Ἰ̄Π

Ἰ̄Ν̄ ΟΥ[ΚΑΖ] ΕΥ[ΟΒΕ]

Ἰ̄Ν̄Τ̄ῩCΑ Ἰ̄Μ̄ΑΥ ΟΥ

ΔΕ Ἰ̄Ν̄Τ̄Ῡ[ΕΘ]ΟΥ ΔΝ

[ΝΑ]Υ ΕΡΟΥ ΑΥΩ ΝΕ

Ἰ̄Ν̄Τ̄Ῡ ΕΙΝΕ ΟΥΔΕ

CΑ ΑΛΛΑ ΝΕΡΕΠΕΥ

ΕΙΝΕ CΗΥ ΑΥΩ ΝΕΥ

ΟΚΜ ΠΑΡΑ Ν̄Ρ̄ΩΜΕ

ΤΗΡΟΥ· ΟΥΡΩΜΕ

ΕΥΖ̄ΝΟΥΠΛΗΓΗ ΑΥΩ

ΕΥCΘΟΥΝ Ἰ̄ῩΙ ΖΑ

ΛΟΧΛΕΧ ΧΕ[ΑΥΚΤΟ]

LIII,1	ΕΙΣ ΝΙΜ ΠΕΝΤΑΥΠΙ	LIII,3	ᾠπευγο εβολ αυ
	CTEYE ETENCMH		coyy. αυω ᾠπογ
	αυω πεβοι ᾠπχο	4	οπγ. ᾠτογ ηετ
	ΕΙΣ ΕΝΤΑΥ[δωλη]		[Ναυι] εα ΝΕΝΝΟΒΕ
2	ΕΝΙΜ· ΑΝ[ψαχε ᾠ]		[αυω ημ]ΟΚε ΕΤΒΗ
	πευᾠτο εβολ ᾠ]		[ΗΤΗ ΑΝΟΝ] ζωων
	θε ᾠ[ουωηρε ωημ]		[ΑΝΟΠΗ ΧΕ ΕΥ]ΕΝΟΥ
	ᾠ[θε ᾠΟΥ ΝΟΥΝΕ]		[εΙσε] ..
	(margin)		(margin)

verse 14. νασωγ with Morgan; νασωγ Ciasca.

αυω—ρωμε with Morgan; omitted in Ciasca.

verse 15. εχωγ; Morgan and Ciasca εραι εχωγ.

ναειμε with Morgan; ναμε Ciasca(error).

verse 1. ΠΕΝΤΑΥΠΙCTEYE ETENCMH with Morgan; ΠΕΝΤΑΥΠΙΕΠΕΥΓΟΟΥ ΕΡΟΥ Ciasca.

verse 2. ΑΝψαχε with Morgan; Νψαχε Ciasca(error).

verse 3. παρα ρωμε with Morgan and Maspero; μηα ρωμε Ciasca(error).

Νηι ελοχλεχ with Morgan(λοβλεχ); ᾠηι ελοχλχ ΝΙΜ Maspero; Νεηει
εα ΝΕΝΛΟΧΛΧ Ciasca.

αυcoyy with Maspero and Morgan; αυω αυcoyy Ciasca.

New Testament.

11

ST. MATTHEW

(g 4) 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ by 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches, complete. Parchment. Written in small square uncials of the sixth or seventh century, cf. G. Horner, Coptic Version etc. Sahidic, vol. III plate VII. Crum in his notebook expressly states that this fragment was found at Ganadlah - not Bala'izah -, cf. above chapter I p.2. St. Matthew X, 14 - 21. Horner's number 25.

Text:

Recto: St. Matthew X, 14 - 17.

(margin)

ⲟⲁ

X, 14 [] Ⲣⲏⲏⲧⲛ ⲁⲉ ⲁⲛ
 [] ⲥⲱⲧⲓ ⲙⲓ ⲉⲛ ⲉⲧⲓ ⲛⲓ ⲱⲓ ⲁ
 ⲛⲉ [] ⲛⲏⲉⲓ
 [] ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ
 [] ⲱⲟⲉⲓ ⲛⲛⲉ
 15 ⲧⲛⲟⲩⲉⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲉⲁ ⲙⲏⲛ ⲛⲥⲱ ⲙ
 ⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲏⲧⲛ ⲛⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲧⲓ ⲟⲩⲛ
 ⲛⲁⲱⲱ ⲛⲉ ⲙⲛⲕⲁ ⲉⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩⲙⲁ
 ⲙⲛ ⲓⲟⲩⲙⲟⲣⲣⲁ ⲉⲧⲙⲛ ⲉⲧⲟⲟⲩⲩⲛ
 ⲧⲉⲕⲣⲓⲥⲓⲥ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲉ ⲧⲓⲟⲩⲓⲥ ⲉⲧⲙ
 16 ⲙⲁⲩⲱⲩ ⲉⲓⲥⲉⲏⲏⲧⲉ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲛⲥⲟⲩⲱ
 ⲙⲙⲱⲧⲛ ⲛⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲛⲉⲥⲟⲩⲱ ⲛ
 ⲧⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛⲓⲟⲩⲱⲛⲱⲩⲱⲩ ⲱⲱ
 ⲛⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲥⲁⲃⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲱⲩ
 ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲁⲕⲉⲣⲁⲓⲟⲩⲥ ⲛⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲛⲓⲟⲩⲱ
 17 ⲟⲩⲙⲛⲉⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲧⲏⲧⲛ ⲁⲉ ⲉⲣⲱⲧⲛ
 ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲛⲛⲱⲙⲉⲧⲉ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲛⲁ
 ⲣⲁⲁⲓⲁⲩⲟⲩ ⲓⲁⲣ ⲙⲙⲱⲧⲛ ⲛⲥⲩⲛ

(margin)

verse 14. Ⲣⲏⲏⲧⲛ, definitely not ⲛⲓⲧⲏⲩⲧⲛ which is found in all other MSS.

Verso: St. Matthew X, 17 - 21.

(margin)

[oB]
 X, 17 [ε]εΔΡΙΟΝ[]
 [C]Υ[N]ΑΓΩ[ΓΗ]
 18 μ[μωτν]
 ΝΖΗΓ[ΕΜΩΝ ΜΝ Ν(ε)ΡΡΩΟΥ]
 ΕΤΒΗΗΤ [ΕΥΜΝΤΜΝΤΡΕ ΝΑΥ]
 19 ΜΝ ΝΖΕΘΝ[ΟC ΕΟΤΑΝ ΔΕ ΕΥΩΑΝ]
 ΠΑ[Ρ]ΑΔΙΔΟΥ Μ[μωτν μΠρ]
 Υ[ΡΟΟΥ]Ω ΧΕ Ν[αω] ΝΟ[Ε Η Ε]
 ΤΕ[ΤΝΑΧΟ]ΟC Χ[Ε]ΟΥ· C[ΕΝ]Α[Τ]
 ΓΑΡ ΝΗ[Τ]Ν Ν[ΤΕ]ΥΝΟΥ [Ε]ΤΜΜ[αυ]
 20 ΧΕ ΟΥ ΠΕΤ[ΕΤ]ΝΑΧΟΟΥ· Ν[ΤΩ]
 ΤΝ ΓΑΡ ΑΝ ΕΤ[αυ]ΧΕ· ΑΛ[Α] ΠΕ]
 ΠΝΑ ΜΠΕΤΝ[ΕΙΩ]Τ ΠΕΤ[αυ]
 21 ΧΕ ΝΖΗΤΤΗ[ΥΤ]Ν· ΟΥΝ [ΟΥ]CΟ[N]
 ΔΕ ΝΑΠΑΡΑ[ΔΙ]ΔΟΥ ΜΠΕΥCΟ[N]
 ΕΠΜΟΥ· ΑΥΩ [Ο]ΥΕΙΩΤ ΜΠΕΥ
 ΩΗΡΕ· ΝΤΕ ΝΩΗΡΕ ΤΩΟΥΝ
 ΕΧΝ ΝΕΥ[ΕΙ]ΟΤΕ ΝCΕΜΟΥ[ΟΥ]Τ

(margin)

12

GOSPELS

(d 58) 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ by 5 inches, originally ca. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ by 8 inches. Papyrus.

Written in rounded uncials of probably the seventh century, see plate II, 6.

One large fragment containing St. Matthew X, 23 - 41, and two small fragments containing St. Matthew XXI, 41, 42, 45, 46 and St. Matthew XXVIII, 20 and the title of St. Mark's gospel. Horner lists this manuscript as 'm'

in his register of the fragments but it is not cited at all in his critical apparatus.

Text:

(a) Recto: St. Matthew X, 23 - 31

(margin)

X, 23 ↑ [ε]βολ̄ ἡ πολ̄ι[c]
 [μ]π̄ῑηλ̄ ἡ πε
 [πωη]ρε ἡ πρω
 [με ε]ῑ · ἡ μ̄ν
 [c]βοϋῑ ὁ ἡνοβ̄
 επε[υ]σαε̄ · οϋ
 [Δ]ε ἡ[ν]ε[μ]γαλ̄εϋ
 [Xoc]ε ε̄ροϋε̄
 [επεϋ]χοεῑc ·
 [εω]επεσβοϋῑ
 [Xε]εϋεωωπε
 [nθε μ]πεϋσαε̄ ·
 [αϋ]ω πεμ̄γαλ̄ Xe
 [εϋ]εωωπε ἡ
 [θ]ε ἡπεϋχο̄ῑc ·
 [εωX]ε αϋμοϋ
 [τε ε]η̄χοεῑc
 [Xε βε]ελζεβοϋλ̄
 [ποcω] μαλλον̄
 [nyρμ]ἡ η̄ῑ ·
 [μπρρ]ροτε̄ βε
 [εητο]ϋ · ἡ[ν] λ̄α
 [αϋ γαρ]εϋρο[β]c
 [εncen]ᾱ βολ̄π̄ϋ
 [εβολ̄ αν̄] · αϋω
 [εϋεηη̄εν]ϋνα

X, 27 οε[ω μμοϋ ε]ῑ
 X̄N ἡ[Xενεπωρ]
 28 ἡπ̄ρ̄ρο̄τε̄ εητοϋ
 ἡνετ[ναμοϋ]
 οϋτ̄ ἡ[πετν cω]
 μα ε[μν βομ]
 δε ἡ[μοοϋ ε]
 μοϋ[οϋτ̄ ἡτε]
 τ̄νψ[ϋχη̄ αρι]
 εοτ̄[δε νεροϋο]
 ε[ητη μπετε]
 οϋν̄[βομ μμοϋ]
 ετ[ακο̄ η̄τετν]
 ψϋ[χη̄ μν̄ πετ]
 ἡc[ωμᾱ εραῑ εη]
 τ̄γ[εεenna]
 29 ἡη[XαX cναϋ]
 ἡc[ε† μμοοϋ]
 αν̄[εβολ̄ εᾱ οϋ]
 εο[βολ̄]oc[αϋω]
 οϋ[α]εβολ̄ η̄εη
 τ[οϋ]η̄η̄εϋεε̄
 ερ[α]ε̄X[μ̄ πκαε]
 ε[Xμ]πε[τη̄ειωτ]
 30 ἡ[κεϋ]ω̄[η̄τετν]
 [απε̄ η̄η̄τη]

X,26 [ΟΥΩΝΕ ΕΒ]ΟΛ ΑΝ.
[]

X,31 Ρ[ΟΥ ΜΗΡΡΕΟ]
ΤΕ ΔΕ]

(broken)

verse 24. εϋ[χο]ε εζοϋε [επεϋ- with the Morgan manuscript against three manuscripts cited by Horner, reading εϋχοσε επεϋ(χοειο).

verse 29. The manuscript omits ΕΤΕΝΜΗΥΕ after ΠΕΤΝΕΙΩΤ with the majority of the Greek manuscripts against the Morgan manuscript, one manuscript cited by Horner and the Bohairic Version with a few Greek minuscules, some Old Latin manuscripts and the Ethiopic Version.

(a) Verso: St. Matthew X,32 - 35, 37 - 41.

(margin)

X,32 [ΣΟΜΟΛΟΓ]ΕΙ Ε[Ω]
[ΝΕΗΤΥ] ΜΠΕΜ
[ΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ] ΜΠΑ
[ΕΙΩΤ] ΕΤΕΝ Μ

33 [ΠΗΥΕ] ΠΕΤΝΑ
[ΑΠΑΡΝΑ] ΔΕ Μ
[ΜΟΙ ΜΠΕ] ΜΤΟ
[ΕΒΟΛ ΝΝ] ΡΩΜΕ
[ΤΝΑ ΑΠΑ] ΡΝΑ
[ΕΩ ΜΜ] ΟΥ Μ
[ΠΕΜΤΟ ΕΒ] ΟΛ
[ΜΠΑΕΙΩ] Τ ΕΤ
[ΕΝ ΜΠΗ] ΥΕ.

34 [ΜΠΡΩΩ] ΧΕ Ν
[ΤΑΙΕΙ ΕΝΟ] Υ ΧΕ
[ΝΟΥΕΙΡΗ] ΝΗ
[ΕΞΡΑΙ ΕΧΜ] ΠΚΑΖ.
[ΝΤΑΙΕΙ ΑΝ] ΕΝΟΥ
[ΧΕ ΝΟΥΕΙΡ] ΗΝΗ

X,37 ΩΗΡΕ ΖΙΩΕ[ΕΡΕ]
ΕΖΟΥΕΡΟ[ΝΥ Μ]
ΠΩΑ Μ[ΜΟΙ ΑΝ]

38 ΑΥΩ ΠΕ[ΤΕΝΥ]
ΝΑΥΙ ΑΝ ΜΠ[ΕΥ]
ΣΡΟΣ [Ν]ΥΟΥΑ[ΕΥ]
ΝΣΩ[Ι ΝΥ] ΜΠ[ΩΑ]

39 ΜΜΟΙ Α[Ν ΠΕΝ]
ΤΑΥΕΕ ΕΤ[ΕΥΨΥ]
ΧΗ ΥΝΑΣ[ΟΡΜΕΣ]
ΑΥΩ ΠΕΝ[ΤΑΥ]
ΣΩΡ[Μ ΝΤΕΥ]
ΨΥΧΗ Ε[ΤΒΗΗΤ]

40 ΥΝΑΣΕ ΕΡ[ΟΣ]
ΠΕΤΩΩΠ[ΜΜΩ]
ΤΝ ΕΡΟΥ[ΕΥΩΩΠ]
ΜΜΟΙ Ε[ΡΟΥ]
ΑΥΩ ΠΕ[ΤΩΩΠ]
ΜΜΟΙ ΕΡ[ΟΥ ΕΥ]

X, 34 [αλλα]ε[νον]χε
 35 [νονς]η[χε.]̄
 [ταιει]γα[ρ]ε[πω]
 [ρχ]νο[γ]ρ[ωμ]ε
 [επε]χ[ει]ω[τ].
 [αω]ο[υ]ε[ρε]
 [ετε]μα[α]υ[α]γ.
 [ο]υ[ε]λε[ετ]ε̄
 []

X, 40 ωωπ[ε]ρο[υ]πεν
 ταχ[τ]η[ν] [ν]ο[ο]υ[τ]
 41 [πε]τ[ω] [ω]π[ε]ρο[υ]
 [νο]γ[ρ]ο[φ]η[τ]η[ς]
 χνα[α]! [μ]π[ε]
 κε [ν]ο[υ]π[ρ]ο[φ]η
 τη[ς] α[ω]ω [πε]τ
 ω[ω]π[ε]ρο[υ] [ν]
 ο[υ] [δικα]ιο[ς]

(broken)

verse 41. The manuscript omits επραν νουηροφητης after νουηροφητης by haplography against all the other manuscripts.

(b) St. Matthew XXI, 41, 42, 45, 46.

Recto: —→ (broken)

XXI, 41, 42 [ο]υ[ει]ω[πε]
 [χα]υ[να]υ [ν]ο[ι] [ε]
 [χε] [μ]πε[τ]νο[ω]υ
 [ε]νε[ε] [ε]ρα[ι] [ε]νε
 [γρα]φ[η] [ε] [π]ω.
 [νε] [ν]τα[υ] [ς]
 [τω]υ [ν]ο[ι] [νε]τ[κ]ω[τ]
 (broken)

Verso: ↑ (broken)

XXI, 45 [φ]α[ρι]ς [α]ιο[ς] [ε]νε[υ]
 [πα]ρα [β]ολ[η] [α]υ[ει]
 [με] [ε] [ε]χ[ω] [μ]
 46 [μ]ο[ς] [ε]τ[β]η[η]το[υ] [α]υ
 [ω] [ν]ε[υ] [ω] [νε] [ν]α
 [α]μα[ε]τ[ε] [μ]
 [μ]ο[υ] [α]υ[ρ] [ε]ο[τε]
 (broken)

verse 42. Νταυστωυ νοι νετκωτ with Horner's lll against (ε)ντα νετκωτ τστου read by Horner's 9, 50, 52.

(c) St. Matthew XXVIII, 20 and title to St. Mark's gospel.

Recto: ↑ (margin ?)

XXVIII, 20 [ο] [π] [ν] [μ]μ[η]τ[η]ν
 [ν] [νε] [ε] [ο] [υ] [τ]η[ρ]ο[υ]
 [α] [ε] [ρα] [ι] [ε] [τ] [συ]ν[τε]λ[ει]α
 (broken)

Verso: —→ (margin?)

κα[τα] μα[ρ]κο[ς]
 (broken)

ST. MATTHEW

(d 187c) 2 by 3 inches, incomplete. Parchment. Written in large square uncials of the eighth century.

One small fragment containing St. Matthew XVII, 20, 24, 25. (Not in Horner).

Text:

Recto: (broken)

XVII, 20 [NΔ]Υ Χ[Ε ΕΤΒΕ]
 [Τ]ΕΤ[ΝΚΟΥΙ Μ]
 ΠΙCΤΙC [ΕΔ]
 Μ[Η]Ν ΓΑΡ ΤΧ[Ω]
 [ΜΜΟ]C ΝΗΤΝ
 ΧΕ ΕΩ]ΩΠΕ ΟΥΝ
 [ΤΗΤ]Ν ΠΙCΤΙC]

Verso: (broken)

XVII, 24 [ΝΕΤΧΙΚ]ΙΤ[Ε]
 [ΕΥΧΩ Μ]ΜΟC
 [ΧΕ ΜΕΡΕ] ΠΕΤΝ
 [CΔ]Ε Τ ΤΕΥ[ΚΙ]ΤΕ
 25 [Π]ΕΧΑΥ Χ[Ε ΟΥ]
 [Ν]ΤΕΡΕ[Υ ΕΙ ΔΕ]
 [Ε]ΡΑΙ Ε[ΠΗΙ]

(broken)

verse 24. [ΑΥ Τ ΠΕΥΟΘΕΙ ΕΝΕΤΡΟC ΝΒΙ ΝΕΤΧΙΚ]ΙΤ[Ε with Horner's 52, (65), 119

against Α ΝΕΤΧΙΚΙΤΕ Τ ΠΕΥΟΘΕΙ ΕΝΕΤΡΟC read by the Morgan manuscript and Horner's 8, 70, and 111.

ST. LUKE

(d ¹³/₁₋₂) Two pages forming single leaf, together 7 by 11 inches, each page 7 by 5½ inches, complete. Parchment. Written in square uncials of the fifth or sixth century. The ω and ω are sometimes shaped Δ and Δ at the end of lines. As one page shows the page-number ΤΞΗ (368) it is probable that this manuscript contained all the four gospels. Lines and columns are ruled. Like number 5 above, this manuscript makes a distinction in its superlineation between the single letter stroke and the two- or three-letter stroke, e.g. ΝΩΟΡΠ, ΑΥΠΡΩ, ΤΩΝΤΕΡΟ.

Two pages containing Luke XVII, 15-29 and XIX, 30-46. Horner's 25.

Text:

(a) Recto: St. Luke XVII, 15 - 23.

(margin)

[τξζ]

XVII, 15 ε[¹ν ουνος ¹νσμη]
 εγ[¹θεοου ¹μπνου]
 16 τε [αη¹αετ¹χ εα
 ρατ¹χ] εχ¹μ πεγ
 εο εγ¹αηεμοτ
 ντοοτ¹χ [ν]τογ
 δε νεγ[¹αμαρι
 17 της πε [α]ι¹ε ου
 ω¹β πεχαγ χε
 μη ¹μπε πιμηт
 τ¹ββο. εγτων
 18 δε πκεψις ¹μ
 πουε εροου
 ετρεуκτοου
 εθεоου ¹μπνου
 τε ε[¹μμηт πι
 19 α¹μμο. πεχαγ
 ναγ χε τω¹ον
 20 ν¹τβωκ. ντε
 ρουχ¹νουγ δε
 εβολ ειτ¹ν νε
 φαριсаиос χε
 ερε τ¹μντερο

XVII, 20 ¹μπνουτε νη[¹γ]
 [τ]ναγ αγ¹ουω
 α¹β πεχαγ ναγ
 χε ερε τ¹μντε
 [ρο ¹μπ]νουτε
 νηγ [αν ε¹ν] ου
 21 ¹ετ¹ηγ [ο]γ[δε]
 εynaχοос α[¹ν]
 χε ειςεηητε
¹μπειμα η ¹μ
 πα¹ι. εις τ¹μντε
 ρο γαρ ¹μπνου
 τε ¹μπετ¹νса
 22 ν¹εοуn. πεχαγ
 δε ν¹νεγ¹μαθ[η]
 της χε ου¹ν¹ε[ε]
 εοу νηγ ε
 тет¹ν¹наε[пи]
 θυμι ε¹наγ [εγ]
 εοу ε¹ν [на]
 πω¹ηρ[ε ¹μπρω]
 με. ντ[ετ¹ντ¹μ]
 23 ναγ. ν¹[εε]χο

(margin)

verse 16. Apparently not αγ¹αηεμοτ as read by Horner; εγ¹αηεμοτ with Horner's 15, 64, 85, against αγ¹αηεμοτ read by the Morgan manuscript and Horner's 70, 91, 114.

verse 21. ¹μπα¹ι; Morgan: ημμη, Horner's 85: η πα¹ι, Horner's 15, 64, 70, 89,

91 and 114: $\mu\eta\ \mu\eta$, Horner's χ^l omits the passage.

(a) Verse: St. Luke XVII, 23 - 29.

(margin)

$\overline{\tau\ \xi\ \eta}$

XVII, 23 $\text{OC NH} \overline{\tau\ \eta} \chi\epsilon \epsilon[\epsilon]$
 $\text{zHH} \mu\epsilon \overline{\eta\ \mu\ \eta} [\epsilon]$
 $\epsilon\iota\mu\alpha \overline{\eta\ \eta\ \mu\ \eta} \mu\alpha\iota\ \mu$
 $\mu\overline{\rho}\ \mu\omega\tau\ \epsilon\beta\omega\lambda$
 24 $\overline{\eta}\ \theta\epsilon\ \gamma\alpha\rho\ \overline{\eta}\ \tau\epsilon\beta$
 $\rho\eta\theta\epsilon\ [\omega]\alpha\varsigma\overline{\rho\ \omega}$
 $[\overline{\omega}]\epsilon\iota\overline{\eta}\ \epsilon\alpha\tau\mu\epsilon$
 $\overline{\eta}\ \tau\overline{\rho}\ \overline{\rho}\ \overline{\omega}\ \overline{\omega}\ \epsilon\iota\overline{\eta}\ \epsilon$
 $\chi\mu\ \mu\kappa\alpha\epsilon\cdot\tau\alpha\iota$
 $\tau\epsilon\ \theta\epsilon\ \epsilon\tau\eta\alpha\omega\omega$
 $\mu\epsilon\ \mu\ \mu\ \omega\ \eta\ \rho\epsilon\ \mu$
 25 $\mu\overline{\rho}\ \mu\omega\epsilon\cdot\ \epsilon\alpha\tau\epsilon$
 $\Delta\epsilon\ \overline{\eta}\ \omega\overline{\rho}\overline{\rho}\ \epsilon\tau\overline{\rho}\epsilon\overline{\eta}$
 $\omega\overline{\eta}\ \epsilon\alpha\epsilon\ \overline{\eta}\ \epsilon\iota\epsilon$
 $\overline{\eta}\ \epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\overline{\omega}\ \epsilon$
 $\beta\omega\lambda\ \epsilon\iota\tau\overline{\eta}\ \tau\epsilon\overline{\eta}\ \gamma\epsilon$
 26 $\mu\epsilon\alpha\cdot\ \alpha\gamma\omega\ \kappa\alpha\tau\alpha$
 $[\theta\epsilon]\ \epsilon\tau\alpha\varsigma\omega\omega$
 $[\mu\epsilon]\ \epsilon\overline{\eta}\ \mu\epsilon\epsilon\omega$
 $[\overline{\omega}\ \overline{\eta}]\ \mu\omega\epsilon\cdot\tau\alpha\iota$
 $[\tau\epsilon\ \theta\epsilon\ \epsilon]\ \tau\eta\alpha\omega\omega$
 $[\mu\epsilon\ \epsilon\overline{\eta}\ \mu]\ \epsilon\epsilon\omega\omega$
 $\overline{\mu}[\mu\omega]\ \eta\ \rho\epsilon\ \mu\ \mu\overline{\rho}\omega$

XVII, 27 $[\mu\epsilon\ \epsilon\gamma\overline{\omega}\omega\mu]$
 $[\epsilon\gamma\omega\ \epsilon\gamma\chi\iota]\ \epsilon\epsilon\iota$
 $\mu\epsilon\ \epsilon\gamma[\epsilon\mu\overline{\omega}\omega]\ \omega\alpha$
 $\mu\epsilon\epsilon\omega\omega\ \overline{\eta}\ \tau\alpha$
 $\mu\omega\epsilon\ \beta\omega\kappa\ \epsilon$
 $\epsilon\omega\gamma\ \epsilon\tau\overline{\omega}\ \beta\omega$
 $\tau\overline{\omega}\ [\alpha]\ \mu\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha$
 $\kappa\lambda\gamma\mu\overline{\omega}\ \epsilon\iota\ \alpha\gamma$
 $\tau\alpha\kappa\overline{\omega}\ \tau\eta\overline{\rho}\omega$
 28 $\alpha\gamma\omega\ \overline{\omega}\ \kappa\alpha\tau\alpha$
 $\theta\epsilon\ \epsilon\tau\alpha\varsigma\omega\omega$
 $\mu\epsilon\ \epsilon\overline{\eta}\ \mu\epsilon\epsilon\omega\omega$
 $\overline{\eta}\ \lambda\omega\tau\cdot\ \epsilon\gamma\overline{\omega}\omega$
 $\omega\mu\ \epsilon\gamma\omega\cdot\ \epsilon\gamma$
 $\omega\omega\ \mu\ \epsilon\gamma\tau\epsilon$
 $\beta\omega\lambda\cdot\ \epsilon\gamma\tau\omega\omega\epsilon$
 29 $\epsilon\gamma\kappa\omega\tau\cdot\ \omega\alpha\epsilon$
 $\epsilon\omega\omega\ \epsilon\tau\alpha\lambda\omega\tau$
 $\epsilon\iota\ \epsilon\beta\omega\lambda\ \epsilon\overline{\eta}\ \epsilon\omega$
 $\Delta\omega\mu\alpha\cdot\ \alpha\gamma\kappa\omega\epsilon\tau$
 $\epsilon\omega\omega\ \epsilon\beta\omega\lambda\ \epsilon\overline{\eta}$
 $\tau\mu\epsilon\ \mu\overline{\eta}\ \overline{\omega}\ \theta\eta\eta$
 $\alpha\chi\tau\alpha\kappa\epsilon\ \overline{\omega}\ \overline{\omega}$

(margin)

verse 23. $\overline{\eta}\ \mu\mu\epsilon\mu\alpha\ \overline{\eta}\ \mu\mu\mu\alpha\iota$ so only this manuscript, for variants see Horner.

verse 25. $\overline{\eta}\ \epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\overline{\omega}$, not $\overline{\eta}\ \epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\overline{\omega}\ \epsilon$.

verse 31. οὐκ for οὐακ; πχοῖς only this Ms., π(ε)χχοεῖς Horner's 11,90,91,114.

verse 34. πχοῖς only this Ms., π(ε)χχοεῖς Morgan and Horner's 11,53,91,

π(ε)νχοεῖς Horner's 90,114.

(b) Verso: St. Luke XIX, 38 - 46.

(margin)

XIX, 38 [αὐτὸν πρὸς] ἐν
 39 [νετχοσε π(ε)χ
 [ροεῖνε ναυ] [N]
 [νεφάρ]ισα[ος ε]
 [βολ] ἐπὶ πμηνυε
 [χε] πσαε επιτι
 μα ἡνεκμαθῆ
 40 της αφοῦωψ
 δε πεχαυ· χε +
 χω ἡμος νητην
 δε ερωαν ναῖ
 καρῶν νεῖ
 ὡνε ναχιωκακ
 41 εβολ· ἡτερεφ
 ζων δε εζοῦν
 αχναυ ετπο
 λικ αχριμε ερ
 42 ἰεχωσ εχχω
 ἡμος· χε ενεν
 τειμε ζωω
 [τ]ε ἐπποοῦν
 [ρο]οῦ ενετχο
 [ο]π νε εχειρη

XIX, 42 νη· τενοῦ δε
 αὐτωπ' ενοῦ
 43 βαλ· χε ο[υν] ε[ν]
 200Y νηυ ερ
 ἰεχω ἡτενοῦ
 χαχε κτε οῦ
 αωλ ερω· ἡσε
 κωτε ερω ἡσε
 οτπε εζοῦν
 44 ἡσαα νημ ἡσε
 ραετε εχμ πκαε
 αὐτὸν οὐαρε
 ἡζητε· ἡσετ
 κα οῦω[νε] εχ
 οῦωνε [N]ε[η]τε·
 εβολ χε ἡπεοῦ
 ἡ ποοειω ἡ
 ποοεπ πωῖνε·
 45 ἡτερεφβωκ
 δε εζοῦν επερ
 πε αχαρχι ἡνοῦ
 δε εβολ· ἡνετ
 46 + εβολ· εχχω ἡ

(margin)

verse 42. ενενταειμε with Horner's 91, Horner's 11 reads ενενταρεειμε ,

the Morgan manuscript and Horner's 90 reads $\epsilon\eta\eta\epsilon\eta\tau\alpha\iota\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon$, Horner's 114 reads $\eta\eta\tau\alpha\iota\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon$ and Horner's 53 $\tau\alpha\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon$.

verse 44. $\rho\alpha\sigma\tau\epsilon\epsilon\chi\mu\pi\kappa\alpha\epsilon$ only this manuscript, the other manuscripts read $\rho\alpha\sigma\tau\epsilon\epsilon\pi\kappa\alpha\epsilon$.

15

ST. JOHN

(e 15) 7 by $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches, complete. Parchment. Written in square uncial of the fifth century. Columns are ruled, lines are apparently not ruled.

One page containing St. John II, 24 - III, 15. On the Verso we find in addition to the page-number also the quire-number $\bar{\Pi}$ (8), which means that some other book must have preceded the Gospel of St. John, cf. Sir Herbert Thompson: The Coptic Version of the Acts of the Apostles and the Pauline Epistles, pp. X - XIII. Horner's number 26.

Text:

Recto: St. John II, 24 - III, 6.

(margin)

$\bar{\Theta}$

II, 24	$\bar{\Pi}\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \Delta\epsilon\ \bar{\iota}\bar{\varsigma}\ \eta\epsilon\upsilon\ \mu$ ^(sic)	III, 3	$\alpha\gamma\omicron\upsilon\omega\omega\bar{\beta}\ \bar{\Pi}\delta\bar{\iota}\ \bar{\iota}\bar{\varsigma}$
	$\tau\alpha\eta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\tau\ \bar{\mu}\mu\omicron\upsilon$		$\pi\epsilon\chi\alpha\upsilon\ \eta\alpha\upsilon\ \chi\epsilon\ \epsilon\alpha$
	$\alpha\eta\ \bar{\eta}\mu\mu\alpha\upsilon\cdot\epsilon\tau\beta\epsilon$		$\mu\eta\eta\ \epsilon\alpha\mu\eta\eta\ +$
	$\chi\epsilon\ \eta\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma\omicron\omicron\upsilon\eta\ \bar{\eta}$		$\chi\omega\ \bar{\mu}\mu\omicron\varsigma\ \eta\alpha\kappa\cdot$
	$\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \bar{\eta}\epsilon\omega\beta\ \eta\mu$		$\chi\epsilon\ \epsilon\upsilon\tau\bar{\mu}\chi\pi\epsilon\ \omicron\upsilon\alpha$
25	$\alpha\upsilon\omega\ \bar{\eta}\eta\epsilon\upsilon\chi\pi\bar{\iota}\alpha$ ^(sic!)		$\bar{\eta}\kappa\epsilon\omicron\pi\ \bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\bar{\eta}\cdot$
	$\alpha\eta\ \chi\epsilon\kappa\alpha\varsigma\ \epsilon\pi\epsilon\ \omicron\upsilon\alpha$		$\beta\omicron\mu\ \bar{\mu}\mu\omicron\upsilon\ \epsilon\eta\alpha\upsilon$
	$\bar{\rho}\bar{\mu}\bar{\eta}\tau\pi\epsilon\ \epsilon\tau\beta\epsilon$		$\epsilon\tau\bar{\mu}\bar{\eta}\tau\bar{\rho}\omicron\ \bar{\mu}\pi$
	$\pi\omega\mu\epsilon\ \bar{\Pi}\tau\omicron\upsilon$	4	$\eta\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon\cdot\pi\epsilon\chi\epsilon$
	$\Delta\epsilon\ \eta\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma\omicron\omicron\upsilon\eta$		$\eta\iota\kappa\omicron\delta\eta\mu\omicron\varsigma\ \eta\alpha\upsilon$
	$\chi\epsilon\ \omicron\upsilon\ \pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon\eta\ \pi\omega$		$\chi\epsilon\ \eta\alpha\upsilon\ \bar{\eta}\epsilon\epsilon\ \epsilon\upsilon$
III, 1	$\mu\epsilon\cdot\eta\epsilon\upsilon\bar{\eta}\ \omicron\upsilon\pi\omega$		$\eta\alpha\upsilon\chi\pi\epsilon\ \pi\omega\mu\epsilon$

	με δε εβολ εν νε		ἡκεσον εαυρελ
	φαισσαιος· επευ		λο· μη ουνβου
	ραν πε νικοδν		ἡμοу ετρεψωκ
	μος ευαρχων		εζουν εζηтς η
2	νιουδαϊ πε· παϊ		τεψμαδυ ηκε
	αχει ουαροу ητευ		сон ησεχпоу
	уη πεχαу ναу	5	αουωωβ η[βι γε]
	δε εραββει тηсо		δε εαμην εα[μην]
	оун δε ηтк ου		+χω ημος[наκ]
	саε· εαχει εβол		δε ευтμ хпе о[у]
	εитη πноуτε		а ηκεсон εβол
	ἡν ουβου γαρ η		εν ουμοου ἡν
	λαау ер неема		оу η[η]α ημ[η(α)βου]
	ein етκειρε η		ἡμοу [ε]нау [етμн]
	моу ηтoк ειμη		тpо η[πноуτε]
	τιоуа ере πноу	6	пент[аυχпоу]
	те оооп ημмау		[]

(margin)

verse 24. нтоу(2°) only this manuscript against W.S.4, Chester Beatty A and B, the Morgan manuscript and 6 manuscripts cited by Horner.

εωβ нтμ with W.S.4, Ch.Beatty A and B, Morgan, Horner's 91, 97, 99, 109, 133, the Sub-Achm. St.John and the Greek manuscripts EFGH, fam¹³ and a few minuscules; against оуон нтμ Horner's 32, 41, 43, 57, the Bohairic Version and the majority of the Greek manuscripts.

verse 25. етβε прωме with Horner's 41(?), 99, against етβε ρωме Ch.Beatty A, Horner's 43, 57, Sub-Achm.St.John; and етβннтч W.S.4, Ch.Beatty B, Morgan, Horner's 32, 91, 97, 133.

нтоу де so only this manuscript against нтоу γαρ read by all the other manuscripts.

verse 2. εαχει with Sub-Achm.St.John against all other Sah. manuscripts,

reading εακει .

ουα with Horner's 4 (IVth cent.), omitted by all other Sah.manuscripts, also the Sub-Achm.St.John.

verse 3. αϣοϣω̄β̄ ν̄β̄ῑ τ̄ε only this manuscript, against α τ̄ε οϣω̄β̄ Horner's 4, a, 41, 43, 57, 46¹; αϣω α τ̄ε οϣω̄β̄ Ch.Beatty A, B, Morgan, Horner's 91, 97, 99, 109, 133; α τ̄ε Δε οϣω̄β̄ Sub-Achm.St.John, cf. Bohairic.

verse 4. εϣναϣχ̄νε-only this manuscript, cf. εϣναχ̄να- Sub-Achm.St.John; all other Sah.manuscripts read σεναχ̄νε.

ετρεϣβωκ with Ch.Beatty B, Morgan, Horner's 4, 97, Sub-Achm.St.John, against εβωκ Ch.Beatty A, Horner's a, 41, 43, 91, 46¹.

verse 5. χ̄νε ο[ϣ]λ̄νκεσ̄ον only this manuscript; all other Sah. manuscripts and the Sub-Achm.St.John omit νκεσ̄ον .

[ε]ναϣ[ε]τ̄αν̄τ̄ρο; it is not possible to read εε̄ι ε̄ζοϣν ε̄τ̄αν̄τ̄ρο which all the other Sah. manuscripts and the Sub-Achm.St.John read here. The manuscript reads εναϣ ε̄τ̄αν̄τ̄ρο with the Greek manuscripts N*, M, 1093, 1241, the old Latin manuscript z and the Bohairic manuscript V.

Verso: St.John III, 6 - 15.

(margin)

	ⲓ		ⲡ
III, 6	<p>οϣαϣ̄ πε αϣω</p> <p>πενταϣχ̄ποϣ ε</p> <p>βολ̄ ζν̄ πεπ̄να ...</p> <p>.... οϣπ̄να πε</p>	III, 11	<p>πετ̄ν̄σοοϣν̄ μ̄</p> <p>μοϣ̄ πετ̄ν̄χω̄ μ̄</p> <p>μοϣ̄ αϣω πετ̄ν̄</p> <p>ναϣ̄ εροϣ̄ πετ̄ν̄</p>
7	<p>μ̄πρ̄ϣ̄π̄ρη̄ μ̄</p> <p>πᾱῑ χ̄ε̄ ᾱῑχοο̄ς</p> <p>νακ̄ χ̄ε̄ ζᾱπ̄ς̄ ε</p> <p>τρεϣχ̄πετ̄ν̄ϣ</p>	12	<p>εϣ̄χ̄ε̄ ᾱῑχω̄ ν̄η̄</p> <p>τ̄ν̄ ν̄νᾱπ̄κᾱζ̄ ᾱϣ̄</p> <p>ω̄ ν̄τετ̄ν̄π̄ῑς̄</p>
8	<p>τ̄ν̄ ν̄κεσ̄ον̄ πε</p> <p>π̄νᾱ ν̄ϣ̄ε̄ επ̄μᾱ</p>		

III,8	ΕΤΥΟΥΔΩΥ· ΔΥΩ [ΚΣ]ΩΤ̄̄ ΕΤΕΥ [Ε]ΜΗ ΑΛΛΑ ΝΓСО [ΟΥ]Ν ΑΝ ΧΕ ΝΤ[ΑΥ]ΕΙ [Τ]ΩΝ Η ΕΥΝΔΕΙ ΤΩΝ ΤΑΙ ^(sic) ΘΕ ΝΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ ΝΤΑΥΣΠΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ	·III,12	ΤΕΥΕ ΑΝ· ΝΑΩ Ν ΖΕ ΕΪΩΑΝΣΩ ΝΗ Τ̄̄ Ν̄ΝΑΤΠΕ ΤΕΤ 13 ΝΑΠΙΣΤΕΥΕ· ΔΥ Ω ΜΠΕΛΑΔΥ ΒΩΚ ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΤΠΕ ΕΙΜΗ ΤΙ ΠΕΝΤΑΥΕΙ Ε ΒΟΛ Ζ̄ΝΤΠΕ ΠΩΗ
9	Ζ̄Ν ΠΕΠ̄ΝΑ Α ΝΙ [ΚΟΔ]ΗΜΟС ΟΥΩ [ΟΥΒ]ΠΕΧΑΥ ΝΑΥ· [ΧΕ] ΝΑΥ ΝΖΕ ΕΡΕ ΠΑ[Ι] ΝΑΥΩΠΕ·	14	ΡΕ ΜΠΡΩΜΕ· ΔΥ Ω ΚΑΤΑ ^(sic) ΘΕ ΝΤΑ ΜΩ ΥСНС ΧΙСЕ Μ ΦΟΥ Ζ̄ΝΤΕΡΗΜΟС ΤΑΪ ΤΕ ΘΕ ΖΑΠС ΕΤΡΕΥΣΑΣΤ ΠΩΗ
10	[Α] Γ̄ ΟΥΩΥΒ ΠΕ [ΧΑ]Υ ΝΑΥ ΧΕ ΝΤΟΚ [ΠΕ]ΠC[ΑΖ Μ]ΠΙCΡΑ [ΗΛ ΔΥΩ] ΝΓСОΟΥΝ	15	ΡΕ ΜΠΡΩΜΕ ΧΕ ΚΑС ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ ΕΤ ΠΙCΤΕΥΕ ΕΡΟΥ· ΕΥΕΚΩ ΝΑΥ ΕΡΑΪ ΝΖΗΤΥ ΝΟΥΩΝ̄Ζ
11	[ΑΝ ΝΝΑΙ] ΖΑΜΗΝ [ΖΑΜΗΝ] † ΧΩ Μ [ΜΟС ΝΑΚ ΧΕ]		

(margin)

col.I lines 3 and 4. After ΠΕΠ̄ΝΑ and before ΟΥΠ̄ΝΑ a few letters have been rubbed out. Since the text, as it now stands, is the same as that found in the other Sah. manuscripts, the scribe had evidently added something by mistake which he later deleted.

verse 8. Η with the Morgan manuscript, Horner's 41,43,57,91,46¹, the Greek manuscripts A,X,ψ,472, the Latin manuscripts a,b,c,f,ff²,q, the Syriac hl^{mg} and the Armenian version; against ΔΥΩ Ch.Beatty A and B, Horner's a,32,133, Boh. Fayy. and the majority of the Greek manuscripts, also the Sub-Achm.St.John.

verse 9. ΠΑΙ with Ch.Beatty A, Horner's a,41,43,57,91; against ΝΑΙ Morgan,

Ch.Beatty B, Horner's 109,133, Sub-Achm.St.John, Fayyumic and Bohairic.

verse 12. εἰς ἀνθρώπῳ with most Sah.manuscripts and Sub-Achm.St.John against εἰς ἀνθρώπῳ read by Horner's 4.

verse 14. ἀλλὰ ἐστρεψάμενος with most Sah. manuscripts, against ἐστρεψάμενος read by Horner's 4 and Sub-Achm.St.John.

16

ST.JOHN

(f 6) 5 by 3¼ inches, complete. Parchment. Written in square uncial of the fifth or sixth century. Lines are ruled, columns are not ruled. Very fragmentary; the verso is in some places completely illegible.

One page containing St.John XV,14 - 22, 24 - 26. Horner's number 28.

Recto: St.John XV,14 - 19.

(margin)

XV,14 ἀναεῖρε νῆε[τ]
 †ζων μμοο[υ]
 ἐτετηγν
 15 ν†[ναμοιγε]
 θε αν [ερωτην]
 ξε να[εμδαλ ξε]
 ἡ ηεμ[δαλ σο]
 ουν α[ν ξε ου]
 πετ[ερε πευ]
 χοε[ις ειρε μ]
 μοι [ντω]τη
 δε [νται]μοι
 [τ]ε ερωτην ξε
 ναυβερ ξε

XV,16 ποc . αυ[ω ντε]
 πετῆκαρ[ποc]
 μο[υ]ν εβολ ε[υ]
 ωνε αυενε[ε]
 ξεκαc π[ετε]
 τναδαιτ[ει μμοι]
 ἡτ[μ πειωτ]
 εμ π[αραν εεταδυ]
 17 ^(sic) H N[HTN]
 [
 [
 [
 ετ[
 νε[τνερηυ]

XV,15 ΝΕΝΤΑΙΣΟΤ[Μ]ΟΥ
 ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝΤῪΠΑ
 ΕΙΩΤ' ΑΪΤΑΜΩ
 16 ΤῪ ΕΡΟΟΥ· ΝΤΩ
 ΤῪ ΑΝ ΑΤΕΤῪ
 ΣΟΤΠΤ· ΑΛΛΑ
 ΑΝΟΚ ΑΪΣΕΤῪ
 ΤΗΥΤΝ ΑΥΩ ΑΪ
 ΚΑΤΗΥΤῪ ΔΕ
 ΚΑΣ ΝΤΩΤῪ
 ΕΤΕΤΝΕΒΩΚ
 ΝΤΕΤῪ†ΚΑΡ

XV,18 ΕΩΔΕ Π[ΚΟΜΟΣ]
 ΜΟΣΤΕ Μ[ΜΩ]
 ΤῪ ΕΙΜΕ [ΔΕ ΔΥ]
 ΜΕΣΤ[ΩΙ ΖΑΤΕ]
 19 ΤῪ ΖΗ [ΕΝΕ ΝΤΕ]
 ΤῪ ΖΕΝΕΒ[ΟΛ ΖΜ]
 ΠΚΟΜΟ[Σ ΝΕ]
 ΡΕ ΠΚΟΜ[ΟΣ ΝΑ]
 ΜΕΡΕ Π[ΕΤΕ ΠΩΥ]
 ΠΕ· ΔΕ[ΝΤΕΤῪ]
 ΖΕΝ ΕΒΟ[Λ ΔΕ ΑΝ]
 ΖΜ ΠΚ[ΡΟΜΟΣ]

(margin)

verse 16. ΕΤΕΤΝΕΒΩΚ with Ch.Beatty A,B, Morgan, against ΕΤΕΤΝΑΒΩΚ Horner's 20,73,85,m¹, and ΕΤΕΤΝΒΩΚ Horner's 95.

ΕΥΩΝΖΩΑΕΝΕΖ with Ch.Beatty A,B, Morgan, Horner's g,20,73*,85,m¹, against ΩΑΕΝΕΖ Horner's 73^c, 95 and Sub-Achm.St.John; the passage is omitted by all Greek manuscripts and all other versions.

Verso: St.John XV,20 - 22, 24 - 26.

(margin)

(illegible)

XV,22 ΠΕ ΤΕΝΟΥ ΔΕ
 [ΜΜΝΤ]ΟΥ ΛΟΙ[ΒΕ]
 [ΜΜ]ΔΥ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΕΥ

(9 lines broken and illegible).

XV,20 [] ΠΩΤ
 [ΝΚΑΤΗΥΤ]Ν ΕΩ
 [ΔΕ ΔΥΖΑ]ΡΕΖ ΕΠΑ
 [ΩΑΔΕ] ΣΕΝΑΖΑ
 [ΡΕΖ ΟΝ] ΕΠΩΤῪ
 21 [ΑΛΛΑΝ]ΑΙ ΤΗΡ

24 Δ[Ε] ΑΥΝ[Δ]Υ ΕΡΟ[Ι]
 ΑΥΩ ΑΥΜΕΣΤ[ΩΙ]
 [ΜΝ] ΠΑΚΕΕΙΩΤ
 25 ΑΛΛΑ ΔΕΚΑΣ Ε
 [Υ]Ε ΔΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ Ν
 ΒΙ ΠΩΑΔΕ ΕΤ

XV, 21	[ΟΥ ΕΥΝΑΔ]ΑΥ Ν[Η]	XV, 25	CHZ ZMΠEYNO
	[ΤΝ Ε]ΤΒΕ ΠΑΡΑΝ		ΜΟC ΧΕ [ΑΥ]ΜΕ
	[ΧΕ ΝC]ΕCΟΟΥΝ		CΤΩΙ [ΕΗΧ]Ι[Ν]
	[ΑΝ Μ]ΠΕΝ[ΤΑΥ]	26	ΧΗ ΖΟΤΑΝ ΔΕ
22	[ΤΑΥ]ΘΕΙ· ΕΝΕ		ΕΥΘΑΝΕΙ ΝΒΙ
	[ΜΠΙΕ]Ι ΤΑΥΔ		ΠΠΑΡΑΚΛΗΤΟC
	[ΧΕ ΝΜ]ΜΑΥ ΝΕ		ΠΕΤΝΑΤ̄ΝΝΟ
	[Μ]ΜΝ ΝΟΒ]Ε ΕΡΟΥ		ΟΥΥ ΝΗΤ̄Ν ΕΒΟΛ

(margin)

verse 22. ΤΕΝΟΥ ΔΕ with Morgan, Horner's g and 85; against ΤΕΝΟΥ ΔΕ Ch.

Beatty A, B, Horner's 20, 73, m¹, and Sub-Achm. St. John.

verse 24. ΑΥΩ ΑΥΜΕCΤΩΙ with Ch. Beatty A, B, Morgan, Horner's 73, 77, 85 and Sub-Achm. St. John; against ΑΥΜΕCΤΩΙ Horner's 20, 101, m¹.

verse 26. ΖΟΤΑΝ ΔΕ with Ch. Beatty A, B, Morgan, Horner's g, 73, 77, 85, m¹; against ΖΟΤΑΝ Horner's 20, 101, a¹, and Sub-Achm. St. John.

17

PAULINE EPISTLES

(d $\frac{14}{1-5}$) 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ by 6 inches, complete. Parchment. A facsimile of one page of this manuscript was published in W. M. Fl. Petrie: Gizeh and Rifeh plate XXXVIII A. This is one of the most interesting manuscripts of the collection. It is written in square uncials of an early type and at the end of lines certain letters are written smaller than the rest, and in many ways it resembles closely the Codex Sinaiticus. On the other hand there are several features which seem to point to a somewhat later date and I would place the manuscript in the fifth century and probably in the early part of that century. It is written very carefully in a beautiful even hand. Of special interest is the consistency with which the superlinear strokes are inserted according to the system found in a number of early manuscripts. The Ν is generally assimilated

to 8 and p before 8 and p as is common in early Coptic manuscripts, cf. Crum: Dictionary p.215a, here again in numbers 5, 7, 18, 21, 22. At the end of lines we sometimes find N for NN and MN for MN. Twice the scribe makes use of a space-filler(>), in I Cor.VII,11 and Col.I,25.

The sacred name χριστος is generally abbreviated $\overline{\chi^c}$ as is usual in Sahidic manuscripts, but twice(II Cor.IV,5 and Heb.IX,24) we find $\overline{\chi p^c}$.

Two contractions may be noted: τε contracted to θ in εΝΘΑΗ Heb. IX,26, ΝΕΘΝΑΠΗΥΕ Heb.IX,23(twice), ΝΕΘΝΑΛΟΔΙΚΑΙΑ Col.II,1; ηε contracted to φ in ΑΦΟ ΜΗΝΟΥΤΕ Heb.IX,24. Attention may also be drawn to the letters which are written smaller at the end of lines.

A remarkable feature in this manuscript is the fact that the sacred names are sometimes overlined in red, and in the case of the abbreviated names(e.g. $\overline{\eta\eta\alpha}$, $\overline{\chi^c}$) these have always the usual abbreviation line over them and in addition a red line, cf. the published facsimile. The chapter-marks(5) are also written in the same red ink and presumably both were inserted by the scribe of the manuscript. BM 105 shows the same phenomena, cf. the facsimile in Horner, The Coptic Version ... Sahidic, vol.III pl.II, and two further manuscripts, BM 124 and 934 have paragraph marks in red. It may be noted that all four manuscripts are from the fourth or early fifth century.

There appears to be no system whereby sometimes the sacred names are not overlined, and I can only suggest that the scribe overlooked some of the names. The following is a diagram showing where the names are overlined in red and where they are not.

Overlined in red

ΠΝΟΥΤΕ I Cor.VII,40;VIII,8;
II Cor.IV,2;
Heb.VII,1,3;IX,20;
Heb.IX,24; Col.I,25
(twice); Col.II,2.

Not overlined in red

ΠΝΟΥΤΕ I Cor.VI,19,20;
Heb.VI,18.
 $\overline{\iota^c}$ Heb.VI,20.

(overlined in red)

πε χ̄ τ̄

Col. I, 27.

πε χ̄ τ̄

Col. I, 28; II, 2.

χ̄ τ̄, χ̄ ρ̄ ε̄

Heb. IX, 24;

Col. I, 24.

πε χ̄ τ̄ π χ̄ ο̄ ε̄ ῑ ς̄

II Cor. IV, 5;

Col. VII, 6.

π χ̄ ο̄ ε̄ ῑ ς̄

I Cor. VII, 10;

II Cor. III, 17.

π ν ο υ τ ε̄ π̄ [ε̄ ῑ ω̄] τ̄ [μ η̄] ε̄ χ̄ τ̄

Col. II, 2.

(not overlined in red)

χ̄

I Cor. V, 7; VII, 22;

I Cor. VIII, 6;

Phil. I, 29; Heb. IX, 28.

π χ̄ ο̄ ε̄ ῑ ς̄

I Cor. VII, 12, 22, 39.

π ν̄ ᾱ ε̄ τ ο υ δ α β

I Cor. VI, 19.

Cf. also I Cor. VII, 40 π ν̄ ᾱ μ η ν ο υ τ ε̄ where π ν ο υ τ ε̄ is overlined while π ν̄ ᾱ is not; similarly Heb. VII, 3 π ω ν ρ ε̄ μ η ν ο υ τ ε̄ where only π ν ο υ τ ε̄ is overlined.

One complete page and fragments of eight pages containing the Pauline Epistles;

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| a) Recto: I Cor. V, 6 - 8 | f) Recto: Heb. VI, 17 - VII, 2 |
| Verso: VI, 3 - 5 | Verso: VII, 3 - 9 |
| b) Recto: I Cor. VI, 19 - VII, 6 | g) Recto: Heb. IX, 19 - 24 |
| Verso: VII, 7 - 13 | Verso: IX, 25 - X, 1 |
| c) Recto: I Cor. VII, 17 - 19 | h) Recto: Phil. I, 29 - 30 |
| Verso: VII, 22 - 23 | Verso: II, 12 |
| d) Recto: I Cor. VII, 38 - VIII, 5 | i) Recto: Col. I, 24 - 29 |
| Verso: VIII, 6 - 11 | Verso: II, 1 - 7 |
| e) Recto: II Cor. III, 16, 17; IV, 2 | |
| Verso: IV, 5, 8 | |

Pages (b) and (d), also (h) and (i) form two single leaves. Pages (a) to (d) follow closely on one another; there is one page missing between (a) and (b) and another between (c) and (d). The arrangement of the parchment leaves is as usual in parchment codices and fleshside faces

fleshside, and hairside faces hairside. Horner's number 4.

Text:

(a) (d $\frac{14}{4}$ a) Recto: I Cor.V,6 - 8 (a) Verso: I Cor.VI,3 - 5

(hairside)

(fleshside)

(2nd.column missing)

(1st.column missing)

(margin)

(margin)

V,6 ἀν ἔε ἀρε οὐ
 κοῦι ᾠαβ τρε
 ποῦωωμ τ[η]
 7 [ρ]ι χι· χι βε[μπε]
 θαβ ᾠαβ εβ[ολ ᾠ]
 ζηττηυτῆν [χε]
 εtetνεωω[πε]
 ᾠουωωμ ββ[ρ]
 ρε κατα θε ᾠτε
 τῆν ζεναθαβ·
 καὶ γαρ ἀγαωωτ
 ᾠπενπασχα
 ζαρων πεχ[ς]:
 8 [εω]στε μαρεν
 [ρωα ε]ᾠ ουθα[β]
 [αν να]ς· ουδε

(broken)

VI,3 ᾠᾠτετῆνσοοῦ
 ἀν ἔε τῆννακρι
 ᾠε ᾠζεναγγε[λδ]
 [εμ]πατῆνπω[ε]
 [εᾠ]απκοσμοc
 4 [ε]αωπε βε οῦν
 [τ]ηυτῆν ᾠμαυ ᾠ
 ζεναωβ ᾠτε πβι
 οc νετσοωῦ εᾠ
 τεκκλησια ναῖ
 5 μαθῆμσοοῦ· εῖ
 χω ᾠμοc ευωι
 πε νητῆν· ταῖ
 τε θε ᾠᾠᾠ[λααυ]
 ᾠσοφο[ε ᾠζητ]
 [τ]ηυτῆν[]

(broken)

verse 7. χι βε with Horner's d and the Greek manuscripts \aleph^c CLP al.pl.;
 against χι Beatty, Morgan, Horner's 23 and the Greek manuscripts
 P⁴⁶ \aleph^* ABDEFG etc..

(b) (d $\frac{14}{3}$ and $\frac{14}{4}$ b) Recto: I Corinthians VI,19 - VII,6. (hairside)
 (margin)

VI,19 σοοῦν ἀν[χε πε]
 τῆνσωμα περπε

VII,3 [εχ†]
 []

VI,19	πε ἁπεπνα ετοϋ	VII,3	[]
	ααβ ετῆζηττηϋ		[]
	τῆ παϊ εντατε		[	μηπεс
	τῆχιτῡ εβολ[ε]!	4	ε[αι τεεεεεε οῦ]	
	τῡ πνουτε αϋ		πχοε[ιc αν μηπεс	
	ω ἡτετῡπω		сωм[α] αλλα πε[с]	
20	τῆ αν: αϋωεπ		ε[αι [πε εο]μο[ωс]	
	τηγτῆ γαρ εἰνοϋ		δε[μη]ε[αι ο μηχο	
	αcοϋ τεοοϋ δε		ε[ιc αν μηπεс[ω]	
	[ῡ]πνουτε εῡ		м[α] αλλα τεус[и]	
	[η]ετῆсω[μα.]	5	м[ε]τε. μηпр[εδ]	
VII,1	ετβε[nen]ατετῆ[η]		neτῆepny eim[η]	
	с[ε]α[ι]cοϋ ε[η] να[и]		[т]и εἰν οϋωω[ηβс]	
	νανοус μηпр[ω]		[п]poco[γ]ο[и]ω	
	με ετῡχωε[с]		[x]e[ε]τετῆ[εс]p[ε]	
2	εεεεεεεε μηпр.		[ε]πεωλ[ηλ] [αϋω]	
	νια δε μαρε ποα		он ητετῆ[η] ε[и] ε]	
	ποα ε! ναϋ ἡ		τοϋνηετῆ[epny]	
	τεу[с]εεε: αϋω		xe ηne пс[α] [та]	
	μα[р]ε τοϋε[и] τοϋ		nac [η]paze м[мω]	
	[ε] ε[и] η[с] μηπεс		τῆ εтβε τετῆ[mn]	
3	[ε[αι] πεε[ο]ϋт μαρ.	6	татамаεте. η[αι]	

(margin)

verse 19. πεπνα, not πεπῆα.

verse 20. εἰνοуαcοϋ only this manuscript; Beatty, Morgan, and Horner's 39 also the Fayyumic Version (Zoega) read εαουαcοϋ; cf. also Thompson, The Coptic Version of the Acts of the Apostles etc. p.127 note.

verse 4. δε with Beatty, Fayyumic, against on of Morgan and Wessely.

(b) Verso: I Corinthians VII,7 - 13. (fleshside)

(margin)

VII, 10

[NAY] N ANOK AN
 A[N]LA ΠΧΟΕΙC Ε (cred.)
 TMTPE TECZIME
 ΠΩPΧ EPCCZAI.

11

ΕΩΩΠΕ ΔΕ ON ΕC
 ΩΑΝΠΩPΧ ΜΑ.
 ΡΕCΒΩ NΤΕΙΖΕ Η
 NCZΩTΠ EPCC
 ΖΑΙ. ΑΥΩ ΦΟΥΤ
 ETMTPEYKW N
 CΩY NTETCZ

12

ME: +XΩ ΔΕ [M]
 [MO[C] MPKCCCE
 ΠΕ A[N]O[K] MP[XO]
 EIC A[N]XEE]ΩΩ
 ΠΕ ΟΥΝ ΟΥCΟΝ
 E[OY]NTAY MMAY
 [NOY]CZIME NΔ[Π]
 CTOC ECOYEW
 BΩ NMMA4 MP
 TPAYLO ZAPOC
 13 ΑΥΩ ΕΩΩΠΕ Ο
 N OYCZIME [EYN]
 TAC MM[AY NOY]

(margin)

VII, 7

(broken)

[A]LA OY
 [TE ΠΟΥA] ΠΟΥA
 ΟΥΧΑΡΙC[MA]ΕΒΟΛ
 [Z]TMT ΠN[ΟΥTE]
 [OYA MEN ZINAI]
 ΚΕΤ ΔΕ NΤΕΙ[Z]Ε
 8 +XΩ ΔΕ MMO[C N]
 NETE MNTΟΥ
 [CZ]ME MN NE[XH]
 [PA]XE [N]ANOY[C]
 [NAY E]BΩ NTAZ[E]
 9 [ZΩ E]ΩΩΠΕ Δ[E]
 [NCE]NΔ EΓKP.A
 [TE]YE MMOOY Δ
 [MA]POYXI NANOY
 [XI]ΓAP EZOYEPΩ
 10 [KZ] NENTAYXI
 [ΔE] +ΠΑΡΑΓΓΙΛΕ

verse 9. NCENΔEΓKPATEYE with Beatty, Morgan and Fayyumic, against NCENΔ-
 EYEPKPATEYE read by Horner's 39.

verse 12. ECOYEW BΩ only this manuscript, against ECOYΩY EBΩ Beatty, Morgan,
 Wessely, Horner's 39 and Fayyumic.

verse 13. $\alpha\gamma\omega$ $\epsilon\omega\omega\eta\epsilon$ ON only this manuscript; $\alpha\gamma\omega$ $\epsilon\omega\omega\eta\epsilon$ Beatty and Horner's 39, and $\alpha\gamma\omega$ Morgan and Fayyumic.

(c) ($d \frac{14}{4} c$) . I Corinthians VII, 17 - 19, 22 - 23.

<u>Recto:</u>	(fleshside, 1st. col. missing, broken.)	<u>Verso:</u>	(hairside, 2nd. col. missing, broken.)
VII, 17	[] $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{m} \bar{m}$	VII, 22	$\Gamma\alpha\rho \epsilon[\bar{N}\tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha\bar{\epsilon}]$
18	[] $\alpha\upsilon[\tau\epsilon\bar{\epsilon}\bar{m}$		$\mu\epsilon\chi \bar{\epsilon}[\bar{m} \pi\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma]$
	$[\omicron\alpha \epsilon\chi\bar{\varsigma}\bar{B}] \beta\eta\upsilon \bar{m}$		$\mu\alpha\pi\epsilon[\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\theta\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma]$
	$[\pi]\rho\tau\rho\epsilon\chi\epsilon\omicron\beta\bar{\varsigma}\bar{\chi}$		$\bar{m}\pi\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma \pi[\epsilon]$
	$[\alpha]\upsilon\tau\epsilon\bar{\epsilon}\bar{m} \omicron\alpha \epsilon\chi$		$\epsilon\omicron\mu\omicron\iota\omega\varsigma \pi\rho[\bar{m}]$
	$[\omicron] \bar{N}\alpha\tau\bar{\varsigma}\bar{B}\bar{B}\epsilon \bar{m}\bar{\rho}$		$\epsilon\epsilon \epsilon\bar{N}\tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha\bar{\epsilon}\bar{m}[\epsilon\chi]$
19	$\tau\rho\epsilon\chi\bar{\varsigma}\bar{B}\bar{B}\eta\tau\bar{\chi} \cdot \pi\bar{\varsigma}[\bar{B}]$		$\phi\bar{m}\bar{\epsilon}\alpha\lambda \bar{m}\pi\epsilon\bar{\chi}\bar{\varsigma}$
	$\bar{B}\epsilon \omicron\upsilon\lambda\alpha\alpha\upsilon \pi\epsilon \alpha\upsilon$	23	$\pi\epsilon \cdot \alpha\upsilon\omega\epsilon\pi\tau\eta\upsilon$
	(margin)		(margin)

verse 17. $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{m} \bar{m}$ [(sic!)], not $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{m} \bar{N}\epsilon\kappa\kappa\lambda\eta\varsigma\iota\alpha \bar{N}\bar{m}$ Beatty, Morgan, cf. Fayyumic.

(d) ($d \frac{14}{3} b$ and $d \frac{14}{4} d$) . Recto: I Cor. VII, 38 - VIII, 1, 3 - 5. (fleshside)
(margin)

VII, 38	Νῦνατ[αας ανη']	[]
39	ναρζογο [τες]	[]
	ειμε μηρ. [επες]	[]
	εαϊ εφος[ο]ν πε	[]
	ογοειω πεσεα ^(sic)	[]
	ονε ^(sic) ερεωαν	[]
	πεσεαϊ δε μου	VIII, 3	ο[
	ουρμην τε εε		μηπ[νουτε παι']
	μοος μη πετε		αυσο[γωνη εβολ]
	ενας μονον		ειτοο[τη·
40	εμ πχοεις [ηαι]	4	ετβε[
	[α]τς δε νεογο		[

VII, 40	[ε]cωανδω̄ n̄[τει]	VIII, 4	[]
	ζε̄ κατα τα[γνω]		[]
	μη· †xω γαρ̄ m̄		[]
	moc̄ ζω̄ xε̄ οῡ[n]		[]
	τ̄αῑ m̄μαῡ m̄π[ε]		[M]N	NOYT[ε̄ n̄ca]
	[π̄]nā m̄πnoȳtē (red)	5	^(sic) oū ^c ā ka! γαρ̄ e[α]	
VIII, 1	[ετβ]ε̄n̄[α]ωω[τ]		xε̄ ουν̄ zōīn̄[ε̄ ε]	
	[δε̄ n̄n̄ειδαωλ]on		[α]αυμουτε̄ e[pooy]	
	[τ̄nc̄ooȳn]xε̄ οῡ		xε̄ noȳtē eit̄[ε]	
	[nt̄an]thp̄n̄ m̄μαῡ		ēnt̄nē eit̄[ε̄ z̄ī[x̄m]	
	[noȳ]cooȳn̄		пкаε̄ n̄θ[ε̄] γαρ̄ [ε]	
	[nc̄]ooȳn̄ ααῡ		τε̄ ουν̄ εᾱ[ε̄] n̄noȳ	<u>τε̄</u> (sic)

(margin)

verse 39. μηp̄[επεc̄]εᾱī with Bohairic against μηp̄ Beatty, Morgan, Horner's 22, and Fayyumic.

verse 5. n̄θē γαρ̄ with Horner's 22 against n̄θē Beatty, Morgan, Horner's 40 and Fayyumic.

(d) Verso: I Corinthians VIII, 6 - 11. (hairside)

(margin)

	VIII, 8	[naπαρ]ε̄ict̄ā m̄ [MON] m̄πnoȳtē (red) oȳ[δε̄] en̄c̄ωant̄m̄ oȳωm̄ n̄t̄nnā αωωτ̄ an̄̄ oȳ δε̄ en̄c̄ωanoym̄ n̄t̄nnāp̄zōyōā
	(broken)	
VIII, 6	[	ερ̄ōȳ m̄n̄ [oȳx̄oēi]c̄ noȳ [ωτ̄ ic̄ nē]x̄c̄ nē [ε̄ere p̄thp̄]ȳ[αȳn̄]
	9	δωωτ̄ μηπωc̄ n̄tē tēiēzōȳ cia n̄tet̄hyt̄n̄ αωnē n̄xp̄on̄

(broken)

VIII,6	[ΕΤΒΗΗΤΥ Δ]ΥΩ	VIII,10	ΝΝΕΤΒΟΟΒ· Ε
	[]		[ΡΕ]ΥΑΝΟΥΑ ΓΑΡ
7	[]		[ΝΑΥ Ε]ΡΟΚ ΠΕΤΕ
	[]		ΟΥΝΤΑΥ ΜΜΑΥ
	[]		ΜΠΣΟΟΥΝ ΕΚ
	[. Ε]ΜΠΤΩΠ [ΜΠ]		[Ν]ΗΧ ΕΝΟΥΜΑ[Ν]
	[ΕΙ]ΔΩΛΟΝ ΥΑ[ΕΟΥ]		[ΕΙ]ΔΩΛΟΝ ΕΥ[ΕΩ]
	[ΕΤ]ΕΝΟΥ ΣΕΟΥ		[Β Π]Ε [ΜΗ] ΝΤΕΥ[ΣΥ]
	[Ω]Μ ΕΩΣ ΥΑΥΩ[Τ]		ΝΙΔ[ΗCIC ΝΑΚΩΤ]
	[Ν]ΕΙΔΩΛΟΝ· ΔΥ		ΑΝ Ε[ΟΥΩΜ ΝΝ]
	Ω ΤΕΥ CYNIDH		ΥΑΥΩΤ ^(hair) ΝΕ[ΙΔΩ]
	CIC [ΕC]ΒΟΟΒ CΤΩ	11	ΛΟΝ ΕΥΝΑ[ΕΕ ΓΑΡ]
8	ΛΜ ΜΝ ΕΡΕ ΓΑΡ		ΕΒΟΛ ΝΒΙ[ΠΕΤ]

(margin)

verse 8. ΓΑΡ with Fayyumic, against Δε Beatty, Morgan, Horner's d, 40, and the Greek.

verse 9. Δωωτ without addition only this manuscript; the Greek, Beatty, Morgan, Horner's 40 and Fayyumic add Δε; Horner's d and 22 add Δε.

(e) (d $\frac{14}{4}$ e and f, two fragments) Recto: II Cor. III, 16, 17 and IV, 2
(margin) (hairside)

III,16	ΜΠΚΑΛΥΜ[Δ]		
17	(red) ΠΧΟΕΙC ΔΕ		(broken)
	ΠΕΠΝΑ Π[ΜΑ]	IV,2	ΕΝΟΥΠ[ΑΝΟΥΡΓΙΑ]
	[ΔΕ]ΕΤΕΡΕ[ΠΕΠΝΑ]		ΟΥΔΕ ^(hair) ΝΕΝΡΚ[ΡΟΥ]
	(broken)		[Δ]Ν ΜΠΥΑΧΕ Μ[Π]
			(red) [Ν]ΟΥΤΕ[]
			(broken)

(e) Verso: II Corinthians IV, 5 and 8. (fleshside)

(margin)

IV,5	<p>(broken)</p> <p>[]^[7]ΝΖΗΤ̄Ν Α[Ν]</p> <p>[ΑΛ]λα ΜΠΕΧΡ̄C [ΙC]^(red)</p> <p>(red) [Π]ΧΟΕΙC ΕΝΕ[ΙΡΕ]</p> <p>[ΔΕ] Μ[Μ]ΟΝ ΝΗ[Τ̄Ν]</p> <p>[Ν̄ΕΜΕ]ΑΛ ΖΙΤ̄[Ν ΙC]</p> <p>(broken)</p>	<p>IV,8</p> <p>[ΦΛΙΒΕ] Μ̄ΜΟΝ Ζ̄Ν ΖΩΒ</p> <p>[ΝΙΜ] ΑΛΛΑ Ν̄Τ̄Ν</p> <p>[ΖΕΧΕ]ΩΧ ΑΝ ΕΥΑ</p> <p>[ΠΟΡ]ΕΙ Μ̄[ΜΟΝ]</p> <p>(broken)</p>
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verse 5. ΝΖΗΤ̄Ν, (sic !), only this manuscript.

(f) (d $\frac{14}{1}$) Recto: Hebrews VI,17 – VII,2. (fleshside)
(margin)

VI,17	<p>ΩΟΧΝΕ ΕΤΕΜΕ[</p> <p>ΠΩΩΝΕ. ΑΥΜΕ</p> <p>CITEYE Μ̄ΜΟΥ</p> <p>18 Ζ̄ΝΟΥΑΝΑΥ ΧΕ</p> <p>ΚΑC ΖΙΤ̄Ν ΖΩΒ C</p> <p>ΝΑΥ ΝΑΤΠΩΩ</p> <p>ΝΕ. Ζ̄ΝΝΑΪ ΕΥΑΤ</p> <p>ΒΟΜ ΠΕ ΕΤΡΕ Π</p> <p>ΝΟΥΤΕ ΧΙ ΒΟΛ</p> <p>ΕΝΕΧΙ ΝΑΝ ΝΟΥ</p> <p>CΟΠC ΕΥΤΑΧΡΗΥ</p> <p>ΝΕΝΤΑΥΠΩΤ Ε</p> <p>ΖΟΥΝ ΕΑΜΑΞΤΕ</p> <p>Ν̄ΘΕΛΠΙC ΕΤΚΗ</p>	<p>VI,20</p> <p>ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΡΟΥ [εα]ρ̄ο̄</p> <p>ΙC ΚΑΤΑ ΤΤΑΞΙC</p> <p>Μ̄ΜΕΛΧΙCΕΔΕΚ</p> <p>ΕΔΥΩΩ[Π]Ε Ν̄ΟΥ</p> <p>ΗΗΒ ΩΑΕΝΕΕ.</p> <p>VII,1</p> <p>ΠΕΪΜΕΛΧΙCΕΔΕΚ</p> <p>ΓΑΡ Π̄ΡΡΟ ΝCΑΛΗ̄</p> <p>ΠΕ ΠΟΥΗΗΒ Μ̄Π</p> <p>(red) ΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΤΧΟCΕ</p> <p>ΠΕ. ΠΑΪ ΕΝΤΑΥΤΩ</p> <p>Μ̄Τ ΕΑΒΡΑΔ̄ΑΜ ΕΑΥ</p> <p>ΚΟΤ̄ ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄Μ̄Π</p> <p>ΒΟΧΒ̄Χ Ν̄ΝΕΡΡΩ</p> <p>ΟΥ ΑΥCΜΟ[Υ] ΕΡΟΥ</p> <p>19 Π[Α] ΕΝΤ[Α ΑΒΡΑΔΜ]</p> <p>†[ΡΕΜΗΤ ΝΑΥ ΕΒΟΛ]</p> <p>2 Ζ[Ν]</p>
19	<p>ΝΑΝ ΕΞΡΑΪ ΤΑΪ Ε</p> <p>ΤΩΟΟΠ ΝΑΝ Ν̄</p> <p>ΘΕ ΝΟΥΕΑΥΒΑΛ.</p>	

VI,19

ΝΤΕΝΨΥΧΗ ΕΣ

(broken)

ΟΡ̄Ξ ΑΥΩ ΕΣΤΑ

ΞΡΗΥ ΕΣΒΗΚ Ε

ΕΟΥΝ ΕΠCΑ Ν̄ΕΟῩ

ΜΠΚΑΤΑΠΕΤΑ^c

20

ΜΑ ΠΜΑ ΕΝΤΑ ΠΕ

ΠΡΟΔΡΟΜ[ΟC Β]C^k

(margin)

verse 1. τωM̄T for τωM̄NT, see chapter VIII par.80b.

(f) Verso: Hebrews VII,3 - 9. (hairside)

(margin)

PΠ

VII,3

Ε[Υ]ΑΤΕΙΩΤ ΕΥΑΤ

ΜΑΔΥ ΠΕ ΕΜΠΟΥ

ΩΔΞΕ ΕΤΓΕΝΕ^Δ

ΕΜ̄Ν ΑΡ[Χ]Η Ν̄

ΕΟΥ ΕΜ̄ΝΤΥΕΛ^H

ΝΩΝΕ· ΕΥΤ̄ΝΤΩ

ΔΕ ΕΠΩΥΗΡΕ Μ̄

(red) ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΥΟΥ8Π

ΝΟΥΗΗΒ ΩΔΒΟΛ·

4

ΤΕΤ̄ΝΝΑΥ ΔΕ ΞΕ
ΟΥΔΥ Ν̄ΒΟΤ ΠΕ
ΠΑῙ ΕΝΤΑ ΑΒΡΑΑΜ

ΠΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΗΣ

†ΡΕΜΗΤ ΝΑΥ ΕΒ^Δ

[Ε̄Ν̄]ΩΩΛ [N]Ε

5

[ΒΟΛ ΜΕΝ Ε̄Ν̄]Ω]Η

[ΡΕ Ν̄ΛΕΥΕΙ ΕΤ]ΞΙ

(broken)

VII,5

ΝΤΑΥΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ Ε̄Ν

Τ†ΠΕ Ν̄ΑΒΡΑΑΜ

6

ΠΑῙ ΔΕ ΕΤΕ Μ̄ΠΟ[Υ]

ΤΑΥΕ ΤΕΥΓΕΝΕ^α

ΕΒΟΛ Ν̄ΕΗΤΟΥ

ΑΥΤΕ ΑΒΡΑΑΜ ΡΕ

ΜΗΤ ΑΥΩ ΑΥ^(sic)Μ^ο[Υ]

ΕΠΕΤΕΟΥΝΤΑ[Υ]

Μ̄ΜΑΥ Ν̄ΝΕΡΗΤ

7

ΧΩΡΙC ΟΥΩΕ̄Μ Δ^ε

ΝΙΜ ΕΩΔΡΕ ΠΕΤ

CΟΒ̄Κ ΞΙ CΜΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ

(sic) Ε̄ΙΤ̄Ν ΠΕΤCΟΤ̄Π Ε

8

ΡΟΥ· ΑΥΩ Μ̄ΠΕῙ

ΜΑ ΜΕΝ ΕΕΝΡΩ

ΜΕ ΕΩΔΥΜΟΥ

ΝΕΩΔΥΞΙ Ν̄ΝΡΕ

ΜΗΤ· Μ̄ΠΜΑ Δ^ε

(broken)

VII,8

ετ̄μ̄μαῡ εγ̄ρ̄ μ̄ν

τρε̄ ζαρ̄ογ̄ ξε̄ γ̄ο

9

νε̄ αῡω̄ π̄αῡᾱξε̄

ετρε̄ν̄ζοογ̄ ε̄ι

τ̄ν̄ ᾱβρᾱαμ̄ π̄κε̄

λ̄[εγ̄]εῑ^{ω̄} ᾱᾱγ̄χῑ ρ̄ε̄

(margin)

verse 3. This verse is of great interest from a textual point of view.

For it we have two other manuscripts: the Chester Beatty (sixth century) and the Morgan (9th century) manuscripts; and in addition the verse is quoted in another Bala'izah manuscript, number 51, of the fourth century. It is interesting to note, that, against all expectations, Bal.51 agrees three times with Beatty and four times with Morgan against the present manuscript.

εγ̄ᾱτε̄ιω̄τ̄, only this manuscript, against εγ̄ᾱτε̄ιω̄τ̄ πε̄ Beatty and Morgan Bal.51 is not extant here.

ετ̄γε̄νε̄ᾱ, only this manuscript, against ετ̄εγ̄γε̄νε̄ᾱ Beatty, Morgan and Bal.51.

εμ̄νᾱρχ̄η̄, only this manuscript, against εμ̄ντ̄γ̄ᾱρχ̄η̄ Beatty, Morgan and Bal.51.

εγ̄τ̄ν̄τ̄ω̄ν̄ δε̄, with Beatty, against εγ̄τ̄ν̄τ̄ω̄ν̄ Morgan and Bal.51.

γ̄ᾱω̄ο̄ο̄π̄, only this manuscript, against εγ̄ᾱω̄ο̄ο̄π̄ Beatty, Morgan and Bal. 51.

ᾱᾱβ̄ο̄λ̄, with Beatty and Bal.51, against ν̄ᾱᾱε̄νε̄ε̄ Morgan.

verse 6. πᾱῑδε̄, with Beatty, against πᾱῑ Morgan.

verse 7. ε̄β̄ο̄λ̄ ε̄ῑτ̄ν̄; ε̄β̄ο̄λ̄ ε̄ῑ was accidentally omitted by the original scribe and was added by an early corrector. Beatty and Morgan omit ε̄β̄ο̄λ̄.

(g) (d $\frac{14}{5}$) Recto: Hebrews IX, 19 - 24. (hairside)

(margin)

ρπθ

IX, 19 ἸΠΕΡΟΥΧΩ ΓΑΡ
 ἸΝΤΟΛΗ ΝΙΜ
 ΚΑΤΑ ΠΝΟΜΟΣ
 ΖΙΤῆΝ ΜΩΥΣΗΣ
 ΜΠΛΑΟΣ ΤΗΡΥ·
 ΑΥΧΙ ΜΠΕΣΝΟΥ
 ΝΜΜΑΕ ΜΝΗ
 ΒΙΕ ΜΝΟΥΜΟΥ
 ΜΝΟΥΣΟΡΤ Ν
 ΚΟΚΚΟΣ ΜΝΟΥ
 ΖΥΣΣΩΜΟΝ Ν
 ΤΟΥ ΖΩΩΥ ΠΧΩ
 ΜΕ ΜΝ ΠΛΑΟΣ
 ΤΗΡΥ ΑΥΒΕΩΒΩ
 20 ΩΥ ΕΥΧΩ ΜΜΕ
 ΔΕ ΠΑΙ ΠΕ ΠΕΣ
 ΝΟΥ ΝΤΔΙΑΘΗ
 ΚΗ ΕΝΤΑΠΝΟΥ (red)
 (red) ΤΕ ΖΩΝ ΜΜΟΣ
 21 ΩΑΡΩΤῆΝ· ΤΕΣ
 ΚΗΝΗ ΔΕ ΜΝ ΝΕ
 ΣΚΕΥΗ ΤΗΡΟΥ
 ΜΠΩΜΩΕ ΑΥ
 ΒΕΩΒΩΟΥ Ο

IX, 21 ἸΠΕΙΣΕ ἸΜΠΕΣ
 22 ΝΟΥ· ΑΥΩ ΣΧΕΔΩ
 ἸΜΠΕΣΝΟΥ Ν
 ΚΑ ΝΙΜ ΩΑΥΤΒ
 ΒΟ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΝΟΜΟΣ
 ΑΥΩ ΔΧΝ ΠΕΖΤ
 ΣΝΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ· ΜΕ
 ΡΕ ΚΩ ΕΒΟΛ ΩΩ
 23 ΠΕ· ΕΑΠΣ ΒΕ ΠΕ
 ΕΤΡΕ ΝΕΣΜΟΤ
 ΝΝΕΘΝ ΜΠΗΥΕ
 ΤΒΒΟ ΕΝ ΝΑΙ· ΝΕ
 ΘΝ ΜΠΗΥΕ ΔΕ
 ΝΤΟΟΥ ΕΝΖΕΝ
 ΘΥΣΙΑ ΕΥΣΟΤΠ
 24 ΠΑΡΑ ΝΑΙ· ΝΤΑ
 (red) ΠΕΧΡΣ ΓΑΡ ΑΝ ΒΟΚ
 ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΝΝΕΤΟΥ
 ΔΑΒ ΜΜΟΥΝΓ
 ΝΒΙΧ ΝΣΜΟΤ Μ
 ΜΕ ΑΛΛΑ ΕΖΟΥΝ
 ΕΤΠΕ ΖΩΣ ΕΤΡΕΥ
 ΟΥΩΝΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΤΕ
 ΝΟΥ ΜΦΟ ΜΠΝΟΥ (red)
 ΤΕ (sic)

(margin)

verse 23. ΝΕΣΜΟΤ with Horner's 21; Beatty and Horner's 13 add ΜΕΝ ;

Morgan omits ΝΕΣΜΟΤ, sic !

ΝΕΘΝΜΠΗΥΕ⁽²⁾, only this manuscript; Beatty, Morgan and Horner's 21

read $\overline{\alpha\mu\pi\eta\upsilon\epsilon}$; Horner's 13 only has $\pi\eta\upsilon\epsilon$ and omits also $\Delta\epsilon\ \overline{\eta\tau\omicron\omicron\upsilon}$ following.

(g) Verso: Hebrews IX,25 - X,1. (fleshside)

(margin)

$\overline{\rho\chi}$

IX,25

$\overline{\alpha\rho\omicron\omicron}\ \overline{\chi\epsilon\kappa\alpha\varsigma}\ \overline{\alpha}$
 $\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\tau\alpha\lambda\omicron\upsilon\ \epsilon\epsilon\rho\alpha\iota$
 $\overline{\eta\epsilon\alpha\epsilon}\ \overline{\eta\varsigma\omicron\pi}\ \overline{\eta\theta\epsilon}$
 $\overline{\mu\pi\alpha\rho\chi\iota\epsilon\rho\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma}$
 $\epsilon\psi\alpha\chi\beta\omega\kappa\ \epsilon\epsilon\theta\upsilon$
 $\epsilon\pi\pi\epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\alpha\alpha\beta\ \overline{\eta}$
 $\overline{\eta\epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\alpha\alpha\beta}\ \overline{\tau\overline{\rho}\rho}^M$

$\overline{\pi\epsilon}\ \overline{\epsilon\eta}\ \overline{\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\eta\omicron\upsilon}$

$\epsilon\mu\pi\omega\upsilon\ \alpha\eta\ \overline{\pi\epsilon}$

26

$\epsilon\mu\mu\omicron\eta\ \overline{\eta\epsilon\psi\omega\upsilon\epsilon}$
 $\epsilon\rho\omicron\upsilon\ \overline{\pi\epsilon}\ \epsilon\mu\omicron\upsilon\ \overline{\eta}$
 $\overline{\epsilon\alpha\epsilon}\ \overline{\eta\varsigma\omicron\pi}\ \overline{\chi\iota\eta\eta}$
 $\overline{\tau\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\beta\omicron\lambda\eta}\ \overline{\mu\pi}$
 $\overline{\kappa\omicron\varsigma\mu\omicron\varsigma}\ \overline{\tau\epsilon\eta\omicron\upsilon}$
 $\Delta\epsilon\ \overline{\alpha\psi\omicron\upsilon\omega\eta\epsilon}\ \overline{\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda}$
 $\overline{\eta\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\omicron\pi}\ \overline{\eta\omicron\upsilon\chi}$

$\overline{\epsilon\eta}\ \overline{\theta\alpha\eta}\ \overline{\eta\eta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\epsilon}$

$\epsilon\iota\omega\ \epsilon\omicron\upsilon\omega\varsigma\overline{\chi}\ \overline{\mu}$

$\overline{\pi\eta\omicron\upsilon\epsilon}\ \overline{\epsilon\iota\tau\eta}\ \overline{\tau\epsilon\chi}$

27

$\overline{\theta\upsilon\varsigma\iota\alpha}\ \overline{\alpha\upsilon\omega}\ \overline{\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha}$
 $\overline{\theta\epsilon}\ \overline{\epsilon\tau\kappa\eta}\ \overline{\epsilon\epsilon\rho\alpha\iota}\ \overline{\eta}$
^(etc)
 $\overline{\rho\overline{\rho}\omega\mu\epsilon}\ \epsilon\mu\omicron\upsilon\ \overline{\eta}$
 $\overline{\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\omicron\pi}\ \overline{\mu\eta\eta\overline{\eta\varsigma\alpha}}$
 $\overline{\pi\alpha\iota}\ \Delta\epsilon\ \overline{\tau\epsilon\kappa\rho\iota[C]}\iota$

IX,28

$\overline{\tau\alpha\iota}\ \overline{\epsilon\omega\omega\chi}\ \overline{\tau\epsilon}\ \overline{\theta\epsilon}$

$\overline{\mu\pi\epsilon\chi\varsigma}\ \overline{\epsilon\alpha\chi\tau\alpha}$

$\overline{\lambda\omicron\upsilon}\ \overline{\epsilon\epsilon\rho\alpha\iota}\ \overline{\eta\omicron\upsilon}$

$\overline{\varsigma\omicron\pi}\ \overline{\epsilon\tau\alpha\lambda\omicron}\ \overline{\epsilon\epsilon}$

$\overline{\rho\alpha\iota}\ \overline{\eta\eta\eta\eta\omicron\upsilon\epsilon}\ \overline{\eta\omicron\upsilon}$

$\overline{\mu\eta\eta\psi\epsilon}\ \overline{\pi\mu\epsilon\epsilon}$

$\overline{\varsigma\epsilon\pi\varsigma\eta\alpha\upsilon}\ \Delta\epsilon\ \overline{\chi\omega}$

$\overline{\rho\iota\varsigma}\ \overline{\eta\omicron\upsilon\epsilon}\ \overline{\epsilon\chi\eta\alpha\theta\upsilon}$

$\overline{\omega\eta\epsilon}\ \overline{\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda}\ \overline{\eta\eta\epsilon\tau}$

$\overline{\beta\omega\omega\tau}\ \overline{\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda}\ \overline{\epsilon\eta}$

$\overline{\tau\chi}\ \overline{\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\upsilon\chi\alpha\iota}$

X,1

$\overline{\Gamma\eta\eta\omicron\mu\omicron\varsigma}\ \overline{\gamma\alpha\rho}\ \overline{\epsilon\upsilon}$

$\overline{\eta\tau\alpha\chi}\ \overline{\mu\mu\alpha\upsilon}\ \overline{\eta}$

$\overline{\theta\alpha\iota\beta\epsilon\varsigma}\ \overline{\eta\eta\alpha\gamma\alpha}$

$\overline{\theta\omicron\eta}\ \overline{\epsilon\tau\eta\alpha\psi\omega}$

$\overline{\pi\epsilon}\ \overline{\eta\theta\iota\kappa\omega\eta}\ \overline{\alpha\eta}$

$\overline{\eta\eta\epsilon\epsilon\beta\eta\upsilon\epsilon}\ \overline{\eta}$

$\overline{\psi\omicron\rho\pi}\ \overline{\epsilon\eta\eta\eta\theta\upsilon}$

$\overline{\varsigma\iota\alpha}\ \overline{\eta\omicron\upsilon\omega\tau}\ \overline{\epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon}$

$\overline{\tau\alpha\lambda\omicron}\ \overline{\mu\mu\omicron\omicron\upsilon\epsilon}$

$\overline{\epsilon\rho\alpha\iota}\ \overline{\eta\epsilon\alpha\epsilon}\ \overline{\eta\varsigma\omicron\pi}$

$\overline{\tau\overline{\rho}\rho\omicron\mu\pi\epsilon}\ \overline{\epsilon\mu\eta}$

$\overline{\beta\omicron\mu}\ \overline{\mu\mu\omicron\omicron\upsilon\epsilon}$

$\overline{\eta\epsilon\epsilon}\ \overline{\epsilon\chi\omega\kappa}\ \overline{\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda}$

(margin)

verse 25. $\Sigma\epsilon\kappa\alpha\varsigma$, only this manuscript; Beatty, Morgan and Horner's m^1 read $\alpha\gamma\omega \Sigma\epsilon\kappa\alpha\varsigma$.

$\epsilon\pi\eta\epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\alpha\alpha\beta$ with Horner's m^1 ; Beatty, Morgan and Horner's 21 read $\epsilon\eta\epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\alpha\alpha\beta$.

verse 1. $\tilde{\alpha}\omega\omicron\rho\pi$, only this manuscript; Beatty, Morgan and Horner's 21 omit this word.

(h) (d $\frac{14}{2}$) Recto: Philippians I,29,30. Verso: Philippians II,12.

(hairside)

(fleshside)

(2nd. column missing)

(1st. column missing)

(margin)

(margin)

I,29 $\Sigma\epsilon \eta[\eta\tau\bar{\eta}\tilde{\eta} \epsilon\alpha\eta\epsilon]$

II,12 $[\epsilon\omega\varsigma\tau\epsilon \eta\alpha]\mu\epsilon\rho\alpha$

$\chi\bar{\varsigma} \epsilon\eta[\iota\varsigma\tau\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon \tilde{\mu}]$

$[\tau\epsilon \kappa\alpha\tau\alpha \theta]\epsilon \epsilon\eta\tau\alpha$

$\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon \alpha[\eta \epsilon\rho\omicron\gamma]$

$[\tau\epsilon\tau\bar{\eta}\tilde{\eta} \varsigma]\omega\tau\bar{\mu} \tilde{\eta}\omicron\gamma$

$\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha \epsilon[\omega\pi\epsilon\iota\varsigma\epsilon]$

$[\omicron\epsilon\iota\omega \eta]\mu \epsilon\iota\epsilon\alpha$

30 $\omicron\eta \epsilon\chi[\omega\gamma \epsilon(\omicron)\gamma\eta]$

$[\tau\epsilon\tau\eta\gamma\tau\bar{\eta}]\tilde{\eta} \tilde{\mu}\mu\alpha$

$\tau\eta\tau\bar{\eta}\tilde{\eta} [\tilde{\mu}\mu\alpha\gamma \tilde{\mu}]$

$[\tau\epsilon \alpha\eta \alpha\lambda]\lambda\alpha\tau\epsilon\eta\delta$

$\pi\iota\alpha\gamma\omega[\eta \tilde{\eta}\omicron\gamma\omega\tau]$

$[\tilde{\eta}\epsilon\omicron\gamma\omicron \epsilon]\eta\tau \epsilon\alpha\tau\epsilon$

$\tilde{\eta}\theta\epsilon \tilde{\mu}[\mu\epsilon\eta\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon]$

$[\tau\eta\gamma\tau\bar{\eta}\tilde{\eta} \alpha]\eta \epsilon\tilde{\eta}\omicron\gamma$

$\tau\bar{\eta}[\eta\alpha\gamma \quad]$

$[\epsilon\omicron\tau\epsilon \mu\tilde{\eta}\omicron\gamma]\varsigma\tau\tilde{\omega}$

(broken)

(broken)

The text of part of the recto is also preserved in another manuscript from this collection, 18; there are no variants.

(i) (d $\frac{14}{2}$) Recto: Colossians I,24 - 29. (fleshside)

(margin)

$\overline{\varsigma.\alpha}$

I,24 $\eta\alpha\tilde{\mu}\kappa\omicron\omicron\epsilon \epsilon\alpha\rho\omega$

I,27 $\omega\omega \epsilon\tau\alpha\mu\omicron\omicron\gamma$

$\tau\bar{\eta}\cdot \alpha\gamma\omega [\epsilon]\iota\chi\omega\kappa$

$\Sigma\epsilon \omicron\gamma [\tau\epsilon]\tau\bar{\mu}\tilde{\eta}\tilde{\eta}$

$\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda \tilde{\mu}\pi\varsigma\epsilon\epsilon\eta\epsilon$

$\tau\bar{\tau}\tilde{\mu}\mu\alpha\omicron \tilde{\mu}\pi\epsilon\omicron\gamma$

$\tilde{\eta}\tilde{\eta}\epsilon\theta\lambda\iota\psi\iota\varsigma \tilde{\mu}$

$\tilde{\mu}\pi\epsilon\iota\mu\gamma\varsigma\tau\eta\pi\iota$

I, 24	(red) ^{~~~~~} ΠΕΧ̄C ΕΝ ΤΑCΑΡ̄Ξ ΕΑΠΕΥCΩΜΑ Ε ΤΕ ΤΑΙ ΤΕ Τ[Ε]ΚΚ̄	I, 27	ΟΝ ΕΝ[Ν]ΕΕΘΝΟC ΕΤΕ ΠΑ[Ι] ΠΕ ^{~~~~~} ^(red) ^{~~~~~} ^{~~~~~} ΙC̄ ΝΖΗΤΤΗΥΤ̄Ν ΘΕΛΠΙC ΜΠΕCΥ
25	CΙΑ ΤΑΙ' ΕΝΤΑΙ' CΥ ΠΕ ΝΑC Ν[Δ]ΑΚΟ ΝΟC ΚΑ[ΤΑ Τ]ΟΙ ΚΟΝΟΜΙΑ Μ[Π] (red) ^{~~~~~} ΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΝΤΑΥ ΤΑΔC ΝΑΙ' ΕΞΟΥΝ [ΕΡΩ]ΤΝ ΕΤΡΑ [ΧΩ]Κ ΕΒΟΛ Μ̄Π [ΥΔΧ]Ε Μ̄ΠΝΟΥ ^(red) [ΤΕ Π]ΜΥCΤΗΡΙC [ΕΘΗΠ Χ]Ι' ΝΝΑΙΩΝ [Μ̄Ν ΝΓΕ]ΝΕΑ Ν [Ρ̄ΡΩΜΕ]ΤΕΝ[ΟΥ] [ΔΕ ΔΥΟΥΑ]ΝΕ[Υ]	28	[Π]ΑΙ ΑΝΟΝ ΕΤ̄ΝΤΑ CΥΕΘΕΙC Μ̄ΜΟC ΕΝ[Τ]CΒΩ ΝΡΩΜC Ν[Ι]Μ ΔΥΩ ΕΝΤC[Δ] ΒΟ Μ̄ΜΟΟΥ Ε[ΝCΟ] ΦΙΑ ΝΙΜ ΧΕ [ΕΝΕ] ΤΑΞΕΡΩΜΕ ΝΙ[Μ] [ΕΡ]ΑΤΥ ΝΤΕ[ΧΕΙΟC] (red) ^{~~~~~} ^{~~~~~} 29 Ε[Μ]ΠΕΧ̄C ΙC̄ [ΠΑΙ] ΕΤΕΙCΕ Μ̄[ΜΟΙ Ε] ΡΟΥ Ε[ΙΔΓΩΝΙΖΕ] [Κ]ΑΤ[Δ ΤΕ]CΕΝΕΡΓΙ Α ΕΤ[ΕΝΕΡΓΕΙ]

(broken)

verse 24. ΕΤΕ ΤΑΙ ΤΕ, only this manuscript; Beatty, Morgan, Horner's 13 and 19 read ΕΤΕ ΠΑΙ ΠΕ.

verse 27. ΙC̄ ΠΕΧ̄C, only this manuscript, against Beatty, Morgan, Horner's 1, 13, 19(?) the Greek manuscripts and versions reading ΠΕΧ̄C only.

(i) Verso: Colossians II, 1 - 7. (hairside)

(margin)

II, 1	^{~~~~~} ^{C.B} ΝΒΟΤ ΠΕ ΠΑΓ̄Ω ^(sic) ΕΤΕ[ΡΕ] Μ̄ΜΟΥ ΕΑΡΩΤ̄Ν Μ̄Ν ΝΕ Θ̄Ν ΛΑΟΔΙΚΙΑ Μ̄Ν ΟΥΟΝ Ν[Ι]Μ ΕΤΕ	II, 4	ΧΕ ΕΝΕCΩΟΥ. 5 ΕCΥΧΕ ΕΝΤCΑΡ̄Ξ ΓΑΡ ΕΝΤΕΑΤΕΤΗΥ Τ̄Ν ΑΝ ΑΛΛΑ Τ̄ΝΕ Μ[Η]Τ̄Ν ΕΜ ΠΕΠ̄ΝΑ
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II,1	ΜΠΟΥΝΔΥ ΕΠΑ	II,5	ΕΙΡΑΥΕ ΔΥΩ ΕΙ
2	ΕΘ ΕΝ ΤΑΡΞ ΧΕ		ΒΩΩΤ ΕΤΕΤΝΤΑ
	ΚΑC ΕΡΕ ΠΕΥΕΝΤ		ΞΙC ΔΥΩ ΠΤΑΧΡΟ
	ΜΤΟΝ ΕΑΥΤΑΧ[ΡΟ]		ΝΤ[ΕΤ]ΜΠΙCΤΙC
	ΟΥ ΕΝ ΟΥΑΓΑΠΗ		ΕΤ[ΧΙ Ε]ΖΟΥΝ ΕΠ ^ε
	ΔΥΩ ΕΜ[ΝΤΡ]Μ	6	(red) [Χ]C ΝΘΕ ΒΕ ΕΝ
	ΜΑΟ ΝΙΜ [ΜΠ]ΤΩ		ΤΑΤΕΤΝΧΙ ΜΠΕ
	[Ν]ΖΗΤ ΕΤΜΝΤ	(red)	ΧC ΙC ΠΧΟΕΙC
	[CAB]Ε· ΕΠCΟΟΥΝ		ΜΟΟΩΕ Ζ[ΡΑΙ Ν]
	[Μ]ΠΜΥCΤΗΡΙΘ	7	ΖΗΤΥ ΕΤΕ[ΤΝΧΕ]
(red)	[Μ ΠΝ]ΟΥΤΕ Π[ΕΙΩ]Τ		ΝΟΥΝΕ Ε[ΒΟΛ]
(red)	[ΜΠ]ΕΧC ΙC Π[ΔΙ]Ε		ΔΥΩ ΕΥ[ΚΩΤ Μ]
3	[ΤΟΥ ΝΖΗΤ]Υ ΝΒΙ		ΜΩΤΝ [ΝΖΗΤΥ]
	[ΝΑΖΩΩΡ ΤΗ]ΡΟΥΝ		ΕΤΕΤ[ΝΤΑΧΡΗΥ]
	[ΤCΟΦΙΔ ΜΝ]ΠC		[Ζ]ΝΤ[ΠΙCΤΙC ΚΑ]
	[ΟΟΥΝ ΕΥΖΗ]Π· Π[ΔΙ]		[ΤΑ]ΘΕ[]

(broken)

verse 2. ΕΜΝΤΡΜΜΑΟ with Beatty, Morgan and Horner's 1, against ΜΝΤΡΜΜΑΟ read by Horner's 13 and 19.

ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΕΙΩΤ ΜΠΕΧC ΙC , on this see Sir H. Thompson: The Coptic Version of the Acts of the Apostles etc., p.217 note.

(d $\frac{15}{1-2}$) 6 by 5 inches, complete. Parchment. Written in square uncials of the late fourth or, more probably, the early fifth century, see Plate I,4. Superlineations have been correctly inserted, and the system employed is that of many other early Sahidic manuscripts. The Ν is assimilated to ρ before ρ, as is common in other early Coptic texts,

cf. Crum, Dictionary p.215a, here again in numbers 5,7,17,21,22. At the end of lines certain letters are sometimes written smaller. The scribe has frequently made use of a space-filler(>) at the end of lines. This is one of the few manuscripts in the present collection where we find some dialectical variations, as €€€ for €€, also €οΥ for €Υ, but note Χοΐc Philippians III,8 and μαλιν Philippians I,28; this peculiarity is also found in a few other early Sahidic manuscripts, cf. Chapter VIII paragraphs 40,40A,60,60A.

A remarkable feature of this manuscript is the fact that the page-numbers are written above the middle margin between the two columns, instead of the usual place at the top right-hand or left-hand corner, or over the first half of the first column, or the second half of the second column, whichever is on the outside of the page. Among Coptic manuscripts only one late parallel is known to me: BMOr.6802, see BMisc.pl. XVI,XVIII of the eleventh century. Among Greek manuscripts I can only find two of the Chester Beatty papyri: Numbers and Deuteronomy of the second century and Genesis(IV) of the fourth century. There are, however, a few Coptic and Greek manuscripts written in one column where the page-number is written over the middle of the column. Among Coptic manuscripts the following may be cited: Berlin I Clement(ed.Schmidt), the Berlin Gnostic text(BP.8502), Wessely,Sah.-Gr.Psalmenfragmente(the Old Vienna Psalter), all of the fourth or early fifth century, also BMOr. 6804 ed.Budge,Coptic Apocrypha, see pl.XLV,XLVI of the eleventh-twelfth century. Among Greek manuscripts one may note in particular the Chester Beatty papyri of the third and fourth centuries, all of which, whether written in one or two columns, exhibit this feature; also the Berlin Genesis ed.Sanders and Schmidt of the third century and P.Ryl.53, P.Ox. 2,656,657,697,1010(?),1173,1229,1356,all of the third or fourth centuries, and many others of the same period.

As the page-number on the first page extant is '5' in Phil.I,27, the manuscript apparently began with Philippians and did not contain the

earlier Pauline Epistles. It is true that in some Coptic manuscripts we find more than one set of page-numbers in the same volume, but if this had been the case in the present manuscript we should have expected a new pagination in Colossians, but in fact the pagination is carried on from Philippians, pp.17,18,31,31(sic!).

Fragments of four pages containing parts of Philippians and Colossians:

- (a) Recto: Philippians I,27 - II,2 (page 5)
Verso: Philippians II,2 - 10 (page 6)
- (b) Recto: Philippians III,7 - 13 (page 11)
Verso: Philippians III,13 - 20 (page 12)
- (c) Recto: Colossians I,1 - 6 (page 17)
Verso: Colossians I,6 - 12 (page 18)
- (d) Recto: Colossians IV,1 - 3, 5 - 7 (page 31)
Verso: Colossians IV,8 - 9, 11 - 12 (page 31, sic!)

Pages (a) and (b) form a single leaf. The manuscript is Horner's number 3.

Text:

- (a) Recto: Philippians I,27 - II,2
(margin)

ⲉ

I,27	ⲉⲁⲧⲉⲧⲏⲩⲧⲏ ⲧⲁ	I,30	ⲉⲭⲱⲩⲥ ⲉⲟⲩⲛ
	ⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲉⲡⲉⲧⲛⲟⲩⲱ		ⲧⲏⲧⲏ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ
	ⲭⲉ ⲧⲉⲧⲛⲁⲉⲣⲁⲧ		ⲙⲡⲉⲉⲓⲁⲓⲱⲛ
	ⲧⲏⲩⲧⲏ ⲉⲛⲟⲩⲡⲛⲁ		ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲧⲥ ⲛⲉ ⲙ
	ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲧⲥ ⲙⲛ ⲟⲩⲩⲩ		ⲡⲉⲛⲧⲁⲧⲉⲧⲛⲁⲩ
	ⲭⲏ ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲧⲥ ⲉⲧⲉ		ⲉⲣⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲛⲧⲥ ⲧⲉ
	ⲧⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛⲓⲙⲉ ⲉⲧ		ⲛⲟⲩ ⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛ
	ⲛⲓⲥⲧⲓⲥ ⲙⲡⲉⲩⲁⲓ		ⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲉⲣⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲛⲧ
28	ⲓⲉⲗⲓⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛⲣ̅	II,1	ⲥⲟⲡⲥ ⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲉⲙ
	[2]ⲟⲧⲉ ⲗⲁⲁⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲓ		ⲡⲉⲭⲥ ⲥⲟⲗⲥⲗ ⲛⲓⲙ

I,28	[τ̄ν ν]ετ̄ ουβην	II,1	Ἰαγαπῇ· κοινῶ
	[ετε πα]ῖ πε πμᾶιν		νιδ νιμ ἡτε πε
	[ᾠπευτα]κο· ἡτω		πᾶ· ᾠντ̄ ναντ̄
	[τ̄ν δε ουο]γχαῖ νη		νιμ· εἰμ̄ ντωαν
	[τ̄ν πε α]γ[ω πα]ῖ ου	2	ετηγ· χωκ εβο[λ]
	[εβολ ε]ιτ̄μ] πνογ		ᾠπαρωε· ξε ε
29	[τε πε· ξε]αυχα		τετνεμεεεε
	[ριζε νητ̄ν]επε		ευμεεεε νογωτ̄
	[χ̄ε επι]στευ[ε ᾠ		εογντ̄ητ̄ν ᾠμαγ
	[		ἡταγαπῇ ειογσπ
	[		ετετ̄νο νογζητ̄

(margin)

Part of the text of this page is also extant in a manuscript of the fifth century at Louvain, see Lefort, Les Manuscrits Coptes de l'Université de Louvain, number 21; there are no variants, but I,30 εογντ̄ητ̄ν Louvain for εογντ̄ητ̄ν here may be noted. Part of I,29,30 are also extant in number 17 here; there are no variants.

verse 27. εατετ̄ητ̄ν, only this manuscript (sic!); Beatty, Morgan and Horner's e,1,19,25 add αν.

verse 28. ετετ̄ν̄ρεοτε, only this manuscript, against εντετ̄ν̄ρεοτε Beatty, Morgan and Horner's 1,19, and ντετ̄ν̄ρεοτε Horner's 25. Similarly in II,3.

verse 2. νταγαπῇ ειογσπ, only this manuscript and Horner's 1, against ντε(ε)ιαγαπῇ νογωτ̄ Beatty, Morgan, Horner's 19,24,25, and Wessely.

(a) Verso: Philippians II,2 - 10.

(margin)

		5	
II,2	νογωτ̄ ου	II,7	εβολ· εαγχι νογ
	μεεεε νογωτ̄		μορφῇ ἡμ̄μαλ
3	ετετ̄ν̄ρεααγ α		εαγωωπε ἡμοτ̄

II,3	κατα ουρανων ουτε κατα ου μντωουωο· αλλα εμ πεθββιο· ετετνχιςε ν̄ νετνερνυ ερω 4 τν̄· εμ πουα πουα ωινε αν̄ ν̄σα τεγ 5 νουρε αλλα τα κεουα· παϊ με ευε ερω ν̄εντν̄ ετ̄εν̄πεχ̄ς ον̄ ῑς 6 παϊ̄ εγενουμορ φн̄ ν̄τε πνουτε εμπ̄οπ̄ ευ τωρ̄π̄ εωαω̄γ 7 μ̄ν πνουτε· αλ λα αγπωετ̄ μ̄μογ	II,7 8 9 10	ν̄ρωμε· αυω εμ πесχнмα αυε ερω εως ρωμε· αγτεββιογ· εαγ ωωπε ν̄стμнт̄ ωαεραϊ επμογ· ουμογ δε ν̄сf[oc] ετβε παϊ̄ ε[ωωγ] απνογ[τε χας] τ̄γ ν̄εο[γo αχχα] ριζε н[αγ μ̄πραν] ετ̄ειχ̄[ν̄ ραν̄ ним̄] χεκ[ας εμπραν] ν̄ ῑς[ερε πατ̄ ним̄] κωλ[χ̄] νετ̄εν̄μ̄ пнγ[ε αυω νετ̄] ειχ̄[μ̄] πκαε μ̄ν̄ νε[τ̄εαπεснт̄]
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(margin)

verse 3. ετετνρ- only this manuscript, against εтετнρ-Beatty, Morgan and Horner's 19,24, and ντετнρ- Horner's 1. Similarly above in I,28.

verse 4. τακεουα, only this manuscript and Horner's 1, against ταεενκοογε Beatty, Morgan, and Horner's 19,24,25.

verse 5. ετ̄εν̄πεχ̄ς ον̄ ῑς , perhaps νετ̄εν̄πεχ̄ς ον̄ ῑς , the N being added by a later hand. νετ̄εν̄πεχ̄ς ον̄ ῑς is also read by Horner's 1 and 19; Horner's 24 has νετ̄εμ̄πεχ̄ς ον̄ ῑς ; Horner's m¹ νετ̄εμ̄πεχ̄ς ῑς ; Beatty, Morgan and Horner's 25 read παϊ̄ ον̄ ετ̄εμ̄πεχ̄ς ῑς .

(b) Recto: Philippians III,7 - 13.

(margin)

·12

III,7	<p> ΝΗ' ΕΝΕΥΨΟΟΝ' ΝΑΪ ΝΕΝΟΥ·ΑΪΟ ΠΟΥ ΕΟΣΕ' ΕΤΒΕ 8 .ΠΕΧ̄· ΑΛΛΑ †ΩΠ' ΒΕ ΝΕΩΒ ΝΙΜ' ΧΕ ΕΝΟΣΕ ΝΕ' ΕΤΒΕ ΠΕΘΟΥ· ΜΠΟ (sic) ΟΥΝ̄ΙC ΠΕΧ̄ ΠΑ ΧΟΪC ΠΑΪ ΝΤΑΪ †ΟΣΕ ΝΓΚΑ ΝΙΜ [ΕΤΒΗ]ΗΤ̄· ΔΥΩ· [†Ω]Π' ΜΜΟΥ· [ΧΕ ΕΝΛΑ]ΔΥ ΝΕ·ΧΕ [ΚΑΔC ΕΕ]Ε†ΖΗΥ 9 [ΜΠΕΧ̄C] ΔΥΩ Ν [CΕΖΕ ΕΡΟΪ] ΝΖΗΤ̄· [ΕΜ̄ΝΤΑΙ Μ]ΜΑΥ· [ΝΤΑΔΙΚΑ]ΙΟΥCΥΝΗ [ΤΕΒΟΛ ΕΜ]ΠΝΟΜΟΣ· [ΑΛΛΑ ΤΕΒ]ΟΛ ΖΙΤ̄Ν [ΤΠΙCΤΙC Μ]ΠΕΧ̄C· </p>	III,9	<p> ΤΔΙΚΑΙΟΥCΥΝΗ ΤΕ ΒΟΛ ΕΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΞΡΑΪ ΕΧ̄ΝΤΠΙC 10 ΤΙC ΝCΟΥΩΝ̄· ΔΥΩ ΤΒΟΜ ΜΠΕΥ ΤΩΟΥΝ· ΔΥΩ ΤΚΟΙ ΝΩΝΙΑ ΝΝΕΥΖΙ^(sic) CΕ·ΕΕΙΧΙ ΜΠΕΡΒ 11 ΜΠΕΥΜΟΥ· ΧΕΚΑ ΔC ΕΕΙΕΤΩΟΥΝ^(sic) ΕΒΟΛ ΕΝΝΕΤΜΟ 12 ΟΥΤ' ΧΕ ΝΤΑΪΟΥ Ω ΔΝ' ΕΕΙΧΙ, Η Ν ΤΑΪΟΥΩ ΕΕΙΧΩ[Κ] ΕΒΟΛ· †ΠΗΤ ΔΕ ΧΕ ΕΕΙΕΤΑΖΟ· ΚΑ ΤΑΘΕ ΝΤΑΥΤΑΖΟ ΕΙ ΖΙΤ̄Ν ΠΕΧ̄C· 13 ΝΔCΝΗΥ· ΔΝΟΚ Ν †ΜΕΕΥΕ ΔΝ ΕΡΟΕΙ ΧΕ ΔΪΤΑΖΟ· ΠΑΪ ΔΕ </p>
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(margin)

verse 8. (N)̄ΙC ΠΕΧ̄C ΠΑΧΟΪC only this manuscript; ΜΠΕΧ̄C̄ ΙC ΠΑΧΟΕΙC Horner's e, 1, 13, 19; ΜΠΕΧ̄C̄ ΙC ΠΕΝΧΟΕΙC Beatty; Ν̄ΙC ΠΕΧ̄C̄ ΠΕΝΧΟΕΙC Horner's 39; ΜΠΕΝΧΟΕΙC̄ ΙC ΠΕΧ̄C̄ Morgan. A comparison with the Greek manuscripts is of some interest here: Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ Beatty, Horner's e, 1, 13, 19 and the Greek manuscripts P⁴⁶, N BDFG⁵; Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ Balal-izah, Morgan and Horner's 39 with the Greek manuscripts AKP and a few minuscules. τοῦ Κυρίου μου Bal. and Horner's e, 1, 13, 19 and

verse 13. εειπω^ραυ δε εν^αθη with Beatty, Morgan and Horner's 1, 13, 39;

Horner's e and 19 read ειν^ακου^τν δε μμοι εν^αθη.

verse 15. ετετ^νμεεε only this manuscript; Beatty, Morgan and Horner's e, 1, 13, 19, 39 read ετετ^νμαεεε.

verse 16. πεν^{τα}τα^ρου μα^ρναζε on ε^ρου with Horner's e(?), 1, 13, 19, and the Greek manuscripts; Beatty, Morgan and Horner's 39 read πεν^{τα}-τετ^ντα^ρου αζε on ε^ρου.

verse 18. †χω on with Horner's 1, 13, 19; Beatty, Morgan and Horner's 39 read on †χω.

(c) Recto: Colossians I, 1 - 6.

(margin)

1Σ<

τε προς κολοσσαις

I, 1	παυλος παπο στολος μπεχ ^ς ιε ειτ ^ν πουωυ μππουτε' μν τιμοθεος πcon	I, 4	εμπεχ ^ς αυω τετ ^ν αγαπη ετ ^χ ι εζου ^ν ενε τουααβ' τηρου ετβε θελπις ε
2	ευσ ^ρ αι ν ^ν ε ^ς νηυ ετουααβ' ε ^ν κολοσσα μ [π]ιστος εμπε [χ ^ς] τεχα ^ρ ις νη [τ ^ν μ ^ν] †ρηνη [εβολ ειτ ^ν μ] ππου [τε πενει ^ω τ']	5	τκη nan εε ^ρ αι ε ^ν μπη ^υ ε' τα[ι] ντατετ ^ν σωτ[μ] ερος εμπω ^α χε ν ^τ με μπευα ^ρ
3	[τ ^ν ω ^π εμο]τ' ν ^τ μ [ππουτε] πειωτ' [μπε ^ν χοε]ις ιε [ε ^ν ω ^λ ηλ ε ^ρ ω ^τ ν]	6	γελιον' πα ^ι ε ^τ ν ε ^ν τ ^ν τη ^ν τ ^ν κα τα θε ε ^τ ε ^ν μ ^κ ο σμος ε ^γ †κα[ρ ^π ος] αυω ε ^γ α ^υ ζ ^α νε καταθε on ν ^ε η[τ] τη ^ν τ ^ν σ ^ι η[μ]

I,3	[ΝΟΥΘΕΙΩ] ΝΙΜ	I,6	ΠΕΘΟΥ ΝΤΑ[ΤΕ]
4	[ΝΤΕΡΝΩ]ΤΜ		ΤΝΩΤΜ ΑΥΩ
	[ΕΤΕΤΝΠΙC]ΤΙC		[Α]ΤΕΤΝΕΙΜ[Ε Ε]

(margin)

verse 2. ΖΝ ΚΟΛΟCΑ only this manuscript; Beatty, Morgan and Horner's 1, 13, 19 read ΕΤΖΝ ΚΟΛΟCΑ.

ΖΜ ΠΕ[ΧC] with Beatty, Morgan and Horner's 13, 19, also the Greek $\text{HBD}^{\text{C}}\text{KLP}$ etc.; Horner's 1 and the Greek AD*F 33, 104, 467, 1838 lat. read ΖΜ ΠΕΧC ΙC .

verse 3. After ΙC this manuscript omits ΠΕΧC (propter spatium) with the Greek B 1739 only, against Beatty, Morgan and Horner's 1, 13, 19 and Greek rel..

verse 4. ΖΜ ΠΕΧC only this manuscript with the Greek 241; Beatty, Morgan Horner's 1, 13, 19 and Greek rel. read ΖΜ ΠΕΧC ΙC .

verse 5. ΝΑΝ with Horner's 1, against ΝΗΤΝ Beatty, Morgan, Horner's 13, 19 and the Greek.

verse 6. ΠΚΟCΜΟC only this manuscript; Beatty, Morgan, Horner's 1, 13, 19 and the Greek read ΠΚΟCΜΟC ΤΗΡΥ.

(c) Verso: Colossians I, 6 - 12.

(margin)

ΙΗ

I,6	ΤΕΧΑΡΙC ὤΠΝΟΥ	I,9	ΕΤΡΕΤΝΜΟΩΕ
7	ΤΕ ΖΝ ΟΥΜΕ· ΚΑ		ΖΝ CΟΦΙΑ ΝΙΜ >
	ΤΑΘΕ ΝΤΑΤΕΤΝ		ΜΝΤΜΝΤΡΜΝ
	ΕΙΜΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟ		ΖΗΤ ὤΠΝΙΚΟΝ
	ΟΤΥ ΝΕΠΑΦΡΑ·	10	ΖΜ ΠΕὤΠΥΑ ὤ
	ΠΑΜΕΡΙΤ' ΝΩΒΡ		ΠΧΟΕΙC· ΕΠΕΤΡ
	ΖΜ ΖΑΛ· ΠΑΙ ΟΥΠΙ		ΑΝΑΥ ΤΗΡΥ· Ε >
	CΤΟC ΖΑΡΩΤΜ ΠΕ		ΤΕΤΝ† ΚΑΡΠΟC
	ΝΔΙΑΚΟΝΟC ΖΜ		ΖΝ ΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ ΝΑ

I,7,8	πεχ̄ς· παῖ ἡταυ ταμον ετετ̄ν αγαπη ἔμπεπ̄να	I,9	γαθον· αυω ε[τε] τη̄ αῡξαν[ε ε̄μ] πσοου[ν ἡπνου]
9	ετβε παῖ ζωων χιν πεσοου ἡ τανσωτ̄μ ἡτ̄ν λο αν ενωληλ εαρωτ̄ν αυω [ε̄ν]τωβ̄ε· χεκα ας ετετνεχωκ εβολ ἡπσοουν ἡπεγουωω·	11	τε· ε[τετ̄ν β̄μ] βομ [ε̄ν βομ νιμ] κατ[α πταχρο] ἡπ[εγεοου ε] εου[ν εευπο] μο[νη νιμ ε̄ν] ου[μντ εαρ̄ω] ε̄ν[τ ετετ̄ν] ^(sic) γε[μοτ ἡτ̄μ]

(margin)

verse 7. παμεριτ̄ ἡωβ̄ρ ε̄μζαλ only this manuscript; Beatty, Morgan read
πμεριτ̄ πενωβ̄ρ ε̄μζαλ, Horner's 1 reads αυω πενμεριτ̄ ἡωβ̄ρ ε̄μζαλ,
Horner's 13,19 read πενμεριτ̄ ἡωβ̄ρ ε̄μζαλ, the Greek is τοῦ ἁγαπητοῦ
συνδούλου ἡμῶν.

ουπιστος only this manuscript; Beatty, Morgan, Horner's 13,19 read
ε̄υπιστος, Horner's 1 reads ε̄υπιστος πε αυω.

ε̄μπεχ̄ς only this manuscript; Beatty, Morgan, Horner's 1,13,19 read
ἡπεχ̄ς with the Greek τοῦ χε̄ιστοῦ; Horner's 1 adds ῑς.

verse 10. This manuscript (accidentally ?) omits εμοογε before ε̄μπεἡπωλ
which is read by Beatty, Morgan and Horner's 1,13,19 and the Greek.
πχοεις with Horner's 1.13,19 and the Greek; Beatty, Morgan read
πνουτε, see Thompson's note p.215.

(d) Recto: Colossians IV,1 - 3, 5 - 7.

(margin)

λα

IV,1,2	ε̄ντπε· προς καρτερει επε	IV,5,6	νετειβολ μ[α] ρε πετ̄νωα[χε]
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IV,2

αληλ' ετετ̄νο
 νουωη ρ̄ροεις
 ν̄ζητ̄ν̄ ε̄νωῡπ
 3 εμοτ' ετετ̄ν̄
 αληλ' εωων εα
 ρον· ξεκαας ε
 ρε πνουτε ου
 [ω]N NAN ṽπρο
 [ṽπ]ωαξε ετρε̄
 [χω ṽπ]μυ[σθ-]

IV,6

νουοειω [NIM]
 ωωπε ε̄νω
 χαρις εϋχοκ̄ρ
 ν̄εμου· ετρετ̄[N]
 ειμε εθε ετεω
 ωε εωαξε μ̄[N]
 7 πουα που[α, γνα]
 ταμωτ̄[N ενετ̄]
 N[εητου]
 []

(broken)

(d) Verse: * Colossians IV,8 - 9, 11 - 12.

(margin)

λα (sic!)

IV,8

[ε]πετ̄νουω·
 [α]ω ν̄παρα
 [καλ]ει ν̄νετ̄N
 9 [ε]ητ̄ ṽN ονησι
 μος π̄CON· ṽ
 [π]ιστος· αω ṽ
 μεριτ' πᾱι εου
 [εβ]ο[λ] ν̄ζητ̄τηγ
 [τ̄N π]ε σ̄ενατ̄
 [μωτ̄]N εεωβ̄
 []
 []

IV,11

αωω ^(sic)ῑης πετε
 ααυμουτε ε
 ρου ξε ῑουστός
 νᾱι μαυααυ νε
 ναωβ̄ρ̄ρ̄εωβ̄' ε
 εουν ετ̄μ̄ντε
 ρο ṽπνουτε·
 νᾱι ν̄ταυω
 πε νᾱι ṽπαρη
 12 γορια· γωιν[ε]
 ερωτ̄N ν̄β̄[ι επα]
 [φρα]ς πε̄μ̄εαλ]

(broken)

verse 8. (ξεκαας εειεειμε ε)πετ̄νουω with Horner's 1 and the Greek P⁴⁶ N^c CD^c KL etc.; Beatty, Morgan, Horner's 14,21 read ξεκας ετετ̄νεειμε ε̄πενοω with the Greek Δ*ABD*FG etc..

verse 11. This manuscript only omits $\text{ΝΑΙ ΕΤΩΟΟΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗΠΕΒΒΕ}$ before ΝΑΙ ΜΑΥΑΔΥ by haplography ($\text{ΝΑΙ} \sim \text{ΝΑΙ}$).

19

PHILIPPIANS

(f 7) $4\frac{1}{2}$ by 3 inches, originally about $6\frac{1}{4}$ by 4 inches. Parchment. Written in square uncials of the late fourth or early fifth century. I published this manuscript with a facsimile and a detailed discussion in Le Museon LXIII (1950) pp.147 - 157. It was re-used to write a tax-receipt(146).

This is probably the most interesting Coptic text found at Deir el-Bala'izah. It is written in a dialect very close to Bohairic and is three or four centuries earlier than the earliest Bohairic literary text known. For a full discussion of the dialect of this fragment see chapter IX pp.231f., 241, 248, 250.

In republishing the text of this fragment I have been able to make a few minor corrections. As in my article I am publishing the text of the Bohairic Version as printed by Horner: The Coptic Version (Bohairic) vol.III side by side with the text of the fragment; from this the lacunae can easily be supplied.

Text:

Recto: Philippians III,19 - IV,3.

	The Fragment		The Bohairic Version
	$\text{ΝΑΙ ΕΤΕ ΠΟΥΝΟΥ† ΠΕ[}$ III,19		$\text{ΝΑΙ ΕΤΕ ΠΟΥΝΟΥ† ΠΕ ΤΟΥΝΕΧΙ}$
	ΔΥΩ ΠΕΥΩΟΥ ΖΙΧΕ[Ν		$\text{ΟΥΟΣ ΠΟΥΩΟΥ ΔΥΒΕΝ ΟΥΩΠΙ}$
	$\text{ΝΗ ΕΤΜΕΥΙ ΕΝΑΠΚΑ[ΖΙ}$ 20		$\text{ΝΑΙ ΕΘΜΕΥΙ ΕΝΑΠΚΑΖΙ ΤΕΝΜΕΤΡΕΜ}$
	$\text{ΜΠΟΛΙΣ· ΑΝΟΝ· ΑΣΩΟΠ[}$		$\text{ΜΒΑΚΙ ΓΑΡ ΑΝΟΝ ΑΣΩΟΠ ΒΕΝΝΙΦΗΟΥΙ}$
5	$\text{ΔΥΩ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΕΝΦΑΙ' ΤΕΝΣΟ[ΜΣ}$		$\text{ΟΥΟΣ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΜΑΥ ΤΕΝΧΟΥΩΤ ΒΑ}$
	$\text{ΤΖΗ ΜΠΕΝΣΩΤΗΡ ΠΕΝ[}$		$\text{ΤΖΗ ΜΠΕΝΣΩΤΗΡ ΠΕΝΒΕ ΙΗΣ ΠΧ}$
	$\text{ΦΗ ΕΤΝΑΩΙΒ† ΜΠΣΩΜ[}$ 21		$\text{ΦΗ ΕΘΝΑΩΙΒ† ΜΠΣΩΜΑ ΝΤΕ ΠΕΝ}$
	$\text{ΘΕΒΙΟ ΕΤΣΜΟΤ ΜΠΣΩ[ΜΑ}$		$\text{ΘΕΒΙΟ ΝΩΦΗΡ ΜΜΟΡΦΗ ΝΤΕ ΠΣΩΜΑ ΝΤΕ ΠΕΥ}$

	ωΟΥ· ΚΑΤΑ ΠΙΕΡΖΩΒ ΕΦΡΕ	III, 21	ωΟΥ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΙΕΡΖΩΒ ΕΦΡΕΥ ΧΕΜΧΟΜ ΟΥΟΖ
10	ΕΦΡΕ ΖΩΒ ΝΙΒΕΝ ΒΝΕΧΩΥ		ΕΦΡΕΥΕΡ ΖΩΒ ΝΙΒΕΝ ΒΝΕΧΩΟΥ ΝΑΥ
	[... Ν] ΑΣΝΗΟΥ ΝΑΜΕΝ[ΡΑΤ	IV, 1	ΖΩΣΤΕ ΝΑΣΝΗΟΥ ΝΑΓΑΠΗΤΟΣ ΟΥΟΖ
	[.....] Υ ΠΑΡΑΩΥ ΑΥΩ[		ΜΜΕΝΡΑΤ ΠΑΡΑΩΥ ΝΕΜ ΠΑΧΛΟΜ ΠΑΙΡΗΤ
	[.....] ΘΗΝΟΥ ΝΤΑΙ[ΖΗ		ΟΕΙ ΕΡΑΤΕΝΘΗΝΟΥ ΞΕΝΠΩ
	[.....] ††ΖΟ ΕΕΥΖΟΔ[ΙΑ	2	ΝΑΜΕΝΡΑΤ ΕΥΟΔΙΑ ††ΖΟ ΕΡΟΣ ΝΕΜ
15	[ΤΩΒΕ ΜΜΩΟΥ[		ΣΥΝΤΥΧΗ ΕΦΡΟΥΜΕΥΙ
	[ΝΠΩ· ΕΖΕΥ[	3	ΕΦΑΙ ΡΩ ΞΕΝΠΩΤ ΣΘ ††ΖΟ
	[ΠΙΩΤΠ		ΕΡΟΚ ΖΩΚ ΠΙΩΤΠ ΣΥΝΖΥΓΕ
	[ΝΑ[		ΜΑΤΟΤΚ ΝΕΜΩΟΥ ΝΑΙ ΕΤΑΥΒΙΒΙΣΙ
19	[ΓΕ[		ΝΕΜΗ ΞΕΝΠΙΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ

(broken, about six lines lost)

4. The manuscript omits γαρ with some Bohairic manuscripts (HJO*18).

5. εβολ ξενφαι, Bohairic εβολ μμα, Greek ἐξ οὗ.

8. ετсмог мпсωма, Bohairic νωφηρ μμορφη ντεπсωма, Greek σύμμορφον τῷ σώματι.

9. The manuscript probably omitted ουοζ.

10. εφρε ζωβ νιβεν βνεχωу, Bohairic (more correctly) εφρεуер ζωβ нιβεν βνεχωуу нау, Greek καὶ ὑποτάσσαι αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα.

11-13. Perhaps supply with the Sahidic Version thus: (Barns)

11 [ζωστε Ν]ΑΣΝΗΟΥ ΝΑΜΕΝ[ΡΑΤ ΑΥΩ ΝΕ†]

12 [ΟΥΑΩΟΥ] ΠΑΡΑΩΥ ΑΥΩ[ΠΑΚΛΟΜ ΟΕΙ]

13 [ΕΡΑΤΕΝ]ΘΗΝΟΥ ΝΤΑΙ[ΖΗ ΖΕΜ ΠΩ]

The agreement here with the Sahidic Version, if certain, is probably accidental; elsewhere the text of the fragment differs widely from the Sahidic Version.

14-15. Perhaps supply:

14 [ΝΑΜΕΝΡΑΤ]††ΖΟ ΕΕΥΖΟΔ[ΙΑ ΝΕΜ ΣΥΝ]

15 [ΤΥΧΗ ††]ΩΒΕ ΜΜΩΟΥ[ΕΦΡΟΥΜΕΥΙ]

cf. the Greek Εὐδοίαν παρεκαλῶ καὶ Σύντύχην παρεκαλῶ etc.

16. εεεγ , probably the Sahidic εαιο , ε(ε)ιο , etc., which is read here by the Sahidic Version; this word is otherwise not known in Bohairic.

Verse: Philippians IV, 4 - 9.

	The Fragment		The Bohairic Version
	[†Χω μμ]οc Χε ραυι τετε ^(sic) νμντ IV, 4, 5		†Χω μμοc Χε ραυι τετενμετ
	[μ]αρεcουωνε ερωμι		επικηc μαρεcουονε ερωμι
	[]αγεωντ ὑπερψιρωουγ 6		νιβεν ποτ̄ βεντ ὑπερψιρωουγ
	[α]λ[λα]γενεωβ νιβεν †προc		αλλα βενεωβ νιβεν †προc
5	[νε]μ πιτωβε ενοουγενεμοτ		ευχη νεμ πιτωβε βενουγενεμοτ
	[]ταβc μαροουουωνε εβολ		νετετετημα μαροουουωνε εβολ
	[]: αυω †ειρηνη ητεφ† 7		βατεν φ† ουοε †ειρηνη ητεφ†
	[ε]ητ νιβεν εσεαρεε ενε		θη ετβοcι ενουc νιβεν εσεαρεε ενε
	[ν]εμ νετενμεουι ετγεν		τενεητ νεμ νετενμευι βεν
10	[]το λοιπον νασνηου[?] 8		πχc ιηc το λοιπον νασνηου νη
	[]ὑμε ^(sic) τμει ηε[]		ετε ζανθμηνε νηετε ζανμετσεμνοc νε
	[με]τμει νιβεν[]		νη ετε ζανδικεον νε νη ετε ζαν
	[]υτ· ζωβ νιβ[εν]]		μεττουβονε ζωβ νιβεν βενουμει
	[αυενν]ουγι νιβεν[]		ζωβ νιβεν νγεννουγι φη
15	[]μωουωου[]		ετε ουαρεθη πε ουοε φη ετε ου
	[]νεμε[γ]ι ερ[ωου]]		ταιο πε ναι μευι ερωου
	[ε]μι ερωου] 9		ετε ναι
	[ετα]ρετ[εν]]		νε εταρετενταβε
	[]ω[]		θηνοу ερωου
	(broken)		

3. A recollation shows that there is sufficient room for [νιβεν ποτ̄].

4. Probably read [εαελι α]λ[λα] with the Bohairic manuscripts A₂B^aDFGHJKLMNPO and 26; βαελι is omitted by the Bohairic manuscripts AE.

6. ταβc , Bohairic, Sahidic and Greek have αἰτημα ; ταβc is evidently the same word as the Sahidic τωβc (Crum: Dictionary p.401b) 'pricking(of conscience), admonition, compunction'; the word does not

occur otherwise in Bohairic.

8. 2HT, Bohairic $\mu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$, Sahidic $\mu\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon$, Greek $\nu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$.

9. $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\epsilon\eta[\mu\chi\varsigma\ \overline{\mu\eta\varsigma}]$, Bohairic (more correctly) $\beta\epsilon\eta\ \mu\chi\varsigma\ \overline{\mu\eta\varsigma}$, the Greek is
(τὰ νοήματα ὑμῶν) ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ.

11-17. These lines vary considerably from the text of the Bohairic Version; the Sahidic Version too is different here.

20

PAULINE EPISTLES

(g 5) $3\frac{3}{4}$ by $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches, complete. Parchment. Written in small square uncials of the sixth or early seventh century.

One page containing II Timothy IV, 20-22 and Titus I, 1-6. This is part of Horner's 11; the rest of Horner's 11 is part of number 21 here.

Text:

Recto: II Timothy IV, 20 - 22, Titus I, 1 - 2.

(margin)

II Tim. IV, 20	[α]ῖκα τροφίμο[ς δε εἶν]
21	μ[ι]λητος εϋω[ωνε ἀρ]
	[α]π[ο]στ[ο]λ[η] εἰ[ς] α[ρ]οι
	[εἰ]ς τ[η]ν ἡγερω· ε[ϋ]βο[υ]λ
	[ο]ς] εϋνε εροκ μ[η] πο[υ]
	ἀ[ν]δ[ρ]α μ[η] λινος· [μ]η κλαυ
	δια [μ]η νεσνη [τη]ρου
22	π[ο]σ[ε]ς μ[η] πεκη[νευμα]
	— . . . — . . . —
	τε [π]ρος τιμοθ[εος β]
	— . . . — [. . . —]
	τε [π]ρος τιτος
	— . . . — . . . —

Titus I, 1

παγλος π[α]μ[α]λ[α] μ[η] π[ου]
τε παποστο[λος] δε μ

I,5 ται̅ ζων̅ ετ̅[ρ]οτ̅κ̅ ὰ[μ̅ο̅ς]
 6 η̅ε̅τ̅ε̅ὰ̅ν̅ζ̅ω̅β̅ χ̅ι̅ ε̅ζ̅ο̅γ̅[ν̅]
 ε̅ρ̅ο̅γ̅·ε̅δ̅υ̅ρ̅ε̅δ̅ι̅ νο̅υ̅ς̅ε̅ι̅μ̅ε̅
 ἡ̅νο̅υ̅ω̅τ̅·ε̅ν̅τ̅α̅γ̅ ὰ̅μ̅α̅γ̅

(margin)

verse 3. ε̅ὰ̅η̅ε̅[γ̅ο̅ϣ̅] with Morgan and Horner's 13; Beatty reads ε̅η̅η̅ε̅γ̅ο̅υ̅ο̅ε̅ι̅ω̅
 verse 6. ὰ̅ν̅ζ̅ω̅β̅ with Beatty and Morgan; Horner's e apparently reads
ὰ̅ν̅ νο̅β̅ε̅, but this may be a mistake.

21

PAULINE EPISTLES

(d 16) Two pages forming single leaf; each page 7½ by 6 inches, complete. 27 lines, 2 columns, the lines and columns are ruled. This is one of the earliest manuscripts of the collection; it is written in small square uncials of the late fourth or early fifth centuries. The hand has much in common with the second hand of the Pistis Sophia (see Hyvernât: Album pl.II), but the script is heavier and very uniform. Unfortunately the script is very badly faded and partly illegible and the manuscript could not be photographed.

The page-numbers on one page ω̅λ̅ϛ̅, ω̅λ̅ζ̅, i.e. 836, 837 are very remarkable, and presumably the manuscript originally contained the whole of the New Testament. I know of no other Coptic manuscript earlier than the ninth century which was so extensive. The nearest approach to it are the Subachmimic Manichaean texts of which the Kephalaia shows page-numbers up to 514, and the Psalm-book must have been of similar extent, cf. Schmidt-Polotsky, Ein Mani-Fund p.81 and Allberry, A Manichaean Psalm-book, Introduction.

The η̅ is assimilated to ρ̅ before ρ̅ five times; this occurs also in other manuscripts of this collection, numbers 5, 7, 17, 18, 22. The superlineations, where legible, seem to have been inserted consistently.

Two pages containing I Timothy IV, 12 - V, 2, 4, 10, 11, 13 - 18, and

Titus I,9 - II,14. This is Horner's number 10 and part of number 11;
the rest of Horner's-11 is number 20 here.

Text:

(a) Recto: I Timothy IV,12 - V,2,4.

(margin)

IV,12	τεκ ^μ ν ^τ ων ^ρ [ε ων ^μ]	[
	αλλα ωωπε ^ν [σμο ^τ ^ν]	[
	ἁπισ ^τ ος ^ε μ ^ν [πα ^α χε]	[
	ε ^ν νε ^ε β ^ν υ ^τ [ε ε ^ν τα]	[
	γα ^ρ η ^ε τ ^ν [η ^τ ισ ^τ ις]	[
13	ε ^μ π ^τ ε ^β [βο] π ^ρ ος	[
	ε ^χ ε επ ^[ωω] ω ^α ν ^τ ει V,4	[^{νωο}]
	ε ^π σο ^[η] ς ε ^τ ε ^ε βω	ρ ^π ε ^[ωωαε (ω)πευ^νι]
14	ἁπ ^ρ α ^μ ε ^ρ [ε ^τ] ε ^[πε^ε] μο ^τ	α ^υ [ω ε ^τ ωωβε ^ν ου]
	[ε ^τ] ^ν ε ^ν τ ^κ ^{παι} εν	το ^[υεο ^ννευ^ειο^{τε}]
	τα ^υ τα ^α [η ^ν α] ^κ ε ^τ ι ^τ ^ν	παι γαρ [πε ^τ ων ^η η]
	ου ^π ρο ^φ η ^τ ια ^{αυ} ω	ἁ ^π ε ^μ [το ε ^β ολ]
	π ^τ α ^{λο} ^ν ν ^β ι ^χ ^ν νε	ἁ ^η νο ^υ [τε]
15	π ^ρ ε ^ε β ^υ τ ^ε ρο ^ς ^μ ε	[
	λε ^τ α ^ν ν ^α ι ωωπε ^ε ν	[
	ν ^α ι ^χ ε ε ^ρ ε ^ε τε ^κ π ^ρ ο	[
	κο ^π η ου ^ω ν ^ε ε ^β ολ	[
16	ἡ ^ο υ ^ο ν ^ν ι ^μ ^τ ε ^τ η ^κ	[
	ε ^ρ ο ^κ α ^υ ω ^ν τ ^β ω ε ^ι χ ^ω	[
	ου ^ε ν ^τ ε ^ε βω ε ^κ ει ^ρ ε	[
	γα ^ρ ἁ ^π α ^ι ε ^κ να ^{το} υ ^χ [ο ^κ]	[
	ἁ ^ν νε ^τ σω ^τ ι ^μ [ε ^ρ ο ^κ]	[
V,1	ἡ ^ε λλο ἁ ^π ρ ^η [ο ^ω σο ^υ]	[
	α ^λ λα πα ^ρ α ^κ α ^λ [ει ἁ ^μ ο]	[
	ου ε ^ω ς ^ι ω ^τ ^ν ω ^[η^ρε]	[
2	ων ^μ ε ^ω ς σο ^[ν ^ννο^β]	[

V,2

̄ncel[με ζωc]μ[ααυ]

[

(margin)

verse 12. $\epsilon\lambda\tau\alpha\gamma\alpha\eta\eta$ with Horner's 1,24,32(?) and the Greek manuscripts; it is omitted by Beatty, Morgan and Horner's m¹.

verse 4. $\mu\alpha\gamma\alpha\rho$ [πεταυηη] (propter spatium) with Horner's 1 and the Greek manuscripts NACD etc.; Beatty, Morgan, and Horner's \underline{e} , 24, 32, m¹ read $\mu\alpha\gamma\alpha\rho$ (πε)πετνανουγ αυ πεταυηη with a few Greek minuscules and the Bohairic Version.

(a) Verso: I Timothy V,10,11,13 - 18.

(margin)

			V,13	[μονον] δε ευ[ο]̄ναρος
				[αλλα κκεω] ου ω ο
				[αυω νρεϋτω]2 ευχδ
			14	[ννετεμεωωε] †
				[ουωω βε ετ]ρε νωεε
				[ρε]ωημ χι[2αι] εχπε ωη
				ρε ερχοεις [ε]πευηι
				ετμ† λααυ [να]φορμη
				μπε[τ †] ουβ[ηη] ετρευ
			15	σαεου μμον α2ο̄ιν[ε]
V,10	[	εναν]ου		γαρ χιντ[ενοу] ουα
	[ου	χε νεαccaν]ω		ου ^(sic) ειπαου μпcaτa
	[νεcωηρε	χε νε]ας	16	нас: εωωπε δε
	[ωεπᾱμμο]	ε[ρ]ος χε		Ουμictη εῡν[τc] ζεν
	[νεαcεia	нноу]ερητε		χηρα μαρεcρω[ωε]ε
	[ννετο̄υαα]	β· χε νε		ροу· αυω μ̄π̄ρ̄τρεу
	[αcρωωε	ен]ετθλι		ερωу еτεκκλ̄ηcia
	[βε χε	νεαcоуα]2c̄ ̄		χε еceρωωε енеχh
	[ca	зωв nim	17	ра name: непрес
	[ca	зωв nim		ετ̄na]N̄ ^(sic) у
11	[ου	νωεερε ωημ] δε		Вутерос ет̄про̄icta

V,11	[NΧΗΡΑ παρ]αί [†]]]]]]]	V,17	καλως μαρουταιο [ου N]ουταιο εκηβ [N2000]δε νετ200ε [2μ π]ωαχε μNτεεβω 18 [πεX]ας γαρ N61 τετρα [φH XεN]νεκωετβ ου [μασε] εκ[2.1 αυω] Xεπερ
------	---	------	---

(margin)

verse 16.δε with Horner's 1,9 and the Greek manuscripts P,1827; it is omitted by Beatty, Morgan, Horner's 17,24 and the majority of the Greek manuscripts.

2ENXHPA... EP00Y with Horner's 1,17(?),24 and the Greek manuscripts; Beatty, Morgan and Horner's 9 read OYXHPA ... EP0C .

(b) Recto: Titus I,9 - II,4.

(margin)

			(sic) <u>ωλ5</u>
I,9	<p> XEKAΣ EY[εωδ]μβου ECHOΠC E^NTECBW ET OYOX AYW EXΠIE NET OYWM ZAZ ΓAP NETE NCEZYNOTACE AN PPEYXIOYAXE NEΠA AYW NPEYTAKE ZHT N2000 DE NEBOL ZM </p>	I,14	<p> TOLH PPOME EYKTO μMOOY EBOL ENTMε: NKA NIM OYAB NNET OYAB NETXAZM DE MN NAPICTOC MN ΛA AY OYAB NAY· AΛΛA PEYKEZHT COOY MN TEYCYNEIDHCIC CE 20MOXOΓI XE CECO OYN MNNOYTE CE APNA DE MOY ENNEY ZBHYE EYBHT AYW E[YO] NAT[COTM] N[XO] [OT ZN ZWB NIM ETNANOY:] </p>
10		15	
11	<p> [πC]BBe NAI EYWE E [ωTM]POY. NAI ETWOP [ωP] N^NZENH I THPOY [EY]+CBW NNET[E]M EY [ω]E ETBE OY MN T[MAI] [ZH]Y Nωλ[OY] AYPO </p>	16	
12			

I, 12	[ΦΗΤΗΣ ΧΘ]ΟΣ ΕΒΟΛ	II, 1	Ν[ΤΟΚ ΔΕ ΨΑΧΕ ΝΝΕΤ]
	[ΝΖΗΤΟΥ ΧΕ Ν]ΕΚΡΗ		Ε[ΨΥΕ ΝΤΕΣΒΩ ΕΤΟΥ]
	[Τ]ΗΣ [ΖΕΝΡΕΥΧ]ΙΒΟΛ	2	ΟΧ [ΝΕΛΛΟ ΝΣΕΨΩ]
	ΝΕ ΝΟΥ[ΟΕΙΩ Ν]Μ ΖΕΝ		ΠΕ ΕΥ[ΤΟΡΕ ΝΣΕΜΝΟΣ]
	[Φ]ΗΡ[Ι]ΟΝ Ε[ΥΖΟΟΥ] ΝΕ		Ρ̄Ρ̄Μ̄ ΝΖΗΤ [ΕΥΟΥΟΧ]
	[ΖΕ]ΝΖ[Η] Ε[ΥΟΥΟΣ] ΝΕ		Ξ̄Ν̄ΤΠΙΣΤ[ΙC ΖΝΤΑΓΑ]
13	[ΤΕΙΜ]Ν̄[ΤΜΝΤΡΕ·ΟΥΜΕ]		ΠΗ ΖΝΘ[ΥΠΟΜΟΝΗ]
	Τ[Ε] ΕΤ[ΒΕ ΠΑΙ] ΧΠ[ΙΟ]	3	Ν̄ΖΛΩ Ο[Ν ΝΤΕΙΖΕ ΖΝ]
	Ο[Υ] ΖΝ[ΟΥΩΩΩΤ] ΕΒΟΛ		ΟΥΣΜΟ[Τ ΕΥΟΥΑΔΒ]
	ΧΕΚΑΣ ΕΥΕΟΥΧΑΪ ΖΝ		ΝΔΙΑΒΟΛΟΣ ΑΝ ΕΝC[Ε]
14	ΤΠΙΣΤΙC ΕΝCΕΚΩ Ν		Ο ΑΝ Ν̄ΖΜ̄ΖΔΛ ΝΟΥΗ
	ΖΤΗΥ ΑΝ ΕΖΕΝΨΒΩ		Ρ̄Π̄ ΕΝΑΨ[ΩΥ ΡΡΕΥ+]]
	Ν̄ΙΟΥΔΑΪ Μ̄Ν ΖΕΝ ΕΝ	4	CΒΩ ΕΝΑΝ[ΟΥΥ ΧΕ(ΚΑΣ)]

(margin)

verse 10. ρεϋΧιψαχε with Horner's 1; Beatty, Morgan read ρεϋΧεψαχε.

verse 2. ΖΝΘΥΠΟΜΟΝΗ with Beatty and the Greek manuscripts; Morgan reads ΖΝΟΥΖΥΠΟΜΟΝΗ and Horner's 1 omits it.

(b) Verso: Titus II, 4 - 14.

(margin)

	<u>ωλζ</u>		
II, 4	ΕΥΕΤCΑΒΕ ΝΨΕΕΡΕ	II, 10	ΛΑ ΕΥ[ΟΥΩ]Ν̄Ζ ΕΒΟΛ
	ΟΥΗ ΕΡ̄ΜΑΪ ΝΕΥΖΑΪ		Μ̄Π[ΙC]Τ[Ι]C ΝΙΜ ΕΝΑ
5	Μ̄ΜΑΪ ΝΕΥΨΗΡΕ· Ν		ΝΟΥΥ· ΧΕΚΑΣ ΕΥΕ
	CΑΒΗ ΕΥΟΥΑΔΒ Ρ̄ΡΕΥ		ΚΟCΜΙ ΝΤΕCΒΩ Μ̄
	ΤΕΨΜΑ ΝΑΓΑΘΟΣ ΕΥ		ΠΕΝCΩΤΗΡ ΝΝΟΥ
	ΖΥΠΟΤΑCCE ΝΝΕΥ		ΤΕ ΖΝ ΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ ΝΝΕ
	ΖΑΪ ΧΕ Ν̄ΝΕΥΧΪ ΟΥΑ		ΖΒΗΥΕ ΕΤΝΑΝΟΥΟΥ:
	ΕΨΑΧΕ Μ̄ΠΝΟΥΤΕ	11	ΔΤΕΧΑΡΙC ΓΑΡ Μ̄ΠΝΟΥ
6	ΝΨΗΡΕ ΔΕ ΟΝ ΟΥΗ ΠΑ		ΤΕ ΠΕΝCΩΤΗΡ ΟΥΩ
	ΡΑΚΑΛΙ Μ̄ΜΟΥ ΝΤΕΙ		Ν̄Ζ ΕΒΟΛ Ρ̄ΡΩΜ[Ε ΝΙΜ]

(margin)

PAULINE AND CATHOLIC EPISTLES

(e $\frac{16}{1-2}$; e 86; d 187b) 6 by $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches, complete. Parchment. Columns (not lines) are ruled. Written by the same hand as 25, see plate I,3. The dating of this manuscript presents some difficulties. Mr.C.H.Roberts with whom I discussed the date of this manuscript was inclined to place it as early as the third-fourth century; judging from the dialect and in particular the system of superlineation a date earlier than the middle of the fourth century seems unlikely; on the other hand, the shape of the letters $\epsilon, \circ, \omega, \epsilon$, also $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\beta}\bar{\rho}\bar{\rho}\bar{\epsilon}$ on the small unidentified fragment (e), make it probable that the manuscript should not be dated later than the fourth century; cf. however $\bar{\eta}\bar{\beta}\bar{\rho}\bar{\rho}\bar{\epsilon}$ I John II,7. Superlineations have been inserted consistently except for James IV,6 $\epsilon\bar{\rho}$ but ib. $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\chi}\bar{\omega}$; note also $\circ\gamma\bar{\eta}$ (verb), not $\circ\gamma\bar{\eta}$ (I Pet.II,18, III,1, Ja.III,14).

Fragments of five pages containing:

- (a) Ephesians II,11 and 13
- (b) I Peter II,15 - III,1,3,4
- (c) I John II,4 - 15.
- (d) James III,14,15,17,18, IV,3,5,6
- (e) Unidentified.

On page (b) verso a page-number $\gamma\bar{\eta}$ (450 ?) is visible which shows that the manuscript must have been unusually large, and presumably it contained originally more than the Pauline and Catholic Epistles, cf. also number 21 above. This is Horner's number 1 for the Catholic Epistles, Horner knew only pages (c) and (d).

Text:

(a) Recto: Eph.II,11

(a) Verso: Eph.II,13

(2nd.column, broken)

(1st.column, broken)

II,11 [$\mu\circ\gamma$]τε ϵ
 [$\rho\circ\circ\gamma$ $\chi\epsilon$ + $\bar{\mu}$] $\bar{\eta}\bar{\tau}$
 [$\alpha\tau\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\beta}\bar{\beta}\bar{\epsilon}$ $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\eta}$] $\tau\bar{\epsilon}\alpha\bar{\rho}$ $\bar{\chi}$
 [$\epsilon\bar{\beta}\circ\lambda$ $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\tau}$] $\bar{\eta}\bar{\tau}$ $\pi\epsilon$

II,13 $\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ [$\mu\pi\circ\gamma\epsilon$]
 $\alpha\tau\epsilon$ [$\bar{\tau}\bar{\eta}\omega\omega\pi\epsilon$]
 $\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ $\bar{\tau}\bar{\eta}$ [$\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}$ $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\epsilon}\circ\gamma\bar{\eta}$]
 $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\mu}$ $\pi\epsilon\epsilon$ [$\pi\circ\gamma$ $\bar{\mu}$]

II,11 [τεω]υμουτε
 [εροϋ χ]ε η[δ]ββε
 [νβιχ εη]τεαρξ
 [χε νετετνω]ο
 [οη]
 (broken)

II,13 πεχς·[ντοϋ γαρ]
 πε[τενειρηνη]
 (broken)

(b) Recto: I Peter II,15 - 21.

(margin)

(broken and illegible)

II,15 [σοοϋν ν]ναιαφητ
 16 [νρω]με ζωσ ρμ
 [ζε ντμντρ]μεε
 [ω]οο[η νητ]ν αν
 ζω[ς {2HBC(2)} 2PB ντκ]ακιδ
 αλ[λα ε]ως εμζαλ
 17 ντ[ε] πνο[υ]τε· ν
 τετνταε ου[ον]
 νιμ ντετν[ε]με
 ρε νετνερηϋ
 ν[τ]ετνρζοτε ζ[η]
 [τϋ μη]νουτε

(broken and illegible)

II,18,19 [ετβοο]με· παϊ γαρ
 [οϋ ζμοτ πε εω
 χε ετβ[ε] ο[υ]εϋνι
 ΔΗCIC ντ[ε] ην[ο]υτε
 οϋν οϋδ ναϋι ζαζ ν^(sic)
 λϋπη· εωπζι^(sic)
 σε εν ουχι νβονς
 20 αω γαρ [η]ε[η]ετ[ν]
 εοοϋ ετ[ετνωαν]
 [ρ]νοβε ν[σεζιοϋε]
 ερωτν ντ[ετνβω]
 αλλα εωχε [τε]
 τν[ε]ρε μπηετ
 νανοϋϋ· σεζιοϋε
 ερωτν [τ]ετνβε
 ετ παϊ ουζμοτ
 πε ναερν πνοϋτ[ε]
 21 νταυταεμτηϋτ[ν]
 γαρ ε[παϊ χε πε]
 χς ζω[ωϋ] αϋ[ωπ]
 ζιςε [ζ]α[ρωτν εϋ]
 κω[νητν νου]

II,21 σμοτ [Χεкас ετε]

(margin)

verse 19. ουν ουδ̄ ναϛῑ ζαζ̄ ν̄λυπ̄η ; the Morgan manuscript more correctly with the Greek reads ουν ουᾱ ναϛῑ ζᾱ ζεν̄λυπ̄η 'there is one who will bear griefs ...'; there can be no doubt that the scribe of the present manuscript (wrongly) intended to write ζαζ̄ ν̄λυπ̄η 'there is one who shall bear many griefs ...', otherwise he would have written ζαζ̄ν̄, not ζαζ̄ν̄. On the other hand, ζν̄ and ζεν̄ are frequently confused in certain early manuscripts, see chapter VIII paragraph 1A(p.53), and a mistake like this could easily arise; Horner's 14,f¹ also have ζαζ̄ν̄, but both manuscripts are late and often have ζν̄ for ζεν̄, e.g. II Peter I,16, II,1.

εϣ̄ω̄π̄ιζε̄ only this manuscript; Morgan and Horner's 14,f¹ read εϣ̄ω̄π̄ιζε̄. verse 21. τᾱζ̄μ̄τηϣ̄τ̄ν̄; Crum: Dictionary p.458b cites only τᾱζ̄μ̄= for the status pronominalis of τω̄ζ̄μ̄, but the other four manuscripts here have τ̄ε̄ζ̄μ̄τηϣ̄τ̄ν̄ (Morgan, Horner's a,14,f¹).

(b) Verso: I Peter II,21 - III,1,3,4.

(margin)

ν̄ν̄?

II,21	τνεουε̄ζ̄[τηϣ̄τ̄ν̄]	II,25	[
	ν̄σᾱ νε[ϣ̄]ζιοοϣ̄[ε]		[
22	πᾱῑ ε̄τ̄[ε]μ̄πεϣ̄		ε̄τ̄]
	ρ̄νοβε̄ ουδε̄ μ̄		σορ̄μ̄ ᾱλ[λᾱ τε̄νοϣ̄]
	ποϣ̄ζε̄ εκροϣ̄ ζ̄ν̄		ᾱτε̄τ̄ν̄κε̄τ̄[τηϣ̄]
23	τεϣ̄τᾱπρο̄ πᾱῑ		τ̄ν̄ επ̄ω̄φ̄[ς̄ πε̄]
	ε̄ϣ̄ᾱζοϣ̄ μ̄μοϣ̄	III,1	πισκο̄πο̄ς̄ [ν̄νε̄τ̄ν̄]
	μ̄πε̄[ϣ̄]σᾱζοϣ̄		ψ̄ϣ̄χ̄η̄ νε̄ζ̄ιο̄]
	[εϣ̄ω̄π̄ιζε̄]ῑς̄ε̄ νεϣ̄		με̄ ο[ν̄ ν̄]τε̄ῑζε̄[ε̄ν̄]
	[νο̄β̄ς̄]ᾱν̄ ν̄		θ̄β̄[β̄ιο̄ μ̄μ̄]οϣ̄ ν̄
			νεϣ̄ζᾱῑ [χε̄κᾱς̄]

II,23	[εϣκ]ω Δε μ	III,1	εγωπε ουν ροι
	[π]μα μπετνα		Ν[ε] εγο ν[α]τ[ς]ω
	[κ]ρινε δικα[ι]ως		[τ]μ επωαξε ν[ς]ε
24	παϊ νταχταλο		†ζηυ μμοου αχ[ν]
	εεραϊ νnenno		ωαξε ε[ι]τ[ν] τ[α]
	βε μπεγσμα		[να]στρ[ο]φ[η]
	[ε]χ[ν] πωε χε		[]
	κας εανμοу εμ		[]
	πνοβε ντ[ν]ωνε		[]
	ε[ν] [τ[α]]κ[α]ι[ο]ςυνη		[]
	ε[ν]...λ[ω]...παϊ		[]
	[]		[]
	[εμπεγς]αω	4	ε[ι]εο[ι]τε αλλα

(margin)

verse 23. Δε with Horner's a,15,f¹ and the Greek; Morgan, Horner's 14 and one Greek minuscule(614) omit it.

verse 24. μπεγσμα only this manuscript, cf. (?) τῷ σώματι αὐτοῦ Ν^{*}; Morgan and Horner's a,14,15 ερα εμπεγσμα, Horner's f¹ εμπεγσμα, cf. the Greek ἐν τῷ σώματι αὐτοῦ.

εανμοу εμπνοβε, cf. Horner's 14 εανμοу μν εμπνοβε; Morgan and Horner's a,15,f¹ εανμοу (ν)ναερμ πνοβε.

ντ[ν]ωνε ε[ν] [τ[α]]κ[α]ι[ο]ςυνη ε[ν]...λ[ω]...παϊ only this manuscript; Morgan and Horner's a,15 merely have (with the Greek) ντ[ν]ωνε ε[ν] τ[α]κ[α]ι[ο]ςυνη παϊ.; similarly Horner's 14 ανωνε δε ε[ν] τ[α]κ[α]ι[ο]ςυνη παϊ..

(c) Recto: I John II,4 - 10.

(margin)

II,4	[εα]ρ[ε]ε αν ννευ]	[]
	[εντο]λη ογ[ρε]χ[ι]	[]
	βολ πε· αγω [ν]τ[μ]ε]	[]
	ωοον αν εραι [ν]	[]

II,5	ΖΗΤΨ ΠΕΤΖΑΡ[ΕΞ]		[
	ΔΕ ΕΠΕΨ[ΑΧΕ]		[
	ΝΑ[ΜΕ ΑΤΑΓΑΠΗ]		[
	Ψ[Η]ΝΟΥΤΕ ΧΩ]Κ Ε		[
	ΒΟΛ [ΞΥΠΑΙ Δ]ΥΩ		[
	ΞΥ[ΠΑΙ ΤΗ]ΕΙΜΕ		[
	ΧΕ [ΤΝΨΟΟ]Π ΖΡΑΪ		[
6	ΝΖΗ[ΓΨ] ΠΕΤΧΩ	II,8	[ΠΚΑΚ]Ε [ΝΑΠΑΡ]
	ΜΜ[ΟC Χ]Ε + ΨΟ		[Δ]ΓΕ ΔΥΩ ΠΟ[ΥΟΕΙΝ]
	[ΟΠ ΖΡΑΙ] ΝΖΗΤΨ		ΜΜΕ ΧΙΝΤΕΝ[ΟΥ]
	[ΨΨΕ ΕΡΟ]Ψ ΕΜΟΟ	9	ΨΡΟΥΟΕΙΝ· Π[ΕΤ]
	ΨΕ [ΚΑΤΑ ΘΕ ΕΤΕ]ΡΕ		ΧΩ ΜΜΟC Χ[Ε]
	[ΠΗ Μ]ΟΡΨΕ Μ		+ Ψ[ΟΟ]Π ΞΥΠΟ[ΥΟ]
7	ΜΟC [? ΝΑ]ΜΕΡΑ		ΕΙΝ Δ[Υ]Ω [ΕΨΜΟ]
	ΤΕ [ΝΟΥΕΝΤΟΛ]Η Ν		CΤΕ ΜΠ[Ε]Ψ[CΟΝ]
	ΒΡΡΕ [ΑΝ Τ]Ε + CΖΑΙ		ΕΨΨΟΟΠ ΖΡΑΙ [ΞΥ]
	ΜΜ[ΟC ΝΗ]ΤΝ		[Π]ΚΑΚΕ ΨΑΞΡ[ΑΙ]
	ΑΛΛΑ ΟΥΕΝΤ[ΟΛΗ]	10	ΕΤΕΝΟΥ· ΠΕ[ΤΜΕ]
	ΝΔC ΤΕ· ΤΑΪ ΕΤΕ		ΔΕ ΝΤΟΥ Μ[ΠΕΨ]

(margin)

There would be no point in citing on this and the following page all the peculiar readings of Horner's 7. Horner's 7 is the very interesting fourth century manuscript of the Apocalypse, I John and Philemon partly in Berlin(or.oct.408) and partly in the British Museum (B.M.142). For I John and Philemon, not the Apocalypse, it is one of the very rare Sahidic manuscripts which differ consistently from the other Sahidic manuscripts and practically present a separate version. It is unfortunate that Horner in his edition partly, but not consistently adopted the readings of this manuscript which by no means represents the standart Sahidic Version, see above chapter

II, p.13 and note 3. See also the note by Horner, The Coptic Version ... Sahidic vol.VII pp.558f..

verse 4. $\alpha\lambda\epsilon\rho\alpha\iota\bar{\nu}\epsilon\eta\tau\bar{\nu}$ only this manuscript; Morgan and Horner's 4,6,15,a read $\alpha\lambda\epsilon\mu\alpha\iota$. (Horner's 7 ($\eta\tau\mu\epsilon$) $\epsilon\mu\alpha\iota\alpha\lambda\alpha\lambda$).

verse 5. $\eta\tau\epsilon\alpha\rho\epsilon\epsilon\zeta$ only this manuscript; Morgan and Horner's 4, (7 ?), 15, a read $\eta\tau\eta\alpha\epsilon\alpha\rho\epsilon\epsilon\zeta$.

verse 6. $\omega\psi\epsilon\epsilon\rho\omega$ with Horner's 7; Morgan, Horner's 4,6,15,a add $\epsilon\omega\omega\psi$.

(c) Verso: I John II, 11 - 15.

(margin)

		II,13	[† $\varsigma\epsilon\alpha\iota\eta\eta\tau\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}$ $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\rho$]
			[ω] $\rho\epsilon\chi\epsilon\alpha$ [$\tau\epsilon\tau\bar{\nu}$]
			[$\chi\rho$] \omicron $\epsilon\pi\pi\omicron\eta\eta\rho$ [$\omicron\varsigma$]
		14	[$\alpha\epsilon$] $\varsigma\epsilon\alpha\iota\eta\eta\tau\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}$ $\bar{\nu}$
			$\omega\eta\rho\epsilon\omega\eta\mu\chi\epsilon$
			[α] $\tau\epsilon\tau\bar{\nu}\varsigma\omicron\upsilon\bar{\nu}$ $\eta\epsilon\iota\omega$ [τ]
			[α] ϵ [$\varsigma\epsilon\alpha$] $\iota\eta\eta\tau\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}$ $\bar{\nu}$
			ϵ [$\omicron\tau\epsilon\chi\epsilon\alpha$] $\tau\epsilon\tau\bar{\nu}$
			$\varsigma\omicron\upsilon\bar{\nu}$ [$\bar{\nu}$] $\eta\epsilon\tau$ [$\omega\omicron\omicron\eta$]
			$\chi\iota\eta$ [$\bar{\nu}\tau\epsilon\alpha\omega\upsilon\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon$]
			$\alpha\epsilon\iota\varsigma\epsilon\alpha$ [$\iota\eta\eta\tau\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}$ $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\rho$]
II,11	[$\tau\omega$] $\bar{\nu}$ χ [$\epsilon\alpha\eta\kappa\alpha$]		$\omega\eta\rho\epsilon$ [$\chi\epsilon\tau$] $\epsilon\tau\bar{\nu}$
	[$\kappa\epsilon$] $\tau\omega\mu$ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}$ [ϵ] η		$\chi\omicron\omicron\eta$ [$\alpha\psi\omega$] $\eta\psi\alpha$
12	$\beta\alpha\lambda$ $\dagger\varsigma\epsilon\alpha\iota\eta\eta$		$\chi\epsilon$ [$\omega\omicron\omicron\eta$] $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\eta\tau$
	[τ] $\bar{\nu}$ $\bar{\nu}\omega\eta\rho\epsilon\omega\eta\mu$		$\tau\eta\upsilon$ [$\tau\bar{\nu}$ $\alpha\psi\omega$] α [$\tau\epsilon$]
	$\chi\epsilon\alpha\upsilon\kappa\omega$ $\eta\eta\tau\bar{\nu}$		$\tau\bar{\nu}$ [$\chi\rho\epsilon$] $\epsilon\pi\pi\omicron\eta\eta\rho\varsigma$
	$\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}$ [ϵ] $\tau\bar{\nu}$	15	[μ] $\bar{\eta}\bar{\rho}\bar{\mu}$ [$\epsilon\rho$] ϵ $\eta\kappa\omicron\varsigma\mu\omicron\varsigma$
	$\eta\upsilon\beta\epsilon$ $\epsilon\tau\beta\epsilon$ $\eta\epsilon\psi$		$\omicron\upsilon\delta\epsilon$ [$\bar{\nu}$] $\epsilon\tau\omega\omicron\omicron\eta$
13	[$\rho\alpha$] $\bar{\nu}$ $\dagger\varsigma\epsilon\alpha\iota\eta\eta$		$\epsilon\mu$ η [κ] $\omicron\varsigma\mu\omicron\varsigma$
	[τ] $\bar{\nu}$ $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\iota\omicron\tau\epsilon\chi\epsilon\alpha$		$\epsilon\psi\omega\eta\epsilon$ $\epsilon\rho\epsilon\omega\alpha\eta$
	$\tau\epsilon\tau\bar{\nu}\varsigma\rho\upsilon\bar{\nu}$ $\eta\epsilon\tau$		$\omicron\upsilon\alpha$ μ [$\epsilon\rho\epsilon$] η $\kappa\omicron\varsigma\mu\omicron\varsigma$

II,13

ωοον Xin NTE
 εουειτε.

II,15

ειε ταγαλη μπει
 ωτ ωοον αν εραϊ

(margin)

verse 13. NTE εουειτε only this manuscript, cf. verse 14; Morgan and Horner's 4,7,a,f¹ Nωοον .

verse 15. ουαε [N]ετωοον εμη[κ]οσμος only this manuscript; Morgan and Horner's 4,7,16,a,f¹ ουαε νετμηκοσμος .

εωωπε with Morgan and Horner's 7,a, also the Greek; Horner's 4,16 εωωπε λε , Horner's f¹ αγω εωωπε .

(d) Two fragments; the exact position of the two fragments on the page is uncertain.

Recto: James III,14,15,17,18.

(broken)

III,14

λε εγ^(sic)ααωε [N]

εηττηυτN αγω

ουν +των μ

πρωουωου [μ]

μωτN NTEτN

Xi βολ ετμε

15

Nταϊ αντετ[co]

φια εττηυ [επε]

cht' εβολ ε[τN]τπε]

[α]λλ[α] ου[εβολ]

(broken)

(broken)

] III,17

εμε[ε]εζυποκρινε]

] 18

πκαρ[πος λε NΔι]

]

[κ]αιος[υνη ευχπο]

]λε

μμογ εN [+ρη]

]

νη NNE[τειρε]

]

N+ρηνη[]

(broken)

The only other Sahidic manuscript extant for the text of these two fragments (Recto and Verso) are the fragmentary Cairo leaves of the Pierpont Morgan number X (M 572). Horner for his edition of the Catholic Epistles only cites the Cairo leaves as his number 20, but his citation of these leaves is not always correct.

verse 14. $\epsilon\gamma\alpha\gamma\epsilon$; this is of some interest as the qualitative of $\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$ in Sahidic is usually $\alpha\alpha\epsilon$ and Crum: Dictionary p.376b only cites $\alpha\alpha\epsilon$ which is also read by the morgan manuscript here; it may be noted, however, that in Bohairic and Fayyumic the verb occurs in the qualitative as $\alpha\alpha\gamma\iota$, $\epsilon\gamma\alpha\alpha\gamma\iota$ and $\alpha\epsilon\gamma\iota$.

$\bar{\eta}\epsilon\eta\tau\tau\eta\gamma\tau\bar{\eta}$; Morgan $\epsilon\mu\eta\epsilon\tau\epsilon\eta\epsilon\eta\tau$.

$\sigma\gamma\eta\tau\tau\omega\eta$; Morgan $\sigma\gamma\tau\tau\omega\eta$.

verse 18. The Morgan manuscript breaks off at $\epsilon\gamma\chi\eta\sigma\mu\acute{o}\gamma$ and for the rest of the verse this manuscript is the only extant Sahidic manuscript.

(d) Verso: James IV,3,5,6.

(broken)

]	IV,5	[$\sigma\gamma\epsilon\alpha$ $\eta\epsilon$ $\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\alpha}$ $\bar{\eta}$]
]		$\tau\alpha\gamma\sigma\gamma\omega\epsilon$ $\epsilon\pi\alpha\iota$
]	6	$\bar{\eta}\epsilon\eta\tau\bar{\eta}$ \cdot $\overset{(ac)}{c}\dagger$ $\Delta\epsilon$
]		$\bar{\eta}\sigma\gamma\eta\sigma\bar{\eta}$ $\bar{\eta}\epsilon\mu\sigma\tau$
]		$\epsilon\tau\beta\epsilon$ $\pi\alpha\iota$ $\bar{\epsilon}\chi\omega$ $\bar{\mu}$
]		$\mu\sigma\varsigma$ $\chi\epsilon$ $\pi\eta\sigma\gamma\tau\epsilon$
]		[γ] \dagger $\sigma\gamma\beta\epsilon$ $\bar{\eta}\chi\alpha\varsigma\iota\epsilon\eta\tau$
]		[γ] \dagger $\Delta\epsilon$ $\bar{\eta}\sigma\gamma\epsilon\mu\sigma\tau$
]		[$\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}$] $\epsilon\tau\bar{\theta}\bar{\beta}\bar{\beta}\iota\eta\gamma$
]		[$\bar{\theta}\bar{\beta}\bar{\beta}\iota$] $\epsilon\tau\eta$ [γ] $\tau\bar{\eta}$ $\bar{\theta}$ [ϵ]

(broken)

(broken)

IV,3 [] $\alpha\eta$ $\tau\epsilon$
 [$\tau\bar{\eta}\bar{\alpha}\iota\tau\epsilon\iota$] $\alpha\gamma\omega$ $\bar{\eta}\tau$ [ϵ]
 [$\tau\bar{\eta}\chi\iota$] α [$\bar{\eta}$] χ [ϵ]

[
 τ [
 γ [

IV,3	[TE $\overline{\text{TN}}$]AIT $\overline{\text{I}}$ KAKW $\overline{\text{C}}$	N[
	[XEK]AC ETETNE	[
	[XOOU] EBOL [Z $\overline{\text{N}}$]NE	[

(broken)

verse 3. ETETNE[XOOU]; Morgan ETETNNA $\overline{\text{XOOU}}$.

[Z $\overline{\text{N}}$]NE[$\overline{\text{TN}}$ ZH $\overline{\text{D}}$ ONH, so also Morgan (and the Achmimic Version).

verse 6. The Morgan manuscript is fragmentary, but cf. the Achmimic Version ed. Rösch, Bruchstücke des ersten Clemensbriefes.

XACIZHT, not XAC $\overline{\text{N}}$ ZHT (Horner).

[Y $\overline{\text{I}}$]ΔE with Morgan ([Y $\overline{\text{I}}$]ΔE); there is no room for Horner's [Y $\overline{\text{N}}$ A $\overline{\text{I}}$].

[ΘBB]ET $\overline{\text{H}}$ [Y $\overline{\text{I}}$]T $\overline{\text{N}}$, cf. I Peter II,13; cf. also the Achmimic ΘBB]ET $\overline{\text{H}}$ NE.

(e) (d 187b) This fragment seems to be part of the present manuscript, but I have not been able to identify it. It is, of course, possible that it is part of a non-biblical manuscript written by the same scribe.

	(broken)		(broken)
1	]AYW[	6	]N[
2	]T $\overline{\text{Y}}$ OOO[	7	]P $\overline{\text{A}}$ 'E[
3	]N $\overline{\text{O}}$ AN[C]W[$\overline{\text{T}}$ Λ (?)	8	]T $\overline{\text{C}}$ W $\overline{\text{K}}$ [
4	]B $\overline{\text{B}}$ PP $\overline{\text{E}}$ TET[	9	]TE $\overline{\text{N}}$ TEOY $\overline{\text{W}}$ [^g
5	]A $\overline{\text{I}}$ PARAKA[ΛEI (?)	10	]E $\overline{\text{N}}$ EYBIX[
	(broken)	11	]AY $\overline{\text{C}}$ [
			(broken)

(g 86) 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ by 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches, incomplete. Parchment, one column. Written in sloping uncials of the fourth century; the hand is similar to no.25.

Fragment of one page containing I John II,8 - 10; most of this text is also preserved in number 22. The Verso is illegible. Not in

Text:

I John II, 8

$[TO\lambda]_H \bar{N}Bppe \text{ тeтcгa}[\mu\mu oc \text{ ннТн}]$

(2) ^(sic) [παί]· ευμεε πε Ν2Η[Τ4 αγω]

2HTTHYT \overline{N} ΣΕ ΠΚΑ[ΚΕ ΝΑΠΑ]

ΡΑΓΕ ΔΥΩ ΠΟΥΘΕΙ[Ν ΜΜΕ ΧΙΝ]

9

τενοῦ προϋοεῖν [πετχω μ]

μοσ χε + ωοοп ε[ρα1 εμ ποу]

[οειν αγω] εχ[μ]οστε [μπευσον]

[цщoo]п зм [пкаке удзрал]

10

[ετεν]ου πετ[με δε ντοϋ μπει]

[con ecy]oot [em poro ein]

(broken)

APOCALYPSE OF ST. JOHN

Two fragments of a page containing the Apocalypse I,3 - 5, 8 - 13.

The page-number on the Recto Δ (54) or Δ (14) shows that the manuscript must have contained other books apart from the Apocalypse.

Horner had for his edition only two fragmentary manuscripts for the Apocalypse I,1-12; one was the present manuscript (Horner's number 2) the other was B.M.Or.6803, a twelfth century manuscript on paper containing the whole Apocalypse except I,1 - 8 and XXII,15 - 21, published by Budge: Biblical Texts pp. lxiv-lxxii and 272-330 (Horner's number a). Since Horner's edition L.Th.Lefort published two fragments containing parts of the first chapter: Le Muséon XLIII(1930) pp.1-6, containing I,1-6,10-II,1; Le Muséon LIV(1941) pp.107-110, containing I,1-8; in the notes below I am referring to these manuscripts as Lefort a and Lefort b.

Text:Recto: Apocalypse I,3 - 5.

(margin)

NΔ

I,3,4 [.]εων εδουν ιωζαννης εφσαϊ
 [ΝΤ]σαωγε νεκκλησια ετε̄ν τασια
 [ΤΕ]χαρις νητην μ̄ν ρηνην εβολ zi
 [Τ]N πετ^(ω)ωοοη πετενεφωοοη πε
 [Τ]NHY αυω εβολ ziτ̄N πσαω̄ μ̄
 π̄NΔ [μ]πεμτο εβολ [μ]πεθρο[Νος]
 5 αυω ε[βολ zi]τ̄N ῑc πεχ̄c η[μ]Nτρε
 [ετο νεοτ πα]ρη μ̄μice εβολ [ενηε]
 τ̄μοο[υτ πα]ρχων Nνεpp[ωου μπκαε]
 πεντ[αμερι]τ̄N αυω[]
 (broken and illegible)

verse 4. πετ^(ω)ωοοη; Lefort a and b πετ^(ω)ωοοη.

[μ]πεμτο εβολ(propter spatium) with Lefort a; Lefort b ετμπεμτο εβολ with
 the Greek(cf.Hoskier: Concerning the text of the Apocalypse).

verse 5. πενταμεριτ̄N αυω with Lefort b; it is omitted by Lefort a.

Verso: Apocalypse I,8 - 13

(margin)

I,8 πετ^(ω)ωοοη πετενεφωοοη [πε]
 9 τ̄NHY π̄αντοκρατωρ αν̄οκ[εω ιω]
 ζαννης πετ̄Nφ̄N αυω η[ε]τ̄N[ωβηρ]
 κοινωνος εν τεθλιψις αυω [τμντ]
 ερο μ̄ν θυπομονη Nῑc πεχ̄c [αυω]
 αιωωη[ε] εν τ̄NHCOC ετο̄υμουτε
 ερος χ̄ε πατμος ετβ[ε η]ωαχε μ̄
 π̄νο[υ]τε αυω ετβε τ̄μντμντρε
 10 N ῑc η[ε]χ̄c αυω [αιω]ωπε [εμ πε]

- I, 10 [πῆλ μπε]ροοῦ Ν[τ]κ[υ]ριακ[η] αὐω
[αἰσωτμ εὐ]νοῦ[ν]ε[μ]η]
- 11 []
[μμο]ε· χ[ε]
[Νε]τεκναὺ ερ[ροοῦ· εὐα]γοῦ
[εὐχωωμε] ΝΚΧοοῦχοῦ[ετσα]ψε
[ΝΕΚΚΛΗ]σια ετ[ε]ν εφ[ε]σο[ς] αὐω
[συρ]να μ[η]ν περ[ε]γ[α]μο[ς] αὐω θεα[τι]ρα
[μν] σα[ρ]δι[ς] αὐω [φί]λα[δ]ελ[φ]ια μ[η]ν
12 λαο[δι]κεα αὐω αἰκτοῖ ἐναὺ ετε[ε]μ[η]
μπετ[ε]ρα[ς]ε [Νμ]μαῖ Ντερεικτοῖ
Δε αἰναὺ εσα[α]γ[ε] Νλυχ[ν]ια Ννοῦβ[ε]
13 αὐω ^(sic)π[ι]νε νοῦα[ν]η[ρ]ε[ν]ρωμε]
(margin)

verse 9. ἰϛ πεχ̄ς (1^o) with the Greek; Horner's a πενχ̄οεις ἰϛ πεχ̄ς .

verse 10. αὐω αἰωωπε , cf. similarly verse 9; Lefort a and Horner's a read αἰωωπε .

εὐνοῦ Νσμ[η] with Lefort a and the majority of the Greek manuscripts;

Horner's a and a few Greek minuscules omit νοῦ Ν-(cf. Hoskier).

verse 11. The manuscript probably read χ[ε] Νετ[ε]κ[ν]α[ν]αὺ ερ[ροοῦ] μ[η] Νε[τ]εκ[ν]α[ν]αὺ ερ[ροοῦ] , cf. Horner's a χε Νετεκ[ν]αὺ ερ[ροοῦ] μ[η] Νετεκ[ν]α[ν]αὺ ερ[ροοῦ] , but neither of these readings is found in any Greek manuscript; Lefort a has only χε Νετεκ[ν]αὺ ερ[ροοῦ] (with the Greek).

25

GREEK-COPTIC LECTIONARY

(f 5) 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ by 5 inches, neither complete. Parchment. Columns (not lines) are ruled. Written in sloping uncials of the fourth century, see plate I, 3; for a discussion of the date of this manuscript see the introduction to number 22 (p. 388) which was written by the same scribe.

One page of a Greek-Coptic lectionary containing St. Matth. V, 17-19

in Coptic and VII,28, VIII,3,4,7-9 in Greek. For this type of lectionary, its arrangement and parallels, see the full discussion by J.M.Heer: Neue Griechisch-Saidische Evangelienfragmente, separately and in Oriens Christianus, Neue Serie, vol.II,pp.1ff.(Leipzig,1912). This is Horner's γ^1 , Gregory-Dobschütz 1.1604.

The Coptic text is not in any way unusual, but the Greek text is remarkable. Although there are only parts of some six verses extant, the manuscript shows no less than three variants found in no other Greek manuscript and three other important variants. For the collation given below I have used S.C.E.Legg: Nouum Testamentum Graece.

VIII,3 η λεπεα only this ms.

add $\kappa\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$ \S B etc..

VIII,7 $\kappa\alpha\iota$ with \S C etc.

omit $\kappa\alpha\iota$ B 700 1.47 b g^1 h k q
vg Sy^{sc}.

\omicron $\epsilon\eta\sigma\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ with Greek pl., Sah.,
Boh.(pauc.).

omit \omicron $\epsilon\eta\sigma\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ \S B 892 1200 1375 k
Sy^s Boh.(pl.).

VIII,8 $\alpha\pi\omicron\kappa\rho\epsilon\theta\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ only this ms.

$\alpha\pi\omicron\kappa\rho\epsilon\theta\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ $\delta\epsilon$ \S *B 33 272
 $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\alpha\pi\omicron\kappa\rho\epsilon\theta\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ Uncs. rel. etc..

$\epsilon\iota\pi\epsilon\nu$ with \S *C 33 only

$\epsilon\phi\eta$ Uncs.rel. etc..

$\alpha\upsilon\tau\omega$ with a b g^1 h vg(4 MSS) Sy^{sc}

omit $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omega$ \S B etc..

$\upsilon\pi\omicron$ $\tau\eta\nu$ $\sigma\tau\epsilon\rho\eta\nu$ $\mu\omicron\upsilon$ with Θ only

$\mu\omicron\upsilon$ $\upsilon\pi\omicron$ $\tau\eta\nu$ $\sigma\tau\epsilon\rho\eta\nu$ \S B etc..

$\alpha\phi\eta\sigma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ with fam¹ 1582 a k

add \omicron $\pi\alpha\iota\varsigma$ $\mu\omicron\upsilon$ \S B etc..

Sah.,Boh.(pauc.)

VIII,9 $\epsilon\zeta\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\kappa\alpha\nu$ with Greek pl..

add $\tau\alpha\sigma\sigma\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$ \S B al.pauci.

Text:

Recto: St.Matthew V,17 - 19 in Coptic and VII,28 in Greek.

(margin)

V,17 $\overset{(sic)}{\mu\pi\rho\omicron\upsilon\omega\omega}$ $\chi\epsilon$ \bar{n}
 $\tau\alpha\iota\epsilon\iota$ $\epsilon\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\lambda\upsilon$ $\bar{\mu}$
 $\pi\eta\omicron\mu\omicron\varsigma$ η $\eta\epsilon\pi\omicron$
 $\phi\eta\tau\eta\varsigma$ $\bar{n}\tau\alpha\iota\epsilon\iota$ $\alpha\bar{n}$
 $\epsilon\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\lambda\upsilon$ $\bar{\mu}\mu\omicron\omicron\upsilon$

V,19 $\sigma\epsilon\bar{n}\alpha$ [$\mu\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$ $\epsilon\rho\omicron\gamma$]
 $\chi\epsilon$ $\pi\eta\omicron\beta$ [$\bar{\epsilon}\bar{n}$ $\tau\bar{\omega}\bar{n}\tau\epsilon$]
 $\rho\omicron$ $\bar{n}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\mu}\eta$ [$\gamma\epsilon$]
 \longrightarrow \longleftarrow \longrightarrow
VII,28 $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\epsilon\rho\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ [$\epsilon\tau\omicron$ $\omicron\tau\epsilon$ ϵ]

V,17	ἀλλὰ ἐχοκοῦ ἐβολ·	VII,28	τέλεσε[ν ὁ υἱ τοῦς]
18	εἰ μὴν γὰρ †χω		λ[ο]γ[ο]υ[ς] τοῦτοῦς]
	ἄμος νητῆ·		[
	χε ψαντε τπε·		[
	παράγε μῆν πκαε		[
	[ο]γειωτα ῆουωτ		[
	[η]ουωωλῆ ῆουωτ		[
	[NN]ε ^(sic) ψcιne ἐβολ εἰμ		α[
	[πν]ομος ψαντοῦ		σι[
	[ω]ωπε τηροῦ		ογ[
19	[η]ετναβω[α δε ἐβολ]		μ[
	[ῆ]ογει ῆ[νειεντο]		[
	λη ετσο ^ε [κ ^ε ῆγ†]		[
	εβω ῆῆ[ρωμε]		[

(broken, about six lines lost)

verse 17. ἄπρωω (sic !); Horner's 8,37,51,70,108,134 μρωω, Horner's f¹ μρωω.

verse 18. γὰρ with Horner's 37,51,134 and the majority of the Greek manuscripts; it is omitted by Horner's 106,108 and a few Greek minuscules (565 al.), also a few old Latin manuscripts and Aeth. Arm. Geo².

παράγε μῆν πκαε with Horner's 108,134; Horner's 37,51, (106 ?) read μν πκαε παράγε.

Verso: St. Matthew VIII,3,4,7-9 in Greek.

(margin)

VIII,3	[	η]ψατο	VIII,7	καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ υἱ
	[αὐτοῦ]	λέγων θε		εγὼ ἐλθὼν θεε
	[λω καθ]	αρείσθη[τ]		πρεύσω αὐτὸν:
	[καὶ εὐθ]	έως ἐκα	8	ἀποκριθεῖς ὁ ἐκα
	[θαρείσθη	η]λέπε		τόν ἀρχος εἶπεν

VIII, 4

[και λεγει] αυτω

[ο ιησους] οε[α]

]

]

]

]

]

]

]

]

]

]

]

]

]

VIII, 8

αυτω, κε ουκ ει

μι ικανος ινα

υπο την στέγην

μου ειςέλθης.

αλλα μονον ει[πε]

λογω και ιαθήσε[ται]

και γαρ εγω ανω[5]

ειμι υπο εξου[σιαν]

έχων υπ εμα[υτον]

στρατιώτας [και]

[λέ]γω του[τω πορευ]

[θήτι και] πορευ[εται]

[και αλ]λω έχου κ[αι]

[ερχεται] και τω δ[ου]

[λω μου ποιήσων]

9

(broken)

BIBLICAL ?

(g 42; d 172a) Papyrus. Written in square uncials of the seventh century.

I have not been able to identify this fragment; it is probably part of some biblical or apocryphal poetical work.

<u>Recto:</u>	↑	(margin)	<u>Verso:</u>	→	(margin)
		/ρ̄ζε-			/ρ̄ζς-
1		]ογ πεσεγτεςει	13		μμοc ε̄ν̄ θηη[
	[με (?)	]νογρωμε			γωπε εω[ε'
		]κω̄ετ εμμογε	15		ανγωπε δε .[
		]εν̄σᾱσᾱ νιμ			εη νογωτ .[
5		]ᾱετ̄ν̄ . γ̄ερ̄.			[]δωβ̄[.]δε χ[
		]γ̄λ[]			[?]εν[
		]ε			[?]πιτ[
		]ακε[]	20		μν[
		]ᾱεμ̄α[λ]			αγω[
10		]αλ̄·εγ[]	22		.. ρ̄.[
		]ι			(broken)
		(broken)			

APOCRYPHAL GOSPEL ?

(g 8) 3½ by 3¼ inches, complete. Parchment. Written in square uncials of the sixth century, see plate II,2.

Perhaps from an Apocryphal Gospel; Christ addresses his angels on the devil's fall; cf. Petrie: Gizeh and Rifeh p.39.

<u>Recto:</u>	(margin)	<u>Verso:</u>	(margin)
1	[ε̄ῑε̄]ηη̄τ̄ε̄ β̄ε	16	αβολοc εβ̄[ολ]
	[N]α[Γ̄]ε̄νοc ε̄τ̄		ε̄ν̄τ̄εγ[α]ρ̄χ[η]
	[ογ̄α]αβ̄· ᾱϊ̄ε̄τ̄π̄		αγνοχγ εβ̄[ολ]
	[Γ̄η]γ̄τ̄ν̄ ᾱϊ̄ογ̄ω		ε̄ν̄κακε̄ ε̄τ̄[ε̄ι]

5	[N2] ΕΡΩΤῆΝ ἩΝΑ ΜΥΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΤΗ ΡΟΥ ΧΙΝ ΤΕΞΟΥ ΕΙΤΕ ἩΤΕΚΤΙ CIC ΩΑΤΕΝΟΥ	20	ΒΟΛ ΕΤΒΕ Τ[Ε4] ΜΝΤΧΑCΙCΗ[Γ] ΑΤΕΤῆΝΑΥ ΒΕ ΧΕ ΤΜΝΤΧΑCΙ ΖΗΤ' ΤΕ ΤΜΑ
10	ΑΤΕΤῆΝΕΙΜΕ ΒΕ Ζῆ ΠΕΝΤΑΙΟΥ ΟΝΕΥ ΕΡΩΤῆΝ ΧΕ ΤΜΝΤΧΑCΙ ΖΗΤ' ΤΕΝΤΑC	25	ΑΥ ἩΝΟΒΕ ΝΙΜ· ΠΕΤΕΝΥΝΑ ΘΒΒΙΟΥ ΑΝ ΒΕ ΝΖΗΤΤΗΥΤῆ· ΠΑΪ ΟΥΔΙΑΒΟ
15	ΝΟΥΧΕ ᾠΠΔΙ (margin)	30	ΛΟC· ΠΕΙΕ (margin)

Translation:

Behold, then, o holy angels(ἁγέλοις), I have chosen you, I have revealed to you all my mysteries(μυστήριον) from the beginning of the creation(κτίσις) until now. You know (or: have known), therefore, from that which I have revealed unto you, that it is (the) arrogance which has cast the devil(διδάβολος) - verso - forth out of his office(ἄρχη)⁽¹⁾. He was cast forth into the outer darkness⁽²⁾ because of his arrogance. You see (or: have seen), then, that (the) arrogance is the mother of every sin. He, therefore, who will not humiliate himself among you is a devil(διδάβολος)⁽³⁾[.....(broken)].

(1) This translation of ἀρχή was suggested by Dr. Barns; alternatively translate: 'in his beginning', but this seems less likely.

(2) Cf. St. Matth. VIII, 12, XXII, 13, XXV, 30.

(3) Cf. I Tim. III, 6 (Crum).

(f 41) 3½ by 4½ inches; neither complete. Papyrus. Written in rounded uncials probably in the early seventh century, see plate III, 2. The

script is of unusual interest; it is very like that of the famous Greek liturgical papyrus, also found at Bala'izah, which was recently re-edited by C.H.Roberts and Dom B.Capelle: An Early Euchologium, The Der Balizeh Papyrus enlarged and re-edited (Bibliothèque du Muséon XXIII, Louvain, 1949). If the two manuscripts were not written by the same scribe, they must at any rate have come from the same scriptorium.

One fragment from a page containing the Liturgy of St.Basil; the text corresponds closely to Renaudot: Liturgiarum Orientalium Collectio (Frankfurt, 1847) vol.I,p.64 (Crum). The variants are insignificant.

<u>Recto:</u>	→ (margin)	<u>Verso:</u>	↑ (margin)
1	[πε]ταγοον πχοεις πχοεις	8	μῆ νεθρονος μῆ ἡμντ]
	[π]νουτε ντμε· πεταγοον		χοεις μνῆ βομ; εις ανα[...]
	[εα]θη ἡναιων ετο ἡρρο·	10	Ντοκ γαρ πετερε νεχερ[ουβιμ]
	[νω]αεῆεε· πετουηε εῆννετ		ετο ἡεαε ἡβαλ αεερατ[ου]
5	χο[σεα] [εχ[]		μπκκωτε [μῆννε]ερα
	θββ[ι] [γ[]		[φιμ]ερ[] [μμοογ
	(broken)	14	[]εχ[]
			(broken)

Translation:

.....]who is the Lord, the Lord⁽¹⁾, the God of the truth; He who is before the ages(αἰών) who is king for ever; He who dwells in the highest[
(broken)

Verso:]and the thrones(θρόνοι) and the dominions and the powers.
 ...(?)(2)

For Thou art He around whom stand the Cheroubim who are of many eyes [and the]Seraphim [.....(broken)].

(1) πχοεις πχοεις, in Greek δεσπότα κύριε.

(2) εις ανα[...], presumably some rubric.

PRAYERS

(Ms. Greek Class. f 12) Papyrus. Written in square uncials of the seventh or eighth century. The script is badly faded and extremely difficult to read. Mr. C.H. Roberts and Professor P. Maas very kindly collated the fragment for me.

Prayers in Greek.

Recto: (?)

(broken)

- 1 [.]...περαν του προσεξαμενο[Υ]
 2 [']κατα' πνευμον ημιν ταπα[...]
 3 [']τεξεαεϋ...ετημα της [χα]
 4 [']τι και φιλανθρωπια του [μο]
 5 [N]ογενοϋς <C>ου παιδος

(margin)

Verso: (?)

(broken)

- ↑ 7 [Δ[Δ]φυλαζον εν
 8 [ΗΜ]ΙΝ ΤΟΝ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΔΙΝΗ
 9 [']του της χριστοτητος σου

(margin)

9. Perhaps nothing lost at the beginning of this line.

PRAYERS

(f 8; f 9; d 187a) Two double pages forming single leaves, 3 by 6 inches, each page 3 by 3 inches, complete. Parchment; one column. Written in small square uncials of the seventh century, see plate II, 3.

Various prayers for the church, the bishop, the community and the Christians in general.

(a) (f 8a) Recto: (margin)

Verso: (margin)

- | | | | | |
|---|---|-----------|----|----------------------|
| 1 | [|] | 19 | ΝΕΤΩΟΟΓΓ 2]ΝΟΥ ΚΟΙΝ] |
| | [|]Ν[Γ]CΜΟΥ | 20 | ΩΝΙΑ' ΕΚΕΞΑΡΕ2 |

3	[ερ]ου τηρου εμπεс 21	εροου εἰ οὐεῖρηνη
	[μ]ου нтπε' нтπε ^(sic) πεк	εἰ οὐτωτ нгнт·
5	μα νωωп[ε] ετουαα[в]	нетεἰντεγκратια·
	αυω нгчι ωωне нм	εκεεαρεε εροου
	εἰ λοχλεχ нм нсавол 25	εἰ οὐтвво· нωнре
	^(sic) μμου· τωω ναυ μ	κοуї ετεμ πεκλαос
	πετοуαεε ναυ εμπεу	εκεαυζανε μμου
10	ωνε· хе нток пе пеу	нгнтоу εεραї επωι
	сωτηр пвонѠс н	нтеуѠт· ωωπε
	нетемнтоу вон 30	наυ нωв̄р̄εωв εἰ
	Ѡс ^(sic) μμδ· смου ερο	εωв нм этнаноу ^(sic)
	ου' нгδυζανε μпεωв	αυω ^(sic) нгεμот наυ μ
15	ннеуѠх εαρεε εтеу	πεκμτο εвол· αυω
	бінвωк εвол μн теу	μπεμτο εвол μпек
	бинеї εεουн· нет 35	хс іс пенхоεіс паї
18	εἰ οὐμнτ парѠено[с μн]	^(sic) εвол
	(margin)	(margin)

4. нтπε нтπε, probably dittography for нтπε.

31. νανοу for νανοуу, cf. chapter VIII par.56.

32. нгεμот, mistake for нгрεμот since εμот never occurs as a verb.

(b) (f 8b; d 187a) Recto: (margin)	Verso: (margin)
37 []α[.]μн	54 []οу[]
[]ετ]ουαав ωα	55 [μ]нтχωωρε[]
39 [εн]εε нненεε εам[нн]	[..]ετρεуαгω[нιζε]
[,,,],,,,,,[,,,],,,,	αυω[нчк̇]р[ч̇]εнер
40 [п]εωλн[λ] н†[.]γнмι[!]	гид н[им н]те πανт[ι]
41 εхн несн[нγ]:————	κιμεн[ο]с· αυω нг
,,,,,, , 60	χαριζε наυ μпек
42 ∫ Γχοεіс пхоεіс пет	лом ннатεωѠв н
сооун μпгнт' нн̄ου	те тδικαіосυνн·

44	ON NIM·CMOY ENEK	63	ε̄μπε̄χς̄ τ̄ς̄ πᾱϊ̄ πεο
45	ε̄μ̄εαλ̄ ετε̄ nim̄ πε		οῡ νᾱῡ μ̄n̄ παμᾱε̄τε̄
	ᾱυω̄ n̄Γ̄κᾱ τεκ̄β̄ῑχ̄	65	χῑν̄τε̄νο̄ῡ ψ̄ᾱε̄νε̄ε̄
	ε̄ε̄ρᾱϊ̄ ε̄χω̄ῡ· ᾱυω̄	66	n̄nēnēε̄ε̄ ε̄ᾱμ̄η̄n̄:—
	n̄Γ̄τ̄n̄nōoȳ ε̄ε̄ρᾱϊ̄		,,,,,,
	ε̄χω̄ῡ n̄τε̄χᾱρῑς̄ μ̄	67	πε̄ψ̄λη̄ n̄τ̄κῡρῑᾱκη̄
50	πε̄π̄n̄ā ε̄το̄ῡᾱᾱβ̄·		,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,
	θ̄β̄c̄ω̄ n̄τε̄ψ̄ῡχ̄η̄	68	πεο̄oȳ νᾱκ̄ π̄χ̄ο̄ῑς̄ ^(sic)
	ε̄ᾱρε̄ε̄ ε̄ρο̄ς̄ ε̄σο̄ῡᾱᾱβ̄	69	n̄τᾱn̄ᾱς̄τᾱς̄ῑς̄[]
53	ᾱυω̄ νᾱτ̄τω̄λ̄μ̄:—		(margin)
	(margin)		

39. n̄nēnēε̄ε̄ for nēnēε̄ε̄, cf. 43 n̄nōoȳn̄, 61 n̄nāτ̄ε̄ω̄β̄, 66 n̄nēnēε̄ε̄; see chapter VIII par.90.

(c) (f 9a)	Recto: (margin)	Verso: (margin)
70	νε̄τ̄μο̄[γ̄]τ̄n̄ [ε̄n̄ ² μ̄]	87 [μ̄μο̄κ̄] π̄χ̄ο̄ῑς̄ π̄n̄ȳ
	μᾱn̄ω̄η̄n̄ n̄ρε̄[γ̄+]	[τ̄ε̄] π̄πᾱν̄το̄κ̄ρᾱτω̄ρ̄
	κᾱρ̄πο̄ς̄: ε̄κε̄ ᾱ[γ̄ε̄ᾱ]	[π̄ε̄]ιω̄τ̄ n̄π̄ε̄n̄χ̄ο̄ῑς̄
	n̄ε̄ μ̄μο̄oȳ: n̄Γ̄[τ̄ᾱ]	90 [τ̄ε̄] πε̄χ̄ς̄ ε̄χ̄n̄ πε̄nēī
	ω̄ōoȳ: n̄Γ̄c̄ānōȳ[ω̄oȳ]	[ω̄]τ̄ πε̄π̄ῑς̄κο̄πο̄ς̄
75	ε̄n̄τ̄μ̄n̄τ̄ρ̄μ̄ᾱ[ο̄ n̄]	[ε̄]κᾱς̄ ε̄n̄ ο̄ῡε̄ᾱρε̄ε̄
	τε̄κ̄β̄ῑχ̄ε̄το̄ῡᾱᾱ[β̄]	[ε̄]κε̄ε̄ᾱρε̄ε̄ ε̄ρο̄γ̄·
	ε̄τ̄πο̄ρ̄ω̄ ε̄βο̄λ̄ ε̄χ̄[ω̄]	π̄χ̄ο̄ῑς̄: ᾱυω̄ n̄q̄
	ο̄ȳ· n̄Γ̄ε̄ᾱρε̄[ε̄] ε̄nēε̄	95 ρ̄ε̄ᾱε̄ n̄ρο̄μ̄πε̄ ε̄nōȳ
	β̄η̄yē n̄nēȳb̄[η̄]x̄ ᾱχ̄n̄	ο̄ȳο̄εῑω̄ nēīρ̄η̄n̄η̄
80	λᾱᾱȳ n̄x̄ω̄ε̄μ̄: x̄ε̄τ̄ω̄κ̄	n̄q̄x̄ω̄κ̄ ε̄βο̄λ̄ n̄τε̄ψ̄
	τε̄ τ̄βο̄μ̄ μ̄n̄ πεο̄oȳ	μ̄n̄το̄ȳη̄n̄β̄ ε̄βο̄λ̄ ^(sic)
	ψ̄ᾱε̄nēε̄ε̄ nēnēε̄ε̄ ε̄ᾱ	ε̄n̄τᾱκ̄τᾱn̄ε̄ōȳτ̄γ̄
83	μ̄η̄n̄·	100 ε̄ρο̄ς̄ μ̄n̄n̄ ēπ̄ῑς̄κο̄
	,,,,,,,,,,,,, —[]	πο̄ς̄ n̄īμ̄ μ̄n̄ nēπ̄
84	[πε̄ψ̄λ̄]	ρε̄ς̄β̄ȳτε̄ρο̄ς̄ μ̄n̄n̄

85 ΗΛ ΕΧΜ ΠΕΡΙΣΚΟΠΟΣ 103 [Δ] ΔΑΚΟΝΟΣ ΜΗ ΟΥ
 , , , , , , , , ————— (margin)

86 ΕΤΙ ΤΗΠΑΡΑΚΑ[Χ]ΕΙ
(margin)

98. $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ is redundant here as $\chi\omega\kappa$ (line 97) is already followed by $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$.

100. μνν επισκοπος νι, cf. note on line 39 above.

(d) (f 9b) Recto: (margin)

Verso: (margin)

104 ON N[111 ET2NTEK]

113 [7222

105 κλησια ε[του ααβ]

[] ар ^(aic) нпа рд

$$\alpha\gamma\omega \quad N \vdash \chi_2 [p|z \in]$$

115 [καλει μη]ΝΟΥΤΕ Π

NOY EIPHN [H NOYON]

[пaнто]кратар пe

NUM. ΕΒΟΛ [217N 1C]

ΓΑΥΔΟΠ ΠΕ]ΤΗΝΥ ΔΕ ΕΥΕ

πεχс πενχο[ε]ις]

[] ΤΕΥΕΙΡΗΝΗ

110 Σε πωκ ηε η[εοογ]

$$[e_2\rho]_{\Delta_1} \in \mathcal{X}\omega_N \cdot \Delta_Y\omega$$

и памет[те суа]

120 [ΕΧΝ] ΤΕΥΕΚΚΛΗΣ

112 ENE2 NEN[62 2d uHN]

[1a] NYXAPIZE

$\gamma \quad \gamma \quad \gamma \quad \gamma \quad \gamma \quad \gamma \quad \gamma \left[\gamma \quad \gamma \quad \gamma \quad \gamma - \right]$

[NAN N]TEYEIPHNH

(rest of page blank)

$$[2N \text{ und } N] \mid \mu \cdot \Sigma \in \epsilon \forall \epsilon$$

[оуω]cy. и пете

125 ΟΥΝΤαϋ μμδϋ· $\bar{\mu}$

ΠΑΜΑΣΤΕ ΜΠΜΟΥ

ΕΤΕ ΠΑΙ ΝΕ ΠΔΙΔΒΟ

200 44 44 44 44 44

ΚΟΤΣ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΕΥΕΟΥ

130 ο[cy]oy · nen.eria

(margin)

114. γάρ ἡ παρακαλεῖ, not ἡ τὴν παρακαλεῖ (sic!).

117. $\eta\epsilon\tau\omega\omicron\omicron\eta\eta\epsilon\tau\eta\eta\eta$, suggested by Rev. 1⁸, 4⁸, 11¹⁷, but not certain; $\tau\eta\eta\eta$ might be $\eta\eta\eta\eta$, and there is perhaps not room for seven letters.

Translation:

(lines 1 - 35)]and bless them all with the blessing of heaven,Thy holy dwelling-place; and take away from them every disease and every sickness. Ordain for them that for which they wait during their life, for Thou art their saviour(σωτήρ), the helper(βοηθός) of those who have no helper(βοηθός). Bless them and increase(αὐξάνειν) the work of their hands. Guard their going out and their coming in. Those who are in virginity(-παρθένος) and those who are in a community(καινωνία), mayest Thou preserve them in peace(εἰρήνη) and contentedness; those who are in (a state of) continency(ἐγκράτεια)⁽¹⁾, mayest Thou preserve them in purity; the little children who are among Thy people(λαός)⁽²⁾, mayest Thou increase(αὐξάνειν) them and bring them up to the (full) measure of their age⁽³⁾; be unto them a fellow-worker in every good thing and give them favour in Thy presence and in the presence of Thy Christ, Jesus, our Lord, He from whom[.....⁽⁴⁾

(lines 37 - 69)]...(?) holy, for ever and ever, Amen.

The Prayer of ...⁽⁵⁾ concerning the brethren.

Lord, Lord, who knowest the heart of every one, bless Thy servant who is NN⁽⁶⁾, and place Thy hand upon him and send upon him the grace (χάρις) of the Holy Spirit; the garment of his soul(ψυχή), preserve it holy and undefiled[.....]strength[...]that he may struggle(ἀγωνίζεσθαι) and [bring to naught]every force(ἐνέργεια) of the adversary(ἐναντικείμενος); and grant(χρεΐσθαι) unto him the unfading crown⁽⁷⁾ of (the) righteousness (δικαιοσύνη) in Christ Jesus, He to whom be glory and power from now for ever and ever, Amen.

The Prayer for Sunday

Glory be to Thee, Lord of the resurrection(ἀνάστασις)

(lines 70 - 130) Those who rest[in (?) the]groves giving fruit (καρπός), mayest Thou increase(αὐξάνειν) them and advance them and nourish them with the riches of Thy holy hand which is spread out over them, and preserve the works of their hands from any defilement; for Thine is

the power and the glory for ever and ever, Amen.

The Prayer for the bishop(ἐπίσκοπος)

Again(ἔτι) we beseech(παρεκκαλεῖν) Thee, Lord God Almighty(παντοκράτωρ), the father of our Lord [Jesus] Christ, for our father the bishop (ἐπίσκοπος), that guarding Thou mayest guard him, Lord; and may he continue many years in a time of peace(εἰρήνη), and may he bring to perfection his priesthood which Thou hast entrusted to him together with every bishop(ἐπίσκοπος) and the priests(πρεσβύτερος) and the deacons(διάκονος) and every one [who is in the holy] church(ἐκκλησία), and mayest Thou grant (χαρίζεσθαι) peace(εἰρήνη) to every one through [Jesus] Christ our Lord, for Thine is the [glory] and the power [for] ever and ever, [Amen]

[The Prayer for the church(?)]⁽⁸⁾

...[?] for we(?) beseech(παρεκκαλεῖν) the Almighty(παντοκράτωρ) God, [who is and is] to come(?), that he may[send(?)] his peace(εἰρήνη) upon us and [upon] his church(ἐκκλησία), and may He grant(χαρίζεσθαι) [unto us] his peace(εἰρήνη) [in] every [place](?), that he may destroy him who has the power of death, which is the devil(διάβολος)⁽⁹⁾, and all his dishonesties may He destroy; the forces(ἐνέργεια)[.....]

(1) 'those who are in ἐγκρατεία' refers to persons who were in a particular state of life, like the ἄσκηται, cf. Const.Apost.VIII,10(Sophocles: Greek Lexicon) cf. also C.S.C.O.73,178^{5f} and 219.

(2) Cf.above chapter V j.

(3) 'age' is here spiritual rather than physical.

(4) Perhaps lines 37ff. follow immediately after line 36.

(5) Perhaps +[.]γῆμι[.] is some name, but doubtful.

(6) Cf.Crum: Dictionary p.225a.

(7) Cf.I Peter V,4.

(8) Suggested by the following lines.

(9) Heb.II,14.

CANONS OF ST.BASIL

(b 10; d 178a) 5 and 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ by 9 inches, originally about 13 by 9 inches. Two columns of about 30 lines each. Papyrus, the pages are unusually large for a papyrus book. Written in semi-rounded uncials of the seventh or eighth century; see plate III,3.

Fragments of two pages from a manuscript containing the canons of St.Basil. A complete copy of these canons exists in Arabic and a translation of these was published by Riedel: Die Kirchenrechtsquellen des Patriarchats Alexandrien (Leipzig, 1900) pp.231-283. All the fragments here come from canon 36; the Coptic differs considerably from the Arabic text. Further fragments of these canons in Sahidic were published by Crum in P.S.B.A. vol.XXVI, pp.57ff. and recently J.Drescher published a Coptic lectionary fragment containing part of one of the canons (Ann. Serv. vol.LI, pp.247ff.).

(a) = Riedel p.255 infra. Recto:

	↑		(broken)	
		]	6	πτ.[Ν]ετ
		]		κωτε δε ελ
		]		ουμα ευμα
1		]αν		Νσενα ρβολ
		]ε εμ	10	αν επρωψτ
		χ]ε κας		ΝΝβαλ. Α επ
4		]ψα		σωτ[μ ΝΝ]μαα
		]		[χε] ΗΝ[]λε
		]	14	[μη]λας
			(broken)	

Verso: → (broken)

16	να[]χε	[
	επτη πβαλ ε	[
	βολ Ννετ μ	26
		ε[

19	μαγ· ^(αἰ) ΕΝΕΥ	27	ΘΗ[
20	αωπε ἄρ		ρετε[
	ρος ἄδινε		μῶ ε[
	τῶμ[αγ] αγ	30	ογ[
	χο[ος δε ε]τῶ[ε ν]	31	[.]μ[
24	αργο[ε]		[
	(broken)		

(b) = Riedel p.256. Recto: →

	(margin)	<u>[ρ]πα</u>
	47	[πο]γλα[ε] χω
		εῶ ἄμοογ
		καν εἴου
	50	καταλαλια
		καν εἴογκα
		[τ]ηγορια
		[κα]ν εἴ εἴ
		[αδ]χε ἄβωλ
	55	[εβωλ]· ἄπερ
		[]τε
32	[.ακ	[]εἴ
	θαψις	58 []χ]ηρα
34	]αε	[]
	(gap)	
36	[]ριον[.] πη	60 ου[πα]ρ[αβωλ η]
	εαωπε ρ	ετβε ναῖ ἄ
	εαντῶθότε	τεῖμινε
	ἄπνουτε ου	ευντῶτων
40	ωε· ἄεητῶ	ευνωμε ε
	αυω εῶ πεκ	65 αχσι ἄογω
	εητ· σεαἰ	την επευ

90	ΝΑΚΑΔΥ ΚΑΕΝΥ	105	ΤΕΤΟ ΝΕΝΕΔΑ
91	ΠΑΝΤΩΣ ΜΗ	106	ΝΗΝΟ[Υ]ΤΕ ΜΕΣΡ

(margin)

76 - 79. Lacunae supplied from Riedel.

Translation:

(lines 6 - 14)]those who run from one place to another shall not escape the seeing of the eyes or the hearing [of the] ears or the [... of the] tongue⁽¹⁾ [.....

(lines 16 - 24)]through the dissoluteness⁽²⁾ of those (persons). Those shall not be idle (ἄεργος); it has been said concerning the idle (ἄεργος) [.....

(lines 37 - 55)] If the fear of God does not dwell in you and in your heart, you shall surely (πάντως) be brought down. A widow or a virgin (χήρα, παρθένος), whose tongues defile them, whether in a slander (καταλαλιέ) or in an accusation (κατηγορέ) or in some words of dissoluteness, do not [.....

(lines 60 - 79)]a parable (παράβολη) because of these, thus, they being like to a man who has received a garment on loan on a feast day or on a (marriage)-feast⁽³⁾ or on a marriage, so that it should be thought concerning it, that these coverings (φορεσμα)⁽⁴⁾ which they wear (φορεῖν) are their (own). But when the [days] of the [marriage or of the] feast [end]

(lines 82 - 91)]first; this is the manner of these, thus, who bear (φορεῖν) the empty name of 'Christian'⁽⁵⁾ or 'continent' (ἐγκρατής)⁽⁶⁾ surely (πάντως) he shall be stripped together with [.....

(lines 97 - 106)]it is fitting to renounce (ἀποτάσσειν) the things which are of it (the world). (As regards) the virgin (παρθένος) it is not fitting that she should become a servant of any (person); she who is a servant of God, is not wont to do [.....

- (1) Cf. Riedel's translation: '... kommt nicht heraus aus dem Sehen der Augen, dem Hören der Ohren, der Geschäftigkeit der Zunge welche Lust in das Herz bringen....'.
- (2) For $\epsilon\lambda\lambda\epsilon\lambda$ cf. Crum: Dictionary p.33b.
- (3) $\epsilon\lambda\lambda\epsilon\lambda$ often refers to a marriage-feast, but it may also denote any ordinary feast, cf. Riedel's translation: '... an einem Festtage oder an einem Brautmahle ...'. Cf. Crum: Dictionary p.695a.
- (4) I am unable to find the word $\phi\alpha\rho\epsilon\sigma\mu\alpha$ elsewhere; its meaning, however, is obvious here.
- (5) That the name is 'Christian' is of some interest here, as it supplies a lacuna in Riedel's text.
- (6) Cf. 30 note 1.

32

APOPTHHEGMATA

(c 23; c 24 fragment) $4\frac{1}{2}$ by 4 inches, incomplete. Papyrus. Written in uncials of the seventh century. Number 33 here is written by the same hand and except for the chapter-marks the arrangement etc. of the two manuscripts seems identical; it is quite possible that both texts were originally included in the same manuscript. See plate II,4.

Two main fragments and a large number of small fragments from a manuscript of the Apophthegmata. For the intricate problems connected with the transmission of the text of the Apophthegmata I may refer especially to W.Bousset: Apophthegmata. For the Coptic translation of the Apophthegmata see Th.Hopfner: "Über die koptisch sa'idischen Apophthegmata Patrum aegyptiorum" and P.M.Chaine: Le texte original des Apophthegmes des Pères (Mélanges d.l.Fac.Or.Beyrouth, vol.V² pp.541 - 569) and Trois nouveaux feuillets du recueil sahidique des Apophthegmes des Pères (B.I.F.A.O. vol.XXXVII,1937,49 - 61).

The arrangement of the Apophthegmata in the present manuscript is the same as that of the other two Sahidic manuscripts (Zoega etc. and

Crum, Coptic Monuments 8095) and follows that of the Verba Seniorum translated by Pelagius and Johannes from a Greek original in about A.D.500; the Latin text is printed by Migne: Patrologia Latina vol.LXXIII from Rosweyde's edition. The Sahidic translation was made from the same Greek redaction and Bousset cites(pp.3ff.) a number of manuscripts of this Greek text, but so far it has not been printed. None of the Apophthegmata in the present manuscript occur in the other two Sahidic manuscripts, but there can be little doubt that all three represent the same version which must have been made before the sixth century.

In the present edition I am only noting the Latin and Greek parallels extant in Migne: Patrologia Latina vol.LXXIII (= P.L.) and Migne: Patrologia Graece vol.LXV (=P.G.), also for lines 25 - 39 Ms.Coislin 126 edited by Nau in Rev.Or.Chr.1907 - 1912; for further parallels in other collections see Bousset's tables.

I am much indebted to Dr.Barns who has collated the fragments and has made a number of valuable corrections.

(a) lines 1-6 = P.L.p.859D, (II,12) and P.G.p.336C (Poimen 43,59).

lines 6-20 = P.L.p.859D (II,13) and P.G.p.392D (Sisoës 3).

lines 22-24 = P.L.p.860A (II,14).

lines 24-32 = P.L.p.860A (II,15) and Ms.Coislin 126 number 133(R.O.C. vol.XIII,1908,p.47).

lines 33-39 = P.L.p.860A (II,16) and Ms.Coislin 126 number 134.

Recto: →	(broken)	Verso: ↑	(broken)
1	[.]ΝΟΧΥ ΕΠΕCΗΤ [ΕΝΕ]ΟCΟΝ ΥCΩΚ Μ [ΜΟ]Υ ΝΧΝΔΕ' ΕΝΟ [Χ]Υ ΕΠΕCΗΤ' ΩΡΕ	22	ΓΝΩΜΗ ΕΩΩΠ[Ε Ε] ΥCΒΡΕΕΤ ΖΜΠ[ΕΥ] ΖΗΤ: ΑΥΧΟΟ[C]
5	[Π]ΝΟΥΤΕ ΒΟΗΘΙ Ε [ΡΟΥ] ΑΥΧΟΟC [Τ]ΝΟΥ[C]ΟΠ ΝΒΙ ΑΠΑ	25	Τ ΝΒΙ ΟΥΔ' ΝΝΕΛΛΟ [ΧΕ] ΥΜΠΑΥΑ ΝΒΙ Π[ΜΟΝΟ] ΧΟC ΕΩΩΠ[ΝΑΥ Μ] ΠΕCΒΡΕΕΤ ΖΑ[ΠC ΕΤ]

8	[.]λ... πμᾰθнтнс	29	[p̄]ψωπε εγ[κλ]
	[N]απα χῖχωῖ· χε	30	ταφρονῖ ερω[αν]
10	[πα]ειωτ' ακρῆλλο'		γενοσε ταγο[γ N]
	[μα]ρενωκ ετοι		τε η[κ]οσμος[?]
	[κο]υμενη N[ο]υκοῖ·		α ουα χοος X[ε ψο]
	[πε]χε απα χῖχωῖ		μντ ὑμερ[ιμνητης]
	[χε] επμα ετε	35	ὑφιλοπον[ος ?]
15	[μν] σειμε ὑμαυ		αψωπε ὑμ[ονο]
	[βω]κ' εμαυ· πεχε		χος· πουα ὑ[μοου]
	[πψ]μαθнтнс ναγ		αψοτπс N[αγ]
	[αυ]ω αυ πεμα	39	[]стμ[нт(?)]
	[ετε] μνσειμε ὑ		(broken)
20	[μαυ]		
	(broken)		

(b) lines 41 - 97 = P.L.pp.874D - 875B; cf. also Cassian: Collationes II,13(Migne: Patrologia Latina vol.XLIX,pp.545f.); (V,4).

Recto:

(broken)

	[]	51	μ[α
	[]		τε[
	[]		δε X[ε α]ψει[με ε]πεν
41	[εψ·		ταψωπε μμ[ογ
	]ссгд!	55	νб[ι η]ηετο[γλα]β αηα
	]от μν		α[η]ολλω' εβο[λ] δε
	[]αυ· нте		X[ε αψ]ωπε μ[η]εγ
45	[ρεψωκ]δε εβολ		[X]ε λα[α]υ ναγ· α[ψχο]
	[μπεψωλ]ηλ αψναυ		ος δε ναγ νб[ι] αηα]
	[]εηεβωψ	60	απολλω χε κτο[κ]
	[εγ αερατ]ψ гд[р]η		εβοун етекри·
49	[τρι μπελ]λο· εψνεχ		αυω бε нгсоу[ен]
	[]		текμντбω[β χι]

] 64 NE ὑποογ λυω ντ
] 65 [κ]αακ ἄτοο[τκ]

(broken)

41-49. Cf. the Latin: '... Domine, qui tentationes utiliter infers, converte bellum quod patitur frater ille in hoc sene, ut per experimentum in senectute sua discat quod tempore longe non didicit, quatenus compatiatur his qui huius modi tentationibus perturbantur. Qui cum orationem complisset vidit Aethiopem stantem juxta cellam et sagittas mittentem contra illum senem ...'

51. Crum read μα[, a fragment must have broken off since Crum saw it.

Verso: —→

(broken)

67	[]αμ	[]
	[]αγει	[]
	[]οκ'ε[]α ντ	86 ε[αρεε ετμντ] (?)
70	π[ρ]τρεπ[ει μ]μογ	6ωβ[μηρω] (?)
	εε[ογ]ν επ[πο]λε	με[ογ]
	μ[οc] ακνοχ[γ] εε	χαϊ γαρ[]
	ρα[ι] ουμντ'ιτ[.]οc	90 νεεββ[]
	τ[.]νωγ [μ ^ι ε]κ	ειτμπ[]
75	[..]οτκ εντco	ειτν[]
	φ[ι]α ετμμαγ μν	νομ[]
	νεογεεσαενε.	λ[.]λ νν[]
	ντμντcαβε κα	95 ετβνη[τκ]
	[τ]α πετcηε ξενογ	ε[]
80	[εμ] ἄνετογχι μ	97 π[]
	[μo]ογ επμογ λγω	[]
	[μπρ]+co εσε[τ]	[]
	[νετο]γμογoy[τ]	[]
84	[μμοογ]	[]

(broken)

67-79. Cf. the Latin: '... Hoc autem tibi contigit, quia juvenem illum a communi adversario impugnatum suscipiens, cum debuisses eum contra diabolicum certamen consolatoriis verbis ungere, etiam in desperationem misisti, non cogitans illud sapientissimum praeceptum quo jubemur ...'.

86-97. Cf. the Latin: '... nisi gratia Dei conservaret infirmitatem humanam, quem in nobis salutari dispensatione omnibus orationibus Dominum deprecemur, ut et adversum te dimissum flagellum avertat, quoniam ipse et dolere facit, et iterum saluti restituit ...'.

(c) lines 99 - 101 = P.L.p.916A (X,20) (?).

lines 102 - 110 = P.L.p.916A-B (X,21) and P.G.p.168C-D (Ephraem 3).

<u>Recto:</u> ↑	(broken)	<u>Verso:</u> →	(broken)
99	[] μετ[]	105	[Να]c X[ε ερψαν]
100	[] μμ α[]		[ΕΝ]ω!η[ε 2ΗΤΟΥ]
	[] τωρ[]		[ΝΝ]ερωμ[ε ποσω]
	[/ αηπα]ραγε δε		[μαλ]λον 2[ΗΤΥ]
103	[ΝΟΥCΟΥ] ανα εφ		[μπ]νοΥτε[παι ετ]
	(margin)	110	[Να]δωωτ[ΕΝΕΤ2ΗΠ]
			(margin)

99-101. Cf. the Latin: '... quae autem parvi temporis sunt, noxia magis quam utilia erunt ...'.

(d) ↑	(margin)	→	(margin)
	ρμ[.]		ρμε
112	]σε πολε[μει]	116	[..]εγκωρ[
	]σοσο[		]επεροχ[
114	]ενο[		]ταη[
	(broken)	119	]μν[
			(broken)

(e)	↑	(broken)	→	(broken)
121		[. . .] Χεζω[αχχω εροϋ ντ[δ[ι]νωωνε̄ νωο[ταχαα[	127	[] νεητ̄γ· ντογ [δε η]εχαγ ναγ χε [] ν]οβ̄ ντρο []]· ε̄ντ̄
125		μ αγ[(broken)	130 131	[] πεχ]αγ ναγ (broken)
(f)	↑	(broken)	→	(broken)
133		ην]οϋτε[ε]αρον[	148	]ντε η[ε]ιοοϋε·[
135		]σεε ν[]ρωμε[]νμητ[ντ]οοϋ δε ν[]ω̄κ̄ εϋαγ[	150	ν]οβ̄ νωγ[ε]ιχ̄ν τη[]αγ· ντ[]μμοϊ νβ[]οτωοϋ[
140		]ᾱι πεχαγ]μ̄ν πει[]ν οϋκοϋ[]κ· ετβε[]σεζι η[	155	]ε̄ι†οϋο[]. ηνορ[]μπεϋκ[χ]ω μμο[c]μπε·[
145		]ε γαρ τ[	160	]· μη[
146		]ε νβι η[(broken)	161	]·[ (broken)

Translation:

(lines 1 - 20) even if he drags him to] cast him down, in as much as he drags him with force to cast him down, God is wont to help(βοηθε̄ιν) [him.]

Apa ... (1) the disciple(μαθητ̄ης) of Apa Jijōi once said: [My] father, thou hast become old, let us go to the world(ο̄κουμένη) a little. Apa Jijōi said: To the place where there is no woman, go

there. [His] disciple(μαθητής) said to him: And what is the place where there is no woman, [unless it is the desert ? ...

(lines 22 - 39)]opinion(γνώμη) if he has peace in his heart⁽²⁾.

One of the elders said: The monk(μοναχός) is obliged to buy⁽³⁾ [for himself] peace; it is necessary that he should be disdainful (καταφρονεῖν) if some troubles of the world(κόσμος) should befall him⁽⁴⁾.

Someone said: Three studious persons⁽⁵⁾ being φιλόπονοι⁽⁶⁾ became monks(μοναχοί); one of them made it his choice to [.....
(lines 44 - 49) But when he had finished his]prayer, he saw [...] ⁽⁷⁾
the Ethiopian [standing] by [the cell of the]elder, throwing [arrows against him]

(lines 53 - 65)]because the holy one, Apa Apollo, knew what had happened to him and he was ashamed to say anything to him. And [Apa] Apollo said to him: Return to thy cell and recognize thy weakness from to-day and keep thyself in hand(?) [.....

(lines 69 - 84)]that you should encourage(προτρέπειν) him for the struggle(πόλεμος), and you have cast him into(?) [and you did not place yourself(?)] into that wisdom(σοφία) and the commandments of prudence according to that which is written⁽⁸⁾: Save those who are taken to death and forbear [not] to rescue those who are being killed [.....

(lines 102 - 103)]Apa Ephraem passed by [once]

(lines 105 - 110) But he said to]her: [If before]men[we are]ashamed [how much]more before God[who]seeth[the hidden things]

(1) The Latin has Apa Abraham, but Abraham cannot be read here; the Greek merely has: Ἐλεγεν ὁ μαθητὴς τοῦ ἀββᾶ Σισόη.

(2) Cf. the Latin: '...Melius est enim ut cum multis sis et solitariam vitam agas, quam cum solus sis esse cum multitudine proposito mentis.'

- (3) 'buy', so also the Greek (ἀγορεύειν) and the Latin (emere).
- (4) Cf. the Greek ἐὰν καὶ σωματικῇ ἡμίᾳ συμβῇ, and the Latin 'etiam si corporale contingat evenire dispendium'.
- (5) μερ[ιμνητης seems the most obvious word for the Latin 'studiosi'; the Greek merely has τεῖς φιλόπονοι.
- (6) 'The φιλόπονοι are held to have been a body of laymen who served and assisted the clergy' Crum in B.M.p.422b note 4 and references there; cf. also R.O.C. vol.X(1905) p.47.
- (7) It is not easy to suggest anything for the lacuna in line 47, the Latin merely has: 'vidit Aethiopem'.
- (8) Proverbs XXIV,11.

33

SERMON AGAINST NESTORIUS

(c 24) 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ by 6 inches, incomplete. Papyrus. For script etc. see 32, introduction.

Fragment of one page from a sermon against Nestorius; perhaps this is one of the sermons of Proclus bishop of Cyzicus.

Recto: (?)

(broken)

	↑	[	]	11	[	].λ
1		[	]..χϞ		τε[]
		[	]Ϟ̄ ḡτḡ		μπνο[γτ]ε·	αλλὰ
		[	]...		παράκ[...]	γῶβε·
		[	]ανοκ	15	ηγτς[τοογ]εβολ μ	
5		[	]..		πνογ[τ]ε ḡτḡι μο	
		[	]μο		ε[τ] ζητογ ενερ	
		[	]εγε		πηγε ḡνεḡ ετḡω	
		[	]coφια		λον· ησαβηλ χε	
9		[	ω]αχε	20	απχοεic ηεζεε'	
		[	]		μπ[π]ετογααβ·	
		[	]		κγ[ρ]α]λος μν κε	

] 23 [λεετ]ινοο· ντε
(broken)

Verso: (?) —→ (broken)

25	[]μα'	37	ογπ[
	ic πετ[ναερ]νοβε		πε[
	επχο[εις] νιμ πετ		ομ[
	ναωλ[ηλ ε]χωγ	40	μν[
30	αδic εροι ω νεστο		αγ[
	^(ω) ρι χε μπναυ εν		τγ[
	ταυχιραδονι μ		αγ[
	μοκ ετμντεπic		ωω[
	κοποο αη[ν]ουτε	45	εαη[
	ic πεχc н[]		[
35	ωοοп εμπ[]		[

(broken)

Translation:

(lines 13 - 23)]God, but(ἀλλά) ... and turn[them] away from God and lead them into the temples of our idols(εἰδωλον)(¹). Except the Lord had raised up the holy one Cyril(²) and Celestine(³).[.....

(lines 26 - 34)]Behold, (as regards) one who shall sin against the Lord, who shall pray for him ?(⁴)

Tell me, o Nestorius, at the time when you were appointed(χειροτο-νεῖν) to the episcopacy(-επισκοπος), did God, Jesus Christ [.....

(1) Perhaps words of Satan (Barns).

(2) Cyril, archbishop of Alexandria A.D.412 - 444; he was the chief advocate of orthodoxy in the controversy with Nestorius, especially at the council of Ephesus in A.D.431.

(3) Celestine, (the first), 42nd bishop of Rome, from A.D.422 - 432; he

also took a leading part in the controversy against Nestorius.

(4) Cf. I Kings (Samuel) II, 25.

34

LIFE OF PROCLUS ?

(e 30; d 177a, b, c; further fragments in d 179, 180, 182, 189) $1\frac{3}{4}$ and $3\frac{3}{4}$ by $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches, incomplete. Papyrus. Written in rounded uncials of the seventh or eighth century.

Fragments of one page, perhaps from a life of Proclus. Proclus was bishop of Cyclicus and took a leading part in the controversy against Nestorius; after the council of Ephesus in A.D. 431 at which Nestorius was deposed, he succeeded him as patriarch of Constantinople. For the history of Proclus and his writings see Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique, vol. XIII (1935-7) pp. 662ff..

<u>Recto:</u>	(?) (1st. column missing)	<u>Verso:</u>	(?) (2nd column missing)
	↑ (broken)	→ (broken)	
1	τα επε[2]ρογο	19	[] η η η η
	χε αβωκ ε	20	ω ο [ο] η η ε η
	κ η σ ι κ ος η		ο υ η ω ρ χ ε
	β ι προ κ λ ος		β ο λ πα ρ α η
5	η επ ι σ κ ο [η ος]		κ ε σ ε ε η ε
	(gap)	24	η [η] ρ ω μ [ε]
7	α υ ω ω []		(gap)
	τ ρ ρ ω []	26	[] ε υ ο χ ι
	η μ μ η σ τ [η]		[] α υ [..] μ α υ
10	ρ ι ο η ε τ ο υ		[.] τ μ η ν τ α
	α α β α β [ω κ]		λ υ μ ψ ι σ η μ
	2 μ η η σ []	30	[μ] η σ τ η ρ ι
	Δ α υ ψ ι η ε ε μ		[ο η ε] τ ο υ α α β
	[μ α] η ι μ η β ι		η σ α τ α ι μ
15	η [η] ρ ο μ η τ		μ α τ ε ε υ ο

16	СΥΝΚΛΗΤΟΣ	34	ΝΑΤΑΥΗ[αα]: —
17	ΤΗΡΕ[]		ΑΥΩ ΝΝΕ
	(broken)	36	ΡΕ ΟΥΝΟΒ Ν
			(broken)

19. ΝΝΥ- for ΝΕΥ-, similarly line 35 ΝΝΕΡΕ- for ΝΕΡΕ-, cf. chapter VIII, par.90.

Translation:

(lines 1 - 17)] especially; for Proclus the bishop (ἐπίσκοπος) went to Cycicus [...(gap) ...] the holy mysteries (μυστήριον) and he went with the [...].

And the king and the whole council (σύνκλητος)⁽¹⁾ sought in every place [for him]

(lines 19 - 36)] he was in separation⁽²⁾ more than even the rest of men [...(gap) ...] ... (?) participation (μετάληψις) of the holy mysteries (μυστήριον) except this thing only, [he being (?)] unworthy; and a great [.....]

(1) Presumably this is the council of Ephesus of A.D.431.

(2) Lines 19 - 36 are somewhat difficult to interpret. The more likely explanation seems that the words are complementary to Proclus, i.e. that he was more detached from worldly things than the rest of men and that he felt himself unworthy of the participation of the holy mysteries; on the other hand one might interpret them in the sense of excommunication referring to Nestorius, i.e. that he was excommunicated more than the rest of men (suggested by Dr. Barns), but πωρε εβαλ does not seem to occur elsewhere in the sense of 'excommunication', the normal word in Coptic being κω εβαλ.

incomplete. Papyrus. Written in rounded uncials of the seventh or eighth centuries. Two columns, ca.33 lines.

Fragments of one page from the story of St.Athanasius and St.Antony. The text corresponds to that published by Rossi: I Papiri Copti del Museo Egizio di Torino, vol.I, part II, pp.33f.. The lacunae have been supplied from Rossi's text.

Recto:

(broken)

↑ 1	Τ[οτε η]μα[καριος]		[]
	[αν]τω[νιος αχ]	25	Ν[ζουου πετε]	
	[νετχ]ρ.ω[η νς]		ουνητ[αicoy]	
	ωβ[ε ε]ν[ουχαρις]		[εμη]α+[βωκ]	
5	[πεδαχ ναπα]		[εμπικοςμος]	
	αθανασιος]		[ερα]τη μ[πνουτε]	
	ζε+[ρηνη]	30	+π[αρακαλει δε]	
	[ντεκβιν]ει[ε]		μ[μοκ εττα]	
	[ζουν φαρ]ον[ω]		μ[ε ρωμε ετδι]	
10	[πμαρτ]υρ[ος νε]ωτπ		α[θηκη ε]την	
	[ειςενητε πε]		[τηνμητ]ε	
	[+]ωιη νε[ς]	35	εioy[co]π φ[αν]	
	[ω]η αιματε		+βω[κ ε]ρατη]	
	μ[μ]οη ετε πα		μπχοε[ι]ε[ε]ν	
15	η[ε] ξεαι[ν]α[υ]		ο[υη]συχια	
	[ε]οκ ηπατκα		Ναι δεερ[ε]πελ]	
	[ς]ωμ[α ε]εραι	40	λο ετογααβ	
	[+ρ]ηνη νακ σο		χω ημοου [αχ]	
	λομω[ν] πεν		ριμ[ε] ηβι η[μα]	
20	[τ]αχκωτ μ		καριος αθαν[α]	
	[π]ηι μ[η]χο		σιος εβολ' χ[ε]	
	[εις +]ρη	45	μπυκααχ ε[αε]	
23	[νη		την φ[α]ντηει]	

[]

47

[εβ]ολ' ε[Ν σωμα]

(margin)

5. [πεχαυ](propter spatium); R(ossi): αγω πεχαυ.

15. Χε α! Ν[α]γ; R.: ετραναυ.

16. μπα+κα; R.: αγω + ρηνη Ντεκκλησια μπα+κα.

18. σολομων'; R.: зоробаβελ, but after line 23 R. continues: + ρηνη νακ
 σολομωνν πρεγκοσμει υπερηε μπχοεις; the Bala'izah Ms. probably
 read (more correctly) σολομων — зоробаβελ against R.'s зоробаβελ —
 σολομωνν.

25ff.. πετε]ογντ[α]ισου επι+ [βωκ εμπικοςμος] (propter spatium); R.: πετεογν-
 ταισου εμπικοςμος επι+ βωκ.

37. πχοεις; R.: πνουτε.

39. δε; R.: βε.

40. R. omits ετογααβ.

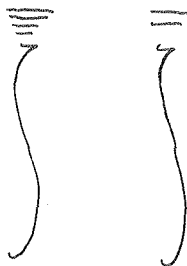
45. μπγκααυ ε[α]στηγ; R.: μπγκααυ εβω εαστηγ.

Verso: —→

(broken)

	[]	74	[νατ]κιμ ε[ντ]ε
49	[αγ+ ναγ] Ν	75	[χω]ρα [ΝΚΗμ]ε
50	[+ ρηνη] Η αγ		[ε]τε [πεγβιος]
	[ει εβολ] ε[ιτ]ο		[π]ε [ετ]ρογ[οειν]
	[οτγ]		[εβολ εμ πεχε]
	[[α]ωω [πε δε]		[] η[εο]ογ
	[μνnc]ατρ[νει]	80	[] η[π]
55	[εβολ ε[ιτ]οοτγ		[] ογ[]
	[μπακα]ριος		[] τα[]
	α[ντ]ω[νιος] α[ν]	83	[ε]νε[ε] νε[ν]ε[ε]
	ει ε[ζογν] ερακο		[]
	[τε] αγω αγ[μ]		[]
60	[ογ νβι]πμακ[α]		[] ∴ Ν
	[ριος] α[ντ]ω[ν]		

62 [OC] εἰ π[2]οοῦ
 [NTA]ΥΧ[οοῦ]αυ
 μτον' ἡμοῦ
 65 εἰ οὐ εἰρηνη
 [αυ]ω ἀνεγμάθη
 της ζω [ε]ρον
 μπεγβιος ἀν
 σαεγ ευχωω
 70 [μ]ε ἡσα οὐσα
 [μα]γαλα[υ] εαυ
 72 [βακ(3) ε]N οὐ[εἰρηνη]



(margin)

52. Presumably the rest of the line remained blank and the next line began with a paragraph.

59 - 72. The Bala'izah manuscript differs widely from Rossi's text which reads as follows: αὐτὸς μὲν καὶ ὁμοῦς ἦν τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἡμοῦ νόμιμα καὶ ὁ ἀντωνιος. αὐτὸς ὡς ἀνταμὼν ἔειπεν αὐτῷ ἡμοῦ εἰ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν ἀνοῦ. αὐτὸς αὐτὸς ἐρον ἡμπεγβιος ἡμακαριος ἀνσαεγ ἐκεῖθεν με μαγαλαῦ ἡσαοῦσα πᾶσι ἐν ταῦτοισιν ἐβόλ εἰ οὐ εἰρηνη.

78ff. Rossi's text ends as follows: ... ἐβόλ εἰ περὶ πνοῦτε ἡταχτοῦ εἰ οὐ
 ἡντεγμῶντ κοῦ. πᾶσι περὶ ἡπνοῦτε ἐβόλ εἰ τοῦτο γὰρ ἐνεγ ἐνεγ γαμην
 (subscription) ἀθανασίου λόγου:.

Translation:

[Then [the] blessed (μικῆιος) Antonios [loosened his] face [in] smiles
 [with grace, and he said to Apa] Athanasios: [Peace be to thy] coming [in to]
 us, [o] choosen martyr (μῆετρος); [behold, that which I] am seeking I have
 obtained, which is this, that I have seen thee before I lay down my body
 (σῶμα). Peace (εἰρήνη) be to thee, Solomon who built the house of [the]
 Lord; peace (εἰρήνη) [be to thee, Zorobabel who embellished the temple of
 the Lord. Behold, God has granted thee this through the peace of the

church, according as I have told thee through the grace of God before thou goest to God. For it is yet another three (line 25) days which I have [before] I [go from this world] to [God. But] I beseech [thee not to] tell any man concerning the [covenant(δίαθῆκη)] which is between us together until I go to the Lord [in] peace(ἡσυχία).

And while the holy elder(ἐλenco) was saying these (things), the blessed(μακα.) Athanasios wept, because he did not let him (remain) with him until [he departed] from [the body. Then they rose and prayed and embraced each other; (line 49) and he (Athanasios) gave him] peace and [departed] from [him.

And it] came to pass, after we had departed from the blessed(μακα.) Antonios, that we came into [Alexandria]; and the blessed(μακα.) Antonios [died(?) on the day which he had mentioned(?) and rested in peace(εἰρήνη); and his disciples(μαθηταί) told us his life(βίος) and we wrote it down in a book by itself alone, he having [departed] in [peace. And he went to God in glory, having left behind him an (line 74)] immovable [monument in the] land [of] Egypt, which is [his life which is] shining [through Christ ...] glory [.....] ever and ever⁽¹⁾.

(1) Rossi's text ends as follows: '..... which is shining through Christ, God, who had established him from his childhood. Through him be glory to God for ever and ever. Amen.'

36

(a) LIFE OF APA JACOB THE ANCHORITE

(b) RULES, PERHAPS BY PACHOMIUS

(c 22) 6½ by 3 inches, complete(?). Papyrus. Written in one column in small square uncials of the seventh or eighth centuries, see plate II, 7. Attention may be drawn to the peculiar system of superlineation.

One page and a large number of small fragments containing:

(a) the end of the Life of Apa Jacob the anchorite. This is pro-

(b) the title of some monastic rules (ἐντολαί) probably by Pachomius (Crum). For the Rules of St. Pachomius in Coptic see L.Th. Lefort in Le Muséon XXXIV, 61ff., XXXVII, 1ff., and XL, 31ff., cf. also Ep. vol. I p. 202. Fragment (c) here (lines 50 - 65) is probably part of this. Crum in his notebook 82 notes that the Apollo in Miss. IV, 760 (Paul of Tamnah) taught his children 'ἐντολαί of life'; cf. also the 'ἐντολαί of God' in Mun. 9261.

(a)	<u>Recto:</u>	(margin)	<u>Verso:</u>	(margin)	→
1	↑	ὁω ζαζτη[γ] ὀ[ν] ζ[ν] τρεαῖων[μνν] [νο]ξ̄ ν̄ωρηε ν̄α[α] [αμ] εγμοου ε	17	θυ χαρις	
5		[πνο]υτε μ̄ν [νευ]ερηυ ε̄νοϋ [ειρη]νη ν̄τε η [νο]υτε ζαμη[ν] [·]... .. [·]... ..	18	[ν]εντολη μ̄η[εν] μεριτ̄ νειω[τ̄ ετ̄] 20 ουααβ̄ αμα[παρωμ] πρωμ̄ε μ̄η[νουτε] ν̄αῖ̄ ν̄ταγχι[του] ν̄τοοτγ̄ μ̄[πνοϋ] τε̄ εταγγο[ου] (sic)	
9		[παῖ] πε πβῖος̄ μ̄πεν [με]ριτ̄ νειωτ̄ ετοϋ [ααβ̄] αμᾱ ιακωβ̄ πανα [χω]ριτης̄ ν̄ταγχοκ[γ]	25	επεγλαος̄ [εγ] ν̄αχωκ̄ εβολ̄ [εν] ουειρηνη κ[α] τᾱ πτωγ̄ ν̄[ρω]	

13 εβολ ᾠσοῦχοντι
 14 νθοοῦτ ερε νεγ
 15 μου ετοῦααβ ὡπε
 16 νμμαν̄ εαμην

(margin)

29 μ̄ε ν̄ιμ̄ νηρ[μτον]
 30 εατην νεγε[οτε ε]
 31 ὡαενεε πη[] Ν
 32 τεγκληρο[Ν]ω
 33 μια· μια ετε
 34 ρε πεγαζο Ν[ε]Η
 35 τη· παῖ ντα[η]
 36 κοογζη ναη [ε]
 37 εογν̄ ειτην τ[]
 (margin)

Most of the lacunae have been supplied by Crum.

(b)	↑	(margin)	→	(margin)
39		τῡμ̄αυ ειτ̄ν̄ νεγ ^(sic)	44	τῡμ̄αυ· αγω
40		ωληλ ετου[ααβ]	45	νογεινε̄ ναη
		αγω αμoyτ[ε]		[Ν]ογν̄ ν̄ιμ̄
		επλαος τηρ ^(ε) [η εγ]		[ε]τμοκ ₂ · ειτ
43		κοογ[Ν]	48	[]η[·]ηλος[]
		(broken)		(broken)
(c)	↑	(margin)	→	(margin)
50		ενετερ[	59	[α]νη††ετο
		μooγ̄ ᾠν[	60	[λη ναυ χ]ε̄ ν̄νεγβω[κ]
		ρωμ̄ε· [		[ ]αλλα ερε
		γαρ χε[		[ ]ων̄ ν̄αρω
		τεν̄ατ[		[ ]ογ· ν̄θε
55		μoτνο[		[ ]εγωσπ̄ μ̄
		ογω ₂ ε̄ν[	65	[]ογοοτε·
		ε!τ[		(broken)
		(broken)		

(d) Three fragments containing the page-numbers: Σ, η ; $\tau\epsilon, [15]$; $\lambda\zeta, \lambda\eta$.

(lines 1 - 16)]remain with[him(?)] also in the other world(ἄλλω)
[with the]great children of Adam(?)⁽¹⁾, blessing God with them toge-
ther in peace(εἰρηνῇ) of God; Amen.

[This] is the life (β'ος) of our dear holy father Apa Jacōb the anchorite (ἀγκυραγωγος) who completed on the twenty-fifth day of Thoth; may his holy blessing remain with us; Amen.

(lines 17 - 37) God Grace (χάρις).

The commandments (ἐντολῆς) of [our] dear holy father Apa [Pachōm(?)] the man of [God] who received them from God to teach them to his people when he was about to die ⁽²⁾ in peace (εἰρήρην) according to the destiny of every man, and to [rest] with his [fathers] for ever, the house of his inheritance (κληρονομίᾳ), the place in which his treasure is ⁽³⁾ which he gathered for himself through [.....(broken)].

- (1) Cf. 59⁸ and chapter V, 1.
- (2) [εγ]ναλχωκ εβαλ suggested by Dr. Barns.
- (3) Cf. St. Matth. VI, 21; IX, 21; etc..

LIFE OF APA HAMOI

(g 6,7) 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ by 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches, complete. Parchment. Written in one column in small square uncials of probably the seventh century, see Plate II.5.

Two pages from the life of Apa Hamoi. For Apa Hamoi see Crum in The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes, part I p.206 and note 3 and the references there: cf. also BIF II(1902)p.59.

(a) (g 6) Recto: (margin) Verso: (margin)

~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~
PMA

1 ΝΑΟΥΟΥΝΟΥ.
 ΜΠΕΟΥΑ [ΕΙ]ΜΕ
 ΕΒΟΛ Ν[Ε]ΗΤΟΥ.

р.м.в.

17 გამოი · შეჲყ
 ნ[აჲ] ჲე ჲრო ი
 მოკ ანოკ შე

4	ΣΕ ΝCΕCΟΟΥΝ	20	ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ ΠΥΑ
5	ἄπεϋτμε αν·		εἰαῖννουϋε
	7 αϋι [νβι] ΓΑΒΡΙ		ἵνε[α]νρε] μπου
	ΗΛ [παγ]ΓΕΛΟC		οειν [π]χοῖc
	εβο[λ ε]ἵτπε·		αϋτἵ[ν]οοϋτ
	[...][α] []νοϋ	25	ααp[οκ] ε[τ]
10	[] μ[μιν] μ.		ραx[ω νμμακ]
	[μοϋ]ν· πῑ		ἄποp[υ]
	[] καα		ανοκ[]
	[] εἰπρ		βωκ ε[]
	[] [αααερα	30	ἄπεκτμ[ε]
15	[τϋ Ν]αεραῖ ν		ταεινε να[κ]
	[πετ]πε ἄαπα	32	μπμοοϋ.[]
	(margin)		(margin)

16. Incorrectly cited in Crum: Dictionary p.699b: 'stood ααεραῖ ν[πμανωα]πε '

(b) (g 7) <u>Recto</u> :		<u>Verso</u> :	
	(margin)		(margin)
	με		ε[μς
34	ρο ἵβι πμακα	50	πε μιχαηλ παρ
35	ριος απα εαμοῖ·		χναγγελοC
	7 εϋμοοϋε δε		μηχοειC τω
	εϑη νοϋκοϋι		οϋν ἵτμοο
	αϋβωαῖτ επα		αε εεραῖ ετ
	εοϋ ἄμοϋ· μ	55	πολιC· τωο
40	πῑναϋ επχοῖ		οπ ἵμμακ·
	ἄνἵνεεϋ·		εἰ μα νιμ
	7 αϋπαετῑ ἵ[τεϋ]		[ε]τκναβωκ
	νοϋ εεραῖ ε[xμ]		εροϋ· ἄπναϋ
	πεαεο· εxμ	60	ετκναωα
45	πκαε· αμιχ[α]		εεραῖ εροι τ
	ηλ· οϋονεϋ		ναCωτμ ε

47	εροϋ· πεχαϋ	63	ροκ ενοϋβε
	ναϋ κε νηπ[ρ]		πη· νη+ναοϋ
49	εοτε· ανοκ	65	ϋτ εροκ αν
	(margin)		(margin)

Translation:

(lines 1 - 32)]about an hour; not one of them has known, because they do not know his village.

Gabriel the angel(ἄγγελος) went out from heaven[....] and he stood over above Apa Hamoi; he said to [him]: Be strong, I am Gabriel the bringer of good tidings to the [children] of the light⁽¹⁾. The Lord has sent me to [thee] that I should speak [with thee] today [...] I [...] go to the [...] of thy village that I bring to [thee] the water⁽²⁾ [....]

(lines 34 - 65)]namely the blessed(μακαριος) Apa Hamoi.

And as he went forward a little, he looked behind him and he did not see the ship and the sailors (any more)⁽³⁾.

Immediately he threw himself down upon his face on the ground and Michael appeared to him and said to him: Do not be afraid, I am Michael the archangel of the Lord. Arise and go up to the town (πολις). I am with thee in every place to which thou shalt go. (Any) time when thou shalt cry up to me I shall hear thee quickly; I shall not forget thee.[....]

(1) Cf. Luk.XVI,8; Jn.XII,36; I Thess.V,5; Eph.V,8.

(2) Perhaps supply the lacunae in lines 27ff. as follows: ἄπο[οϋ αϋω] ανοκ

[πε+να]βωκ ε[ρωωτε]ἄ..., and translate: '[and] I [am he who shall] go to [the well] of thy town and bring to [thee] the water.'

(3) Apa Hamoi had evidently been travelling in some miraculous boat supplied by Michael the archangel.

LIFE OF PAUL THE ANCHORITE ?

(e 24 and ?; there are many small fragments in d 173, 177, 178, 180, 181, 190, 191). I have been unable to find a fragment which Crum copied in his notebook 82 as number 63, 1 and it is certainly not in the Bodleian Library among the rest of the Bala'izah collection. Crum has a note that this fragment is possibly from the same manuscript as his number 57 (= e 24) and I am publishing the text below from Crum's copy. The fragment e 24 is $3\frac{1}{2}$ by $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches. Written in square uncials of the sixth or seventh centuries, see Plate II, 8. Papyrus. The fragments are of special interest as they are written in Fayyumic; the ω has the form common in Fayyumic manuscripts, cf. CMSS number 1, introduction.

Two fragments perhaps from the Life of Paul the Anchorite. Crum compares Paul the Anchorite in ROC X(1905)p.47 or Paul the Shepherd in Munich Ms. CXXXII; the martyrdom of Paul the Shepherd is mentioned in Lant. CV, 20. Ep. I p. 200 n. 4 mentions a Life of Paul the Hermit attributed to St. Athanasius, cited in the Synaxarium, 2nd Amshir (PO XI, 780); Sozomen VI, 4 and I, 13 mentions two Pauls, one a disciple of St. Antony, the other from Nitria; Mun. 9261 is a sermon by an Apa Paule; cf. no. 39.

(a) (e 24)	↑ (broken)	→ (broken)
1	ρ ο ς μ π ε ο υ [α ι γ (3)]	6 [..]! ζ ε ν ε β η
	ε τ μ μ ε υ μ [η]	[ο] γ ι ε γ ε α υ
	σ η η η ι ν η ι	η ε ι ε τ ε ν ω
4	ο υ ε β μ η η ε κ	9 ω η ε ν ε χ α ο υ
	(margin)	(margin)

(b) (?) (from Crum's copy)	↑ (broken ?)	→ (broken ?)
11	σ ι η ι . [η μ α κ α]	18 [] μ ι χ ο μ
	ρ ι ο ς δ ε [α η α η]	[]! ε κ ω ν
	α υ λ ε α γ ε λ [ε ω β]	20 [] ω γ ε η η η ε γ
	ε γ ε ν ε ο υ ν ε [η]	[ε] μ ε λ α μ α

15	ΒΗΒ· ΕΥΑΛΗ[ΟΥΙ]	22	[Δ]ΟΥΙ ΝΑ ΝΕΤΕΒ
	ΧΕ ΟΥΤΕΧΝ[ΙΤΗC]		[C] ΜΠΠΕΤΟΥ[ΕΒ]
	(broken ?)		(broken ?)

Translation:

(lines 11 - 16)]but the blessed(μακάριος) Apa Paule did[work]
 being in the cave, thinking that it was a workman(τεχνίτης).[.....
 (lines 20 - 23)⁽¹⁾]his servants; and he went after the footprints
 of the saint[.....

(1) Perhaps this was the recto of the fragment relating how the person
 went to find Apa Paule; lines 11ff. then continue how after his
 arrival Apa Paule thought that he was a workman.

39

LIFE OF PAUL THE ANCHORITE ?

(g 26) 2 by 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches. Papyrus. Written in rounded uncials of the
 seventh or eighth centuries.

A fragment, perhaps from the Life of Apa Paul the Anchorite, see
 number 38 above.

↑
 (broken)
]Ν..Ω..ΥΧ[]ΝΕΥ[
]ΥΠΡΧ ΠΑΥΛΟΣ ΕΒ[ΟΛ
].ΕΥ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΝΒΙΟ[C
 Π]ΝΟΥΤΕ ΓΑΡ Π[
 5]ΝΗ ΜΠΔ[
 (broken)

The verso is illegible.

40

ENCOMIUM ON AN ARCHPRIEST

(c 17, and fragments in c $\frac{16}{4}$, c 18, c 28, d 181). 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ by 4 inches, neither

complete. Written by the same hand as number 4 in rounded uncials of probably the seventh century.

One large fragment and a number of small fragments from an encomium on an archpriest, citing St. Gregory Nazianzen.

(a) (c 17; c $\frac{1}{4}$ g) <u>Recto</u> (?): \uparrow		<u>Verso</u> (?): \longrightarrow	
(2nd.column, broken)		(1st.column, broken)	
1	[.]ΕΝΒΩΤΗ ΑΥΩ +20ΜΟ [λ]ΟΓΕΙ ΝΤΑ ΒΟΤΗΣ . ΚΑ 5 ΤΑ ΠΩΑΧΕ Μ ΠΣΟΦΟΣ ΕΝ ΝΑΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΝΟΒ ΓΡΗ [ΓΩ]ΡΙΟΣ.	23	ΜΠΕΛ[ΑΔΥ Ν] ΖΗΤΗΜΑ Ε[Ν] 25 ΝΕΓΡΑΦΗ ΕΤ ΟΥΑΔΒ Ρ ΑΤ ΒΟΜ ΝΝΑΖΡΑΥ Α ΠΕΝΤΑΥΟΥ ΕΝΕ ΝΕΥΕ[ΙΟ] 30 ΟΥΕ ΕΜΩΥ ΣΗC ΚΑΤΑ Θ[Ε] ΕΤΗΕ Β[ΛΠ Ν] ΩΑΧΕ Ν ⁽²⁾ [ΜΕ Ε] ΡΟΥ ΕΝΟΥΜΟ 35 ΤΝΕC . ΜΝΜ ΜΝΤCΑΝΚΟ ΤC ΝΝΕΑΙΡΕ ΤΙΚΟC . ΤΑ ΠΟΡΙΑ ΝΜΜΑΪ 40 CΒΩ . ΜΝ Ν ΝΟΗΜΑ . ΤΒΙ ΑΞΕΡΑΤΟΥ [ΟΥ]ΒΕ ΝΛΟΓΙC 44 ΜΟC ΕΘΗΗ . (broken)
10	⌈[ΝΙΜ] ΠΕΤΝΑΥ ΩΑΧΕ ΕΤΒ[ΟΤ] ΜΠCΟΟΥΝ Ν ΤΑΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΧΑΡΙΖΕ ΜΜΟΥ 15 ΜΠΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΥC ΕΤΝΡΩΑ ΝΑΥ ΜΠΟΟΥ . ΑΥ Ω ΕΑΘΗ ΕΤ ΡΕΥ . ΤΑΛΟ . 20 ΕΞΡΑΪ ΕΞΝ ΤΛΥΧΝΙΑ Μ (broken)		

(b) (c 17, two fragments; c 18l)

Recto(?): (1st.col., broken)

46 ↑ } εἰνα†[λ]
 οεῖβε εζοϋν
 [ε]πεκεγκω
 μιον παῖ πε
 50 [†]ναχοοϋ εα
 51 φηῖ· εωβ
 (broken)

Verso(?): (2nd.col., broken) →

53 [] Ντο
 λης· μματ[ε]
 55 αν αλλα ἡ
 νετ εατ[ε]
 τηρου·
 } ου[ρ]ωμε ετ
 59 []·λ·
 (broken)

(c) (c 17; c 28j) Recto(?): (broken) ↑

61 [μ]ν εενψ[αλ]
 μος· μν[εεν]
 νηστεῖ[α ετ]
 ναωωου
 65 εναωε μ
 μντνα ετ[εε]
 67 εῖρε μ[μοου]

(gap)

69 []·ϣ
 70 [.]νενεσο
 ἡε εἰνοϋβιο
 ἡεεμνο
 73 εἰνοϋνοβ ἡ

(broken)

75 [.]αρρε[]
 [τ]ωεερε ν
 τ[.]ρωφες χ[!]
 [.]τε· ν[]
 79 [.]σοψε[]

(c) Verso(?): →

(broken)

88 [.]τῆπ...[]
 [.]παρχης[]
 90 [ετ]οϋααβ
 [ε]ς χω μῦς
 [χ]ε ὑπωρ τα

	]	93	[ω]εερε ερ
	]		[ ]ε ενει
	]	95	[]ατ
	(gap)		
81	[...]ργη[]		[
	[... τ]εσγι[Ν]		[
	[ερ]εωβ. φ[]	97	εγο[Νθε νογ]
	[]с ωααααμ		χορτος ε
85	[]γλεγс		ωαγсρογ
86	[]сNελ[]	100	ρεγ. αγω
	[]	101	νεω[]
	(broken)		

Translation:

(lines 1 - 21) '.....]defeat; and I acknowledge(ὁμολογεῖν) my defeat according to the saying of the wise man(σοφός) in the things of God, the great Gregorios⁽¹⁾.

[Who]is he who shall be able to speak of the sort of knowledge which God granted(χαρίσειν) to the archpriest(ἀρχιερεύς) whose (feast) we celebrate today; and before they raise up upon the lamp-stand (λυχνία)⁽²⁾[.....

(lines 23 - 44)]not has any inquiry(ζητήμα) into the holy scriptures(γραφή) been powerless with him. He who revealed his ways to Moses, as it is written⁽³⁾, has [pointed out] to him the words of [truth (?)]with ease, together with the crookedness(es) of the heretics (αἰρετικοίς), the puzzle(ἄπορία) of those loving instruction and the thoughts(νόημα), the opposition against the hidden reasonings(λογισμοίς)[.....

(lines 46 - 51)]I shall give occasion to this thy encomium(ἐγκώμιον) which I shall deliver in our presence[.....

(lines 53 - 59)]not only [...]but all those who are below the sky.

A man[.....

(lines 61 - 73)⁽⁴⁾]and some psalms(ψαλμός) and many fastings(νηστεία),
there being many charities which[she(?) is]performing[.....(gap).....]
she was living in a pious(σεμνός) life(βίος), in a great[.....
(lines 89 - 101)]holy ...(?), she saying: Do not, my daughter!
.....(gap).....]he being[like a grass which withers⁽⁵⁾ and[.....

- (1) The 'great' Gregorius at this period always referred to Gregory of Naziansen (Professor Maas).
(2) Cf. Math.V,15; Mk.IV,21; Lk.VIII,16, XI,33.
(3) Psalm CII,7.
(4) Lines 61 - 95 refer to a woman; if it were not for the fact that lines 97 - 101 refer to a man, it might have been questioned whether this page was part of the same encomium as the rest.
(5) Cf. I Peter I,24; Isaiah XL,7 - 8.

41

ENCOMIUM ON A BISHOP

(e $\frac{28}{1-2}$; two fragments in c 21) $7\frac{1}{4}$ by $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches, complete. Papyrus.
Written in rounded uncials of probably the eighth century, see Plate III,6.

One page and a fragment from an encomium on a bishop; the complete page tells the story how the bishop had to go into a public bath; cf. Crum's note in W.F.M.Petrie: Gizeh and Rifeh (double volume) p.41.

(a) Recto: ↑ (margin)

1 οοὐν Χε εϵϵτ[]
 πωαχε νναρχ[ων ..]ετε
 νσαειν νε· ντερεϵτμεϵ
 λυπει δε μμοου αϵωαϵ
5 προσελθε δημο[ς]α αϵβωκ
 ετςιοουν μπΔη[μ]οσιον

Verso: → (margin)

16 [ει δε εϵμο]ϵε εεουν εν θυμε⁽¹⁾
 [οϵρμε δε αϵεϵπερτε
 μμοϵ αϵω αϵπεετ μοου ε
 Χωϵ ενοϵενααϵ νεατ ϵα
20 τϵει εβολ εϵμοϵε δε εβολ
 νβι πετ[ι]σκοπος απρω

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>7 ετρεψω κμ ντερεψρ
 προῡν δε μπεθλος μ[Ν]
 τεχλιβιτ[ε] αψων</p> <p>10 ετμτρελα[α]γ νρωμ[ε] ει
 μμμμμ εε[ο]ν κα[ι] γαρ
 σε αψρε νρ[ο]μπε μπη[χω]
 κμ ενομοοο ουδε ρω μ
 πγανιχε ενδυ επεγκω[κα]</p> <p>15 εη μμιν[ε] μμογ . εγ
 (margin)</p> | <p>22 μ[ε] παστ[γ] ναγ εψω μ
 [μ]ος σε +σος μμοκ πα
 [ει]ωτ σε ειω[α]νεϊ νακ ειε</p> <p>25 [Δικ]νεγε μ[μ]οϊ' νακ σε
 [ει]ναχι ουπ[α]ρακρησις
 [ε]αροκ ντογ δε αψυντα
 [σε] ναγ ντειεε ντερεψβωκ</p> <p>29 [εβολ] νβι πρω[μ]ε] μπεινε
 [(margin)</p> |
|--|--|

1.]οουν , probably σ]οουν , alternatively ε]οουν .

2. νναρχ[ων ..]ετε , perhaps merely νναρχ[ων]ετε .

8. εθλος for θολος (Crum).

(b) Recto(?): ↑ (margin)

Verso(?): (margin) →

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>31 ροογ [ε]υνηε εβολ ντετν[αω]
 πε ηρε ηαλατε ντ[πε]
 μνμμ[]
 μη[]</p> <p>35 ετογ ετνα[]η[]
 μπεοοειγ ετμμ[αγ]</p> <p>37 μν εεωηρε[]
 (broken)</p> | <p>39 [.]τγορν νεπιστολη μν
 40 τμεεσντε σε ερεμπεροογ
 [] i . ημω
 [] τ[.]μ
 [επ]ιστοληε ταϊ
 [. .] . εαε νητν ενταβις
 45 [μμινε] μμοϊ . τενογ εε +γ
 (broken)</p> |
|---|---|

43. επ]ιστοληεταϊ (sic!) presumably for τεπιστολη ταϊ .

44. Apparently not]εαε ; presumably supply [ντα]εαε , cf. chapter VIII, par. 109.

Translation:

(lines 1 - 29) [public] bath(?) that he should [follow(?)] the word of the rulers (ἄρχων) who were the doctors. And when he was unable to grieve (λυπεῖν) them, he went forth to the public buildings (πεο -

ἔρχεσθαι, δημόσια)(¹) and went to the public(δημόσιος) bath that he should wash. When he was inside the vapour-bath(θόλος) with his habit(λεβίτων), he commanded that no man should [come] in with him; for(καὶ γάρ) he was sixty years old(²) and he had not washed with water, nor, indeed, had he suffered (himself)(ἀνέχειν) to behold his own nakedness. [And] as he [came], walking in the heat, [a man] served (ὑπερετεῖν) him and poured water on him with a silver jar until he came out. And as the bishop(ἐπίσκοπος) was going away, the man prostrated (himself) to him, saying: I entreat thee, my father, that if I come to thee, [I] will show(δεικνύω) myself to thee, so that I may receive a consolation(παράκλησις) from thee(³). And he(the bishop) arranged(συντάσσειν) for him thus. When the man had gone [away] in the likeness(?) [.....]

(lines 31 - 33)]to them, they being cast out, and you become the food of the birds of heaven and the[.....]

(lines 39 - 45)]the first letter(ἐπιστολή) and the second one, saying: Before the day [.....]this letter[which I]wrote to you with my own hand. And now I[.....]

(1) ἀγπροελθε δημόσια, the construction is unusual, and the scribe evidently found it difficult to express this in Coptic; it seems very probable that the αἰβωκ εἰς τοὺς ἀνὰ δημόσιον following is merely a gloss to explain the ἀγπροελθε δημόσια. There can be little question that the text was translated from a Greek original.

(2) Crum translates: 'for indeed it was sixty years since he had washed with water.' (Gizeh and Rifeh p.41).

(3) The man evidently considered it very wrong to have seen the bishop naked, however necessary this might have been.

ded uncials of the seventh or eighth centuries.

Fragment of one page from the Martyrdom of Theodore the Oriental. The complete text of this martyrdom in Sahidic is found in three of the Pierpont Morgan manuscripts, volumes 39, 40 and 41; a Bohairic text is printed in Balestri-Hyvernat: Acta Martyrum, C.S.C.O.43, pp.34 - 62. For further Sahidic fragments see O.v.Lemm: Bruchstücke Koptischer Märtyrerakten pp.Iff.. The text of the Bala'izah fragment corresponds to Morgan 39 pp.10f., M.40 pp.7f., M.41 pp.12lf, C.S.C.O.43 pp.37f.. The text of the three Morgan manuscripts is by no means uniform; the Bala'izah fragment seems closer to M.40 than to M.41 and 39. The dialect of M.40 and 41 is Sahidic, but that of M.39 shows many Fayyumic forms, particularly towards the end of the manuscript.

<u>Recto:</u> → (1st. column, margin)	<u>Verso:</u> ↑ (2nd. column, margin)
1 παο . . ἴν ἡσῶ!	19 μοϣ χε παϣη
αϣῤ ατοῦωνε	20 ρε αḡρῖπῖτος
εβολ ναεραϣ	ακναυ επεκῖ
ἡπεϣραστε [δε]	ωτ χε αϣαακ
5 αϣναυ ενεεετω	ηῤρο: αῤῖ πα
ωρ ευατα[κ]τῖ	οῦωϣ δε οῦ
εϣ ^(sic) νεϣε[ρ]ηϣ	25 εμ πετ[η]α
ον [νεϣκ]ιθαῤῖζε	οϣεεα[εη]ε
γα[ρ πε] εε ^(sic) εεη	μμοϣ η[ακ]
10 [ηλλε] ηοργανο	αϣω κη[αηαυ]
[ητεθ]εβαεῖς	ενετη[ααυ]
[τηνοβ] δε ηϣεε	30 εηαῖ: πε[χε]
[ρε η]ηῤρο	ηῤρο χε ε[ωβ]
[αεεη]αηε η	ηῖμ ετηκ[α]
15 [εα]τεϣβινϣω	χοοϣ πεκ
[αεβ]εμη α[ε]βωϣτ	34 αη[ρε] ε[βτωτ]
17 [επεεη]τ[επεε]τ[αβ](λον)	(broken)
(broken)	

1. παο... ἰν ἄνω ; M.39, (40), 41: ἀνω ἀφ' ἧται ἐνοῦσπουδῆ.
2. ἀφ' ἁτοῦων²; M.39, 40: ντεῦνου ἀφ' ; M.41: ἀνω ἐν τεῦνου ἐτμμάυ ἀφ' .
3. νὰσραϋ with M.39, (40); omitted by M.41.
7. ἐξν with M.41; M.39: μν ; M.40 not extant.
8. ον omitted by M.39, (40), 41.
- [νεκ]ῖθαριζε γὰρ πε ; M.40 omits πε ; M.39 omits γὰρ πε ; M.41: ντοϋ δε
 ζωωϋ νερε οὐκιθαρα ἐννεκβίξ ἐγκιθαρize .
10. νοργανο [ντεθ]εβαεῖς with M.39; M.40: νογοργανον νθηβαῖος ; M.41: νχω
 εὔνοτμ νθεβεος .
13. μπρρo with M.41; M.39: νερω ; M.40 πρρo .
14. νσα with M.39, 41; M.40: ἐξν.
16. ἀσβειν with M.40, 41; omitted by M.39.
19. ἀττα]μοϋ(?); M.39, 40, 41: πεχαϋ ναϋ .
- παϋνρε with M.39; omitted by M.40, 41.
22. ἀαακ πρρo with M.39, 40; M.41: ἐϋμε μμοκ ναϋ νζε εἰςενητε γὰρ ἀαακ πρρo .
24. δε ουν ; M.40, 41: ουν ; M.39: ζωωτ .
25. πε[τ]ναοϋεσα[ε]ν² με μμοϋ ν[ακ] with M.40; M.39: πε[τ]ναχαϋ ερακ ; M.41: πε[τ]ναχοοϋ νακ .
29. ἐνετ[α]αϋ]εναῖ with M.40; M.39, 41: ἐνε[τ]νααϋ νακ .
30. πε[ξε] πρρo ; M.40, 41: πεξε πρρo ναϋ ; M.39: πεχαϋ ναϋ .
32. ἐτκ[α]χοοϋ ; M.39: ἐτεκναζων μμαϋ εταατ ; M.40: ἐτεκνακελεϋε μμοϋ ναῖ ;
 M.41: ἐτεκκελεϋε μμοϋ ναῖ .
33. πεκων[ρε] [ε]βτωτ εαϋ with M.39; M.40: ἀνοκ πεκωνρε †εβτωτ εαϋ ; M.41:
 †εβτωτ ετρααϋ ἀνοκ πε πεκωνρε .

Translation:

.....]... (?) and he became invisible from him. [But] on the morrow he saw the horses raising a riot (κτακτεῖν) against each other again; for [he was] playing the lyre (κιθαρίζειν) in some [melodies] for musical instruments (ὄργανον)⁽¹⁾ of the Thebaid. And the elder daughter of the king was delighted (ἡδόμεν) with his singing; [and she] hastened and looked down [on the] stable (στάβλον) [..... (Verso) And the devil appeared to him

at night and] told(?) him, saying: My son Agripitos, thou hast seen thy father that he has made thee king; do my will, therefore, in that which I shall command [thee] and thou wilt [see] the things which shall [be done] to these. The king said: Everything which thou shalt say, thy son is prepared [to do]

- (1) It may be questioned whether $\sigma\epsilon\gamma\alpha\upsilon\omicron\nu$ really indicates 'a musical instrument; M.41 renders: 'in some melodies of sweet songs'.

43

MARTYRDOM

(e 17) Two pages forming a single leaf, $3\frac{3}{4}$ by $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches, each page $3\frac{3}{4}$ by $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches, complete. Parchment. Written in small square uncials of the sixth or seventh centuries. Of the two pages only one side of one page is legible, the rest is mostly obscure; I have tried to read the pages with the help of infra-red rays, but with little success.

Two pages from a martyrdom of a number of soldiers before Arianos.

(a)	<u>Recto:</u>	(margin)	<u>Verso:</u>	(margin)
		ΚΕ		ΚΕ
1	ΕΞΟΥΝ ΕΖΗΤΥ		15	ΝΑΥ ΕΟΥ[...]ΤΗΥ
	ΝΚΕCΟΠ ΑΥΠΙ			ΤΗ ΕΤ[]
	CΤΕΥΕ ΕΠΝΟΥΤ[Ε]			ΧΕ Μ[ΠΡΤΡ]ΕΝΚΑΤΑ
	ΝCΑΤΟΟΤΟΥ ΑΥ			Φ[ΡΟΝΕ [ΝΑΙ ΚΑΟΥ
5	ΚΩ ΕΖΡΑΪ ΖΙΠΒΗ			ΠΟΝΕ[]ΕΤΝΑΡ
	ΜΑ ΝΝΕΥΧΛΑΜΥC		20	[]ΟΥΤΕ Ν
	ΑΥCΩΛΠ ΝΝΕΥΕΝ			ΔΙΚΑ[ΙΩΜΑ] ΜΠΡΡΟ
	ΖΩΝΕ· ΑΥΝΟΧΟΥ			[Α]ΧΙC ΕΡΟΙ ΧΕ ΟΥ
	[Ε]ΑΡΙΑΝΟC· ΑΥΩΩ			ΠΕ[]CΤ· ΝΝΑ
10	[Ε]ΒΟΛ ΕΥΧΩ ΜΜΟC[			[ ]ΠΕΧΕ ΠΜΑ
	[Χ]Ε ΑΝ ΖΕΝΧΡΗC		25	Τ[ΟΙ] CΝΑΥ ΕΝΟΥ
	[Τ]ΑΝΟC ΠΑΡΕΗ			[CΜΗ] ΝΟΥΩΤ Χ[Ε]

13	[cia] πεξε αρ.αν ^{oc}	27	[...] μμλγ ε[...]
14	[Nay x]ε ΝΤΑΤΕΤΝ (margin)	28	[...] τ. Νρω[] (margin)

11. λ N- for λ NON-, cf. Crum: Dictionary p.11b.

(b) <u>Recto:</u>	(margin)	<u>Verso:</u>	(illegible)
29	αγ+εντ[ολ]η[...]		
30	μoo γε 21ω[.] ετ πολιc .α.ρ.λ.α...α πνοyτε δε 2ω[ωγ] εγχιγoβε		
34	[]ετρε . . . παι (rest obscure)		

Translation:

.....]into his heart another time, and they believed(πιστεῦειν) in God forthwith, and put down at the judgement-seat(βῆμα) their military cloaks (χλαμύς) and cut off their girdles(ἐνὶ ὠρῇ) and threw them[to]Arianos; and they cried out, saying: We are Christians openly(καρρησιώ)(1). And Arianos said[to them]: You have seen[.....]do not let us despise(καταφρο-νεῖν ?)[.....]nor the ordinances(δικαιώματα) of the emperor. Tell me, what is[.....]The two soldiers(2) said to them with one[voice(rest obscure)].

(1) Cf. similar passages in other martyrdoms of soldiers, e.g.B.Misc.p. 237.

(2) Perhaps the martyrdom only related to two soldiers, but the passage is not quite certain.

185, 190, f 40) 5½ by 8½ inches, incomplete. Papyrus. Written in rounded uncials of the seventh or eighth centuries.

Fragment of a page from a sermon by St. Athanasius. Apparently this sermon is not otherwise known. For the lacunae in lines 1 - 12 cf. Rossi: I Papiri Copti del Museo Egizio di Torino, vol. II, part I, p. 5, and Ep. 51 (Crum). As the page-number here is 105 [- 106], this sermon probably formed part of a collection of sermons.

Recto: —————→

(margin)

			ⲣⲉ
1	ⲟⲩⲓⲗⲟⲓⲟⲥ ⲛⲓ	14	[. .] ⲧⲥⲃⲱ ⲙ̀
	ⲧⲉⲛⲉⲛⲑⲉⲟⲩ	15	ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲣⲩ
	ⲫⲟⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲓⲱⲧⲓ		ⲙⲉⲧⲁⲛⲟⲓ ⲛⲓⲩ
	ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲓⲛⲟⲃⲓ		ⲟⲩⲭⲁⲓ ⲉⲛⲕⲟⲭⲟ ^(sic)
5	ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ		ⲥⲓⲥ>>>>>>>>>>
	ⲛⲉⲁⲓⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲑⲁ		ⲉⲣⲱⲁⲛ ⲛⲣⲱ
	ⲛⲁⲥⲓⲟⲩⲉ ⲛⲁⲓⲣ	20	ⲙⲉ ⲙⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲃⲱⲕ
	ⲭⲛⲉⲛⲓⲕⲟⲩ		ⲉⲓⲭⲙ̀ ⲛⲕⲁⲉ.
	ⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲓⲣⲁⲕⲱⲧⲉ		ⲁⲓⲱ ⲃⲉ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲉⲣ
10	ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉⲩⲉⲓ		ⲛⲓⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ ⲛⲧⲁ
	ⲉⲛⲧⲱⲩⲟⲣⲛⲓ		ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲕⲁⲁⲩ
12	ⲛⲉⲭⲱⲣⲓⲁ	25	[] ⲙⲛⲓ []

(broken)

Verso: ↑

(margin)

	ⲛⲟⲃ ⲛⲭⲣⲓⲙⲙⲁ	40	[] ⲧⲟⲩ
	ⲁⲕⲥⲟⲟⲩⲉⲟⲩ		[] ⲛⲙⲁ
	ⲉⲁⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲕⲓ		[] ⲛⲧⲓⲩ.
30	ⲉⲣⲛⲉⲕⲟⲩⲱⲩ		[] ⲛⲧⲁⲕ
	ⲛⲉⲛⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲛⲱ		[] ⲉⲣⲉ
	ⲃⲉⲉⲣ ⲁⲕⲕⲁⲁⲩ	45	[] ⲟⲩⲉⲟⲩ

33	ΝΑΚ ΕΤΡΕΚ	46	[	]ΤΟΥ
	ΟΥΩΜ ΝΓΓΩ		[	]ΡΕΔΝΜ
35	ΝΜΜΑΥ·ΝΑΪ		[	]ΕΜΠΕΝ
	ΤΗΡΟΥ ΑΚΚΑ[ΔΥ]		[	]ΥΕΥC
	[Ν]ΑΚ ΕΜΠΕ[]	50	[	]ΡΕΜΠ
38	[Μ]ΝΟΥ[]	51	[	]ΚΑ[]

(broken)

Translation:

A[sermon] of [our] God-bearing (θεοφορος) [father] and [great] apostle (ἀπόστολος) the holy (ἅγιος) Athanasios [the] archbishop (ἀρχιεπίσκοπος) of [Alexandria] when [he returned] from the first exile (ἐξορία) ⁽¹⁾ [..... (line 14) to] teach man to repent (μετανοεῖν) and to be saved from punishment (κόλασις) ⁽²⁾.

When a man dies, he has walked upon the earth. What, then, is the remembrance which a man has left [behind him (line 27)] great sources of riches (χρημα) you have gathered in that you should do your will with them; you have kept for yourself some female companions that you should eat and drink with them; all these you have left for yourself in the [.....

(1) The first exile of St. Athanasius ended in A.D. 338 (or 337 ?).

(2) Evidently the eternal punishment is meant, cf. Matth. XXV, 46 al..

45

EUSTATHIUS OF THRACE ON THE ARCHANGEL MICHAEL

(c 25) 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ by 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches, incomplete. Papyrus. Written in rounded uncials of probably the eighth century.

Fragments of four pages from the sermon of Eustathius bishop of Thrace on the Archangel Michael. The complete Sahidic text is preserved in the Pierpont Morgan manuscript XXII (M. 592) fols. 50ff.. Other Sahidic fragments are BM 308, Berlin Or. 1611 fol. 1 and Paris 132¹₂ (Crum).

A Bohairic Version was published by Budge, St. Michael the Archangel pp. 93ff., who also published an Arabic Version, ib. pp. 170ff.. The lacunae have generally been supplied from the Morgan manuscript.

(a) Recto: (Morgan fol. 50; Budge p. 93)

(margin)

- ↑
- 1 d.....]
- > ουεγκ[ωμιον εαυταυου νβι πμα]
- > καριος[απα ευσταθιος πεπισκο]
- > ποc ντε[θρακη τνηςoc πμα]
- > νταυεζ[ωριζε μπμακαριoc ιω]
- 5 > εανν[ηc πεχυcoctomoc ερου νταυ]
- > χωκ[εβολ ηγντη (?) νταυ]
- > τ[αυε πειεγκωμιον δε εμ]
- > πμα επαρχα[γγελoc μιχαηλ]
- > ευειρε μπμα εμ πεευκτηριον]
- 10 > νταυκοτ[η ν[βρε ετνηςoc]
- > ετμμαυ εμπ[ραν μπαρχαγγε]
- > λoc ετουααβ μι[χαηλ παι ντα]
- > πμακαριoc ιω[εαννης cμn cμ]
- > τε μ[μ]οу εμπ[ααζε εαθη ετρεу]
- 15 > κα cωμ[α εεp]α[ι] εαυζε εενκοу[ι]
- 16 > δε on[]

(broken)

1. πμα]καριoc; omitted by M(organ) and B(udge).

5. νταυ]χωκ; M.: πμα on νταυχωκ.

6. Perhaps there was a space left blank between ηγнτη and νταυταυε.

9. ευειρε; M.: εευειρε; similarly line 10 νταυκοτ[η; M.: νταυκοτ[η.

11. εμπ[ραν]; M.: επραν.

- (a) Verso: (Morgan fol.50, Budge p.93) (margin) —→
 (1st.column missing)
- | | |
|----|-------------------------|
| 18 | [ΝΤΗΤΕ]ΛΗΛ ΤΝ |
| | [ΟΥΝΟΥ] ἡμῶν |
| 20 | [ΝΕ]ΗΤΥ' ΕΝΟΥ |
| | [ΣΥ]ΜΦΩΝΙΑ |
| | [ΜΜΑΤ]Ε ΔΝ: |
| | [ΑΛΛΑ ΕΝ]ΟΥΟΥ |
| | [ΝΟΥ ΝΡΑΨΕ] |
| 25 | ΕΥ ^Ω ΜΠΕΤΠΕΝ |
| | ΡΑΨΕ ΝΙΜ. |
| | ΕΝΝΑΥ ΕΠΔΥ |
| | ΜΙΟΥΡΓΟΣ Μ |
| | ΠΤΗΡΥ' ΕΥΣΟΟΥΣ |
| 30 | Νῆμαν ἡπο |
| | ΟΥ Εἰ[Π]ΑΡΙΣΤΟΝ |
| | [ΜΠ]Ε[ΥΝ]ΟΒ Ν |
| 33 | [ΑΡΧΛΓ]ΓΕΛΟΣ |
- (broken)

18. ΤΗ[ΟΥΝΟΥ] for ΝΤΝΟΥΝΟΥ (so. M. and B.); cf. chapter VIII par. 138.

20f. .[ΝΕ]ΗΤΥ' ΕΝΟΥ[ΣΥ]ΜΦΩΝΙΑ (with B.); M.: ΝΕΗΤΥ' ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥΝ ΤΗΝΔΣΩΟΥΣ ΕΣΟΥΝ
 ΝΤΗΤΕΛΗΛ ΕΝΟΥΣΥΜΦ[Ω]ΝΙΑ.

- (b) Recto: (Morgan fol.59r.; Budge pp.105f.) ↑
 (broken)

35	ΤΗ[ΡΥ:]	[
	[>]ΔΟΥ[ΩΨΒ ΝΟΙ]		[
	ΠΔ[ΙΑΒΟΛΟΣ]		[
	ΕΥΟ ἡ[ΠΕΣΜΟΤ]		[
	ΝΟΥΜ[ΟΝΟΧΗ]		[
40	ΠΕΣΔΥ ΝΑΣ]		[
	ΣΕ ΝΨΟΡΠ [Ν]		[

42	ταρχο[ο]ς χε υ	[]
	πε ου[ε]ροϋτ	[]
	νοϋωτ ει ε	54	π[η πκολλατωρ]
45	ζοϋν επειμα	55	Ν[ΟΥΖΟΟΥΤ ΔΝ]
	ΣΙΝΤΑ ΠΑΔΑΙ		Π[Ε ΜΗ ΨΔΥ]
	ΜΟΥ: ΜΠΕΡ		ΤΑ[ΝΖΟΥΤ ΚΟΛ
	ΩΡΚ ΝΛΑΔΥ		ΛΑ[ΤΩΡ ΕΝΕΖ ?]
	ΝΑΝΑΨ:		ΜΕΕ[ΥΕ]
50	ΤΕΝΟΥ ΔΕ ΕΙΣ	60	ΟΥ[Ν ΕΙΣΖΗ]
	ΖΗΗΤΕ ΔΡ̄Ρ̄ΝΟ		ΗΤ[Ε ΟΥΝ ΖΟΟΥΤ]
52	ΒΕ: ΔΥΩ[]		ΝΖ[ΟΥΝ ΜΠΟΥ]
	[]	63	ΚΟ[ΤΟΝ ΤΕΝΟΥ]

(broken)

40. πεχα[υ νας]; M.(and B.): πεχαυ νεϋφυμια τσυγκλητική.

43. ουζοϋτ νοϋωτ; M.: ζοϋτ.

45. επειμα; M.: επακοιτον.

47. υπερωρκ νλαδυ ναναψ; M.: αχν λαδυ ναναψ.

59f.. difficult; M.: ουνγεμεεε ουν; Bala'izah evidently different.

(b) Verso: (Morgan fol.59; Budge p.106) →

(broken)

]	72	[η̄ει
]		[ζωβ η̄αμε
]		[ευψαν]+ ναϊ
]	75	[ΝΧΡΗ]μα νίμ
]		[ετεμ]ηπαλ
]		[λατιο]ν μ̄πεϋ
]		σεβης ^(sic) ν̄νρ̄ρο
]		οννωριος
]	80	μ̄ν ^{IV} κοςμη
]		σις ετψοοη

	[]	82	ναυ: μῆνε
65	[ενουσω]ε		χρημα εταο
	[μπῆντκ]ον		оп εἰπκος
	[πεχας μῆ]αῖα	85	μος τηρῆ: ῆ
	[βολος εφο]ῦ		несаωπε
	[песмот] ῆ		ἰμοῖ ετραπα
70	[τμοναχη]		рава ῆῆсун
	[]	89	[θнк]η ῆταῖ
			(broken)

73. ναμε; M.: οντως (B. βενουμεθμη).

78. νηρρο, read ηρρο with M..

(c)	<u>Recto:</u>	(M.fol.61; B.p.110)	<u>Verso:</u>	(M.fol.61; B.p.111)	
	↑	(1st.column, broken)	→	(2nd.column, broken)	
91	[αυω]	ῆτεуноу	[	98	Ne ω̄ ευ[φн]
	[απλ]	αβολος	Ⲭε[		μια: αιε[ι ειοу]
	[βωλ]	εβολ ῆν	[	100	ωω ερ'ε[αλ μ]
	[νευ]	εnergia	[		μο: τα[сoke]
95	*[τηρ]у	ῆпес	[		εпесн[т ep]
	[μτο]	εβολ	[	103	τακο: α[рχρο]
		(margin)			(margin)

99. αιει; M.adds εзоуη γαρο.

103. α[рχρο]; M.: ειςζηητε αρχρο.

(d)	↑	(unidentified, broken)	→	(broken)
105		[η]αγγελ[ε μн(?)]	110	[]тап[]
		[т]βом нῆпнue:		αυω παηρε [μ]
		[.]ηθαρωτο.[]		ηρρο сβτωτ
108		[χλ]ριze[]		γανεῖπε.[]
		(broken)	114	[]п[]
				(broken)

Translation:

(lines 1 - 16) An encomium(ἐγκώμιον)[which the] blessed(μκακείος)[Apa Eustathios told, (he) the] bishop(ἐπίσκοπος) of [Thrace the island, the place to which the blessed] Johannes [Chrysostomos] was banished(ἐξορίσεν)[(and) in which he] died. [And he told this encomium on] the feast of the archangel(ἀρχάγγελος) [Michael], the feast being celebrated in [his oratory(ἐκτελεῖον)] which had been rebuilt [in] that [island] in the [name of the] holy archangel(ἀρχάγγελος) Michael, [of which] the blessed(μκακ.) Johannes [laid (the)] foundation with [the sermon before he] laid down the body(σῶμα); and [he (Eustathios) having said] also [some few words at the end of this encomion concerning the blessed Johannes the archbishop and the Chrysostomos for (the) glory of the Holy Trinity in (the) peace of God, Amen.]

(lines 18 - 33) the day which the Lord created, let us assemble and] rejoice and be joyful on it, not only in harmony(συμφωνία), [but in full] joy which is above every joy.

We see the creator(δημιουργός) of all, being assembled with us today on the feast(ἑορτή) of his great archangel(ἀρχά.) [Michael

(lines 35 - 52) so that they should not look into my face] at all.

The devil(δαίβολος), being in [the form] of a nun(μωρεχή), answered and said [to her]: First you said: Not a single male (person) has come into this place since my husband died - do not swear any oath ! But now, behold, you have sinned and [.....

(lines 54 - 63)]Is not [the guardian⁽¹⁾ a male person ? Surely] 'the guardian'[will never be] believed [...] think [...] then⁽²⁾. Behold [there is a male (person)] in [your] bed(κοῖτος) [now !]

(lines 65 - 70) Euphemia ... relaxed her face in smiles in a] spiritual(πνευματικός) smile, [and she said to the] devil(δαί.) [being] in [the form] of [the nun]

(lines 72 - 89) because of] this [matter.] Truly, [if there were]

given to me all the riches(χεῖμα) [which are in] the palace(παλατιον)
of the pious(εὐσεβής) emperor Honorios, and the ornaments(κόσμησις)
which belong to him, and the riches(χε.) which are in the whole world
(κόσμος); may it not happen to me that I transgress(παράβῃ) the
compacts(συνθήκη) which I [laid down with my late husband Aristarchos
.....

(lines 91 - 96) and] immediately the devil(δαίμων) and all[his] stra-
tagems(ἐνέργεια) vanished in her presence[.....

(lines 98 - 103) What shall I do] to you, o Euphemia? I came
desiring to make you a servant, that I might[drag you] down to des-
truction, [but] you have[prevailed against me]

(1) κολλατωρ is probably the Latin 'courator'(Budge).

(2) Morgan: 'What do you think, then ?'.

46

HOMILY ON THE VIRGIN

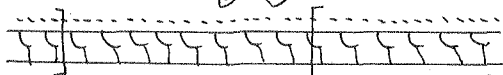
(c $\frac{17}{1-23}$; f 90) 12 by $8\frac{3}{4}$ inches, complete. Papyrus. Written in
large rounded uncials of the seventh or eighth centuries, see Plate III, 4.
Of this manuscript there are more than a hundred fragments; there is one
complete page, a few large fragments and a great mass of smaller frag-
ments. If this work became known in another manuscript, it might be
possible to piece together many of the fragments. Unfortunately only a
few fragments have at least some lines of continuous text. The manu-
script must have been large and among the fragments I found page-numbers
up to 177.

The complete page appears to be from a homily on the Virgin; the
other fragments might have come from different works included in the same
volume. Cf. Crum's note in W.F.M. Petrie: Gizeh and Rifeh (double volume)
p. 40.

(a) (f 90) Perhaps the title of the work.

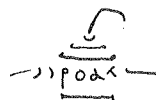


(margin)



1 [NΔΙ] ΝΕ ΝΩΑΧΕ ΕΤΩ[]
 [ΝΤ] ΑΥΧΟΟΥ ΕΡΟΝ ΝΒΙ [ΠΕΝΜΕΡΙΤ]
 [ΝΕΙ] ΩΤ ΕΤΟΥΑΔΒ ΑΠ[Α]
 [] ΔΣΜΜ. [] ΖΝ[ΟΥ[ΕΙ]
 5 [ΡΗΝΗ ΝΤ] Ε ΠΝΟΥΤ[Ε Ζ] ΔΜΗ[Ν]
 6 [] ΟΚ ΑΥΟ[] Χ[]
 7 [] ΑΥ[ΩΟ] Ν[]

(broken)

Verso: (illegible)(b) Recto: ↑ c $\frac{19}{1}$ (margin)

9 ΘΕ ΟΝ ΝΤΑΝ 36 ΠΑΪ ΠΕ ΧΕ +
 10 ΣΑΪΑΣ ΧΟΟΣ ΟΥΑΔΒ ΕΧΩ
 ΧΕ ΕΙΣ ΤΠΑΡ ΖΜ ΝΘΕ ΝΝΕ
 ΘΕΝΟΣ ΝΑΩ ΖΙΟΜΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ
 ΝΣΧΠΟ ΝΟΥ 40 ΚΑΤΑ ΘΕ ΕΤ
 ΩΗΡΕ ΝΣΕ ΣΗΖ ΕΝ ΪΕΣΕ
 15 ΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΠΕΥ ΚΙΝΛ ΠΕΠΡΟ
 ΡΑΝ ΧΕ ΕΜ ΦΗΤΗΣ ΧΕ
 Μ[Α] ΝΟΥΗΛ ΤΕΪ Π[Υ] ΛΗ ΝΑ
 [ΕΤ] Ε ΠΑΪ ΠΕ Ν 45 ΩΩΠΕ ΕΣ
 [ΩΑ] ΥΟΥΑΕΜΥ ΩΟΤΜ. ΜΝ
 20 Χ[Ε] ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΛΑΔΥ ΝΑΒΩ[Κ]
 Ν[Μ] ΜΑΝ. ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΡΟ[Ε]
 ΑΥΩ ΠΕΧΕ ΕΙΜΗΤΙ ΕΠ[ΑΡ]

23

25

30

35

(b)

63

65

70

75

π[Ν]ΟΥΤΕ ΝΑΣ	50	ΧΩΝ̄ Π̄Ρ̄ΡΟ
[εΝ]ΤΤΑΠΡΟ		ᾠΠΕΟΟΥ· ΑΥ[ω]
[μΠ]ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ		Ν̄ΤΟΥ ΠΕΤ
[ΧΕ] ΟΥΠ̄ΝΑ		ΝΑΟΥΩᾠ Ν̄
[ΕΥ]ΟΥΑΑΒ ΠΕΤ		ΟΥΟΕ[Ι]Κ Ν̄
[ΝΗΥ] ΕΞ[ρ]Αἰ	55	ΖΗΤ̄Ε ΝΝΑΖ]
ΕΧ[ω ΑΥ]Ω		ΡΕΜ [ΠΧΟΕΙC]
ΤΘ[ου] ΜΠ̄ΕΤ		ΠΕ ΠΑἰ Ν̄Τ[αΥ]
ΧΟ[σε] ΤΕΤ]		ΒΩΚ ΕΖΟ[Υ]Ν
ΝΑ[ΡΕΑΙΒC]		ΕΤΠΑΡΘ̄Ε
ΕΡ[Ο] ΑΥΩ	60	ΝΟC· ΠΟΕΙΚ
[Π̄Ε] ^(sic!) ΤΕΡΑΧΠΟΥ		Ν̄ΤΑΥΟΥΟᾠΥ
[ΥΟΥΑ]ΑΒ· ΕΤΕ		Ν̄ΖΗΤ̄Ε ΠΕ Π

(margin)

Verso: —→

(margin)

—» ροβ̄ ←

ΚΑΤΑCΑΡ̄Ξ	90	ΓΑΡ Ν̄ΒΙ ἰω
Ν̄ΤΑΥΧΙΤΥ		CΗΦ' ΑΥΕΙΡΕ
Ζ̄Ν̄ΤΕCΣΑΡ̄Ξ		ΚΑΤΑΘΕ Ν̄
ΚΑΤΑΘΕ ΕΤ		ΤΑΠΑΓΓΕΛΟC
CΗΖ Ζ̄ᾠΠΚΑ		ΧΟΟC ΝΑΥ
ΤΑ ΜΑΘΑΙΟC	95	ΑΥΧΙ ᾠΜΑΡΙΑ
ΝΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙ		ΤΕΥCΖΙΜΕ
ΟΝ· ΕΡΕ ΠΑΓ		ᾠΠΕΥCΟΥΩ
ΓΕΛΟC ΩΑ		Ν̄C· ΑΥΑΝΤΕC
ΧΕ ᾠΝ ἰω		ΧΠΟ ᾠΠ[ΕC]
CΗΦ' ΧΕ ΤΩ	100	ΩΗΡΕ' ΑΥ
ΟΥΝ Ν̄ΚΧΙ ᾠ		ΜΟΥΤΕ Ε[ΠΕ]Υ
ΜΑΡΙΑ ΤΕΚ		ΡΑΝ ΧΕ Τ̄C
CΖΙΜΕ· ΠΕ		ΘΕΡΜΗΝ[Ι]Α

77	[τ]ΟΥΝΑ ΣΠΟΥ	104	ΝΙΤ ΠΕ Ζ[Η]
	ΓΑΡ ΕΒΟΛ Ν	105	COY ΝΝ[ΕΤ]
	[ε]ΗΤΕ ΟΥΕΒΟΛ		ΠΙΣΤΕΥ[Ε Ε]
80	[ε]Ν ΟΥ ΠΝΑ		ΡΟΥ ΤΗΡ[ΟΥ]
	[ε]ΥΟ[ΥΑΔ]Β ΠΕ		ΕΙΜΕ ΒΕ Χ[ΕΤ]
	[NCE ⁽¹⁾ Μ]ΟΥΤΕ		ΤΙΑΝΟ[ΜΙΑ]
	[ε]ΠΕΥΡΑΝ ΧΕ	110	ΑΥΩ[Μ]
	[τ] ΝΤΟΥ ΓΑΡ		ΠΝ[ΟΥΤΕ ΧΕ Δ]Υ
85	[ΠΕ]ΤΝΑΤΟΥ		Χ[ΙΤΣ ΜΠΕΥ]COY
	ΧΟ ΜΠΕΥΛΑ		[ΩΝC ΚΑ]ΓΑ
	ΟC ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗ		ΘΕ Ν[ΤΑΥ]ΧΟ
	ΝΕΥΝΟΒΕ.	115	ΟC ΧΕ Μ[ΠΕΥ]
89	ΑΥΤΩΟΥΝ	116	COYΩΝ[ΤΕ]

(margin)

82. Matth.I,21 has ΝΓΜΟΥΤΕ, but there is room for four letters and ΝCE - ΜΟΥΤΕ is perhaps more likely; cf. line 100 ΑΥΜΟΥΤΕ where Matth.I, 25 has ΝΥΜΟΥΤΕ.

(c) (c $\frac{12}{8}$; $\frac{12}{8}$) ↑ (broken)	→	(broken)
118 [εΥ]ΝΑ ΜΙΩ[Ε]	125	ΠΚΟCΜΟC
		Ρ ΕΙΡΗΝΗ
120 ΜΝΝΕΦΟΟ[Υ]		ΜΝ ΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ
		ΝΟΥΟΕΙΩ Ν
120 ΝΥ ^(21C) ΝΟΥΧΟΥ		CEP XAXE e[.]
ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΧΩ!		
ΧΕ ΕΥΝΑΠΩΤ	130	Ν[.]ΕΟΥΕ[.]
123 [N]CΔ ΝΕΤΝΑ	131	ΑΝ[]
(broken)		(broken)

(d) (c $\frac{12}{8}$) ↑ (broken)	(e) (c $\frac{12}{8}$) ↑ (broken)
133 ΜΝΤΕΚΘ[Υ]	141 [.]ΕΕ[.]ΜΠ[?]
CΙΔ. ΝΘΕ Ν	ΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ Ε[Μ]
135 CΑΜΟΥΗΛ[?]	ΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ Ν[Ν]

- 136 πετναυ ε[βολ] 144 λαμονιο[Ν]
- 137 πθ[] 145 εἰς τε γω[Η]
- 138 τα[] Νω[.]ρετε[.]
- 139 ἄο[] ψυ[Χ]ῆ τ[.]
- (broken; → fragmentary) 148 ε[]
- (f) (c $\frac{12}{7}$) ↑ (broken) (broken; → fragmentary)
- 150 [π]μλνελο
- ολε πε πλ[α]
- 152 ος τηρῆ[]
- (broken; → fragmentary)
- (g) (c $\frac{12}{7}$; $\frac{12}{14}$) ↑ (broken) → (broken)
- 154 .νεα[κα] 163 []εογε[]
- 155 [τ]αθε [Νταυχοο] []ενεσο[]
- [X]ε ογατβο[μ] 165 ΝΝαδυνρ[Ν]
- ΝΝαερῆ Ν Ναερῆ πνογ
- ρωμε πε η[αι] [τ]ε ποο[γ] ρω
- ΝΝαερῆ [πνογ] [..]εγογω
- 160 τε[α]ε μ[μΝ] 169 [..].πο[...]
- 161 [λααυ νατβομ] (broken)
- (broken)
- (h) (c $\frac{12}{3}$) ↑ (broken) → (broken)
- 171 ογω[] 179 [...]νωηρε
- εβολ εμ η[] 180 [μ]πῆλ.μη
- ειωτ. εμ[Ν] [Ν]ταυχοο
- τῆ[.]αυ ἄχ[] Ναυ αν χε[...]
- 175 []αυ.τε ωοοπ η[]
- []ο ἄποογ παραν.[]
- 177 []νε.... 185 εογσε[]
- (broken) (broken)

(i)	$(\sigma \frac{19}{2}; \frac{19}{18})$	\uparrow	(broken)	\longrightarrow	(broken)	
187	]οϛ	ω[	]	200	[	]μoc
	]ε·	αϗΣο[οc	ναϗ]		[	]γωz'
	]ωο	̄ντε[ιπα	α]		[	το]οτ̄γ
190	]εττα	βολη[χε	†]		[	]ca
	]ετ'	ετηκ[πα	ωη]		[⁽¹²⁾ κ]οογε
	]λμ	ρε	ετβ[ε ⁽¹²⁾]	205	[	]r
	]κω	τβω̄	̄νκ[ν]		[εν]	εενκοογε
	]zω	τε·	μπ̄η[αγ]		[εα]	πλωc
195	]	ετοyna[	cωλη]		[ω]	ανωcκ
	]εic	̄νογ	ωλz̄[ε]		[	]ωαει
	].	βολ	̄νεη[τc]	210	[	]noyne
198	]μν	̄νce	χοο[c]	211	εβολ	z̄ν
		(margin)				(margin)

Translation:

(lines 1 - 5) [These] are the words which our dear] holy father Apa
[...] told us [..... in (the) peace] of God; Amen.

(lines 9 - 116)]as Isaiah said⁽¹⁾: Behold the virgin(παρθενος) shall conceive and bear a son and his name shall be called Emmanuel which is this, being interpreted: God with us. And God spoke to her [by] the mouth[of the] angel(ἄγγελος), [saying]⁽²⁾: A holy spirit(πν.) shall [come] upon [thee] and the power [of him] who is high shall [oversha-
dow] thee and [he] whom thou shalt bear is holy, which is this⁽³⁾: I am pure from being defiled like all women. According as it is written in Ezechiel the prophet⁽⁴⁾: This gate(πύλη) shall be shut; no one shall enter it except the ruler(ἄρχων) the king of glory. And that⁽⁵⁾: He who shall eat bread in [it (or: her)] in the presence of [the Lord], is he who went into the virgin(παρθ.). The bread which he ate in her is that according to (the) flesh(κρέας, σάρκα) which he took in her flesh (σάρκα), according as it is written in the gospel(εὐαγγέλιον) according

to Matthew while the angel(ἄγγ.) spoke with Joseph, saying⁽⁶⁾: Arise and take Maria thy wife; for he who shall be born from her is one from a holy spirit(πν.) and his name[shall be] called [Jesus]; for it is he who shall save his people from their sins. For⁽⁷⁾ Joseph arose and did according as the angel(ἄγγ.) had told him. And he took Maria his wife, and⁽⁸⁾ did not know her until she bore her son; and his name was called Jesus. The interpretation(ἐρμηνεία) of 'Jesus' is 'Zesou' to all who believe(πιστεύειν) on him⁽⁹⁾.

Know, then, the regulation(δικονομία) and [the ... of] God, [namely]: he took [her and did not] know [her], according as it [has been] said⁽¹⁰⁾: He did not know [her]

(lines 118 - 123) he [shall fight with the wicked and cast them out from me, for he shall pursue after those who shall] [.....

(lines 125 - 131)] the world(κόσμος) [shall(?)] be at peace(εἰρήνη) with one another and they shall not(?) be at enmity [.....

(lines 133 - 136)] with(?) thy sacrifice(θύσια) like Samuel the seer [.....

(lines 141 - 145)] the revelation(?)⁽¹¹⁾ in the light of the demons(δαίμονες) at night [.....

(lines 150 - 152)] the vineyard is the whole people(λαός)⁽¹²⁾ [.....

(lines 154 - 161) according] as [it has been said]⁽¹³⁾: With men this is impossible, but with God [nothing is impossible]

(lines 188 - 198)⁽¹⁴⁾] he told [him] this parable(παρεβόλη), [saying:]

Pay attention, [my] son, concerning(?) the fig-tree at the time when a branch is to be [cut off] from [it], and they say [.....

(1) Isaiah VII,14; cf. Matth.I,23.

(2) Luke I,35.

(3) Perhaps a quotation, unidentified.

(4) Ezechiel XLIV,2; Ezechiel XLIV,1 - 3 is frequently connected with the Virgin in Coptic literature, cf. especially Mun.9284; see also

B.Hom.p.405; B.Misc.p.79; DeV.vol.II,p.105; Clédat: Baouit (Memoires XII), pp.54f.. Crum in Petrie: Gizeh and Rifeh (double volume) p. 40 has already drawn attention to the remarkable form in which Ezechiel is quoted here; cf. also how Matth.I,20 - 25 is quoted in lines 73ff., the writer is evidently not concerned to give an accurate quotation.

(5) Ezechiel XLIV,3.

(6) Matth.I,21.

(7) Matth.I,24.

(8) Matth.I,25.

(9) See Crum's discussion on this in Petrie: Gizeh and Rifeh (double vol.) p.40.

(10) Matth.I,25.

(11) Reading: $\pi[\sigma\gamma]\omega\tilde{\alpha}\tilde{\epsilon}\ \epsilon\beta\sigma\alpha$, but doubtful.

(12) Cf. Isaiah V,7.

(13) Matth.XIX,26.

(14) A translation of these lines is given with extreme reserve.

47

HOMILY ON THE DEVIL AND MAN'S FALL

(e 65) 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ by 6 inches, incomplete. Parchment. Written in square uncial of the fifth or sixth centuries. In parts this manuscript is badly faded and extremely difficult to read; some letters I was able to read with the help of infra-red rays.

One page from a homily relating to the devil and man's fall.

Recto(?):

(margin)

1	[	]	27	$\Lambda[\epsilon]$ [.] $\sigma\sigma\gamma\tilde{\alpha}\tilde{\epsilon}\ \dots\epsilon[.]$	
	[	]		[.]$\tau\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\tilde{\alpha}\epsilon\gamma\tilde{\alpha}\tilde{\epsilon}[H]$	
	[	$\tilde{\alpha}$[		$[\tau]\gamma\ \epsilon\omega\omega[\gamma\ \dots]\epsilon\dots$
	$\chi\epsilon\ \tilde{\alpha}\epsilon\gamma\ \rho.\ \tilde{\alpha}\tilde{\alpha}$		30	[$\dots\tau\epsilon[$]

5	μοc н̄μαу	31	[.]ο.ε.εναу[]
	πε αуω χε νεу		Ἰρωμε εуηα
	[.]οcνε εροοу		κλμρονομει
	[.]ε зιτн παїα		μ[μ]οу. ααχλι
	[] αν̄σοу	35	[. .]αν φαуοу
10	[] εη		[ωμ н̄]α πεу
	[] ρт		зηт · εтβε παι
	[] ομтн		^(sic) уφθονεῑ н̄οуο
	μαη ^(b) μεμλογαροc		ειу н̄ιμ αуω
	απн[]	40	ἡρε̄ιερβω[ων]
15	·νε []c		αуω η̄ποη[ερεу]
	ἡἡρ·[]·		ει οуαт[назте]
	παια[βο]λοc·ε		гар те та[ι]πο]
	βολ χε οуπο[η]η		ηη[ρ]ῑα αуω [α]у
	[ρ]οc πε ·επε[зоу]	45	αт[св]ω те ·εтβε
20	[ο]·αуααωу μ[μ]		[пαι] βε αуεηер
	ατε ·αуηοχ̄у		геи ε̄ηт̄ηηт̄
	[ε]βολ ^(sic) ε̄ηт̄таз̄[ι]c		μαгоc εтrey
	[ηηαη]ге[λοc]		εipe ἡηεῑφαν
	[]	50	таcia οуβε
25	[]	51	тме ·αуω εтp[ε]

(broken)

38. уφθονεῑ ; the у was probably added later.

Verso(?):

(margin)

	[λ]α		
53	μεεуε гар пе	80	χ[]
	ἡβι παιαβολοc		α[]
55	χε μεααακ ο[у]η		ε[]ε[]ε
	βομ μμο[у]ε		χ̄χ̄ καηοуο[. .]ε
	χρο επλαc[μα]		уωπε зιтн

58	ΘΗ ΕΜΠΑΤΟΥ	85	ΠΝΟΥΤΕ · Ν
	† ΝΟΜΟΣ ΝΑ[Υ]		ΣΕΠΙΣΤΕΥΕ
60	ΑΛΛΑ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ		ΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ
	ΕΦΟΜΜΑΙΡΩ		ΠΜΕΣΣΝ[ΤΕ]
	ΜΕ ΝΕΟΥΟ ΧΕ		ΝΕΟ[Υ][]
	ΟΥΨΑΝΕΤΗΥ	90	ΝΕ.[]
	ΠΕΔΥΩ ΨΑΥ		ΠΛΑΣ[ΜΑ] Ε[ΤΒΕ]Ν
65	ΩΝΕΤΗΥ ΖΑΠΕΥ		ΡΜΝΚΗΜΕ ΝΕ
	ΠΛΑΣΜΑ · ΝΕΥ		[] ΕΤΜΟΟ
	[..]ΕΩ.Ε ΔΥΩ		[ΥΕ ΖΝ]ΟΥΜΝΤ
	[ΝΕΥ]ΖΟΡΩ ΝΕ	95	Α[ΤΕ]ΟΟΥΝ · ΕΥ
	[ΗΤ] ΠΕ · ΕΥΕΙ		ΕΜΕΤΑΝΟΕΙ
70	ΕΞΡΑΙ ΝΕΠΛΗΓΗ		[Ζ]ΩΟΥ ΕΥΔΩΥΤ
	ΕΥΜΑΪΝ [Ν]ΤΕΥ		[Ε]ΝΕΪΝΟΒ ΝΒΟΜ
	ΒΟΜ · Ν[ΖΟΥΟ ΧΕ (?)]		ΕΤΩΩΠΕ Ε[ΡΟΥ]
	ΕΤΒΕ ΖΩΒ ΕΝ†	100	ΑΠΟΥΝΔΥ [Ε]
	ΠΟΥΑ ΜΕ ...		ΡΟΥ ΕΝΕΖ[]
75	ΖΩΒ · ΧΕΚΑΣ Ε		[] ΣΑΥ[]
	ΠΕΙΔΗ ΠΛΑΣ[ΜΑ]		[]
	ΟΝΑΤΗΟΒΕ[]		[]
78	[]ΙΝΑ[]Ε[]		[]

(broken)

53. πλάσμα for η-πλάσμα, similarly lines 76 and 91.

Translation:

(lines 17 - 23)[the devil(δῆβολος), because he was very wicked (πονηρός), cursed greatly and was cast out from the order(τάξις)[of the]angels(ἄγγελος?)[.....

(lines 32 - 51)[men, they shall inherit(κληρονομεῖν) him; he is wont to[...][and to gnaw(?) at his heart. Because of this he is jealous(φθονεῖν) at any time and is envious and acts wickedly(πονηρεῖν),

for this wickedness(πονηρία) is faithlessness(?) and ignorance. Because of [this] he works(ἐνεργεῖν) with magic(-μάγος), that they should do these phantasies(φαντασία)⁽¹⁾ against the truth and [.....

(lines 53 - 77)]for the devil(διδύβολος) was thinking that perhaps he might have power to prevail against the creature(πλάσμα) before law(νόμος) was given to [it]; but God, loving man, (and) what is more, being pitiful, and being wont to have pity on his creature(πλ.) was [...] and long-suffering to take away the afflictions(πληγή) as a sign of his power, especially because ... (?) so that, since the creature(πλ.) was without sin [.....

(lines 83 - 101)]even if a ...⁽²⁾ happened through God, that they might believe(πιστεύειν) on God on the second day⁽³⁾ [...] creature(πλ.) because of the Egyptians [...] who walk in ignorance, (that) they might repent(μετανοεῖν) themselves seeing these great wonders which happened to [them], and they never saw them [.....

(1) φαντασία in Coptic often refers to dreams or thoughts etc. suggested by the devil; cf. B.Misc.p.475; Till, HM II, 53²²; B.Misc.p.134 etc..

(2) Perhaps: 'calamity' reading οὐχίη.

(3) In view of the reference to the Egyptians in line 92 this presumably refers to the story in Exodus chapter VII.

48

HOMILY ON FASTING

(f 10) Two pages forming single leaf, 3 by 5 inches, complete. Parchment. Written in small square uncials of probably the sixth century.

Two pages from a homily on fasting.

(a)	<u>Recto:</u>	(margin)	<u>Verso:</u>	(margin)
		·N̄·		·N̄Δ·
1	ΟΥΕΙΡΗΝΗ·ΤΕΤΝ		14	+ΕΙΝΕ Ν+ΡΕΥ[⁽²⁾ ..N̄]
	ΚΗ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΜΗΕΤΝ		15	α ΤΗΗΟΤΙΑ·N̄

3 ωωνε · αχτρετε
 τῆσοοϋτῆ εζοϋ
 5 επαγων ψαντε
 τῆχι ἡπесκλom.
 νεῖρзote on ne
 xe eῖnaṛ petṇme
 eye zṇ oy · ḥ ṇtw
 10 τῆ xe etetṇna
 ωει ṇaεραϥ ṇaω
 ṇze · emenlaay
 13 zṇnetṇbi·x · ωan
 (margin)

(b) Recto: (margin) ·NB·

27 ωλ ἡπευογοῖω
 ἡπесκλῖ · xpos
 nhṭṇ ṇbohṭia
 30 ṇcom nim epeṭa
 melia napwt e
 zoun epwtṇ cna
 no·x̄c eβολ ṇctm
 kaac^(sic) twbe ṇzht
 35 thytṇ · atnhc
 tia ωωpe nhṭṇ
 ṇka nobe eβολ
 apeoyoi·ω mκq
 39 eβολ ωωpe nhṭṇ
 (margin)

16 тpeтeнбн παρρη
 cia on ἡπεμο e
 bol ἡπnouτε·
 ω τnhctia ete
 20 μεσωск eṭ ἡπε
 καρπος · ṇtos ne
 ntactwbe ṇzht
 thytṇ · eῖnaωa
 ezoun · aibine ἡ
 25 пескарπος ἡπα
 26 †ει eβολ· acx̄o ac
 (margin)

Verso: (margin)

·NΓ·
 40 zṭṇ tmetanoia
 alla ṇṭe an ṇze
 zeraiticos eωay
 xω ἡπεῖωaxe xe
 ωay† ṇoykw e
 45 bol ṇneynobe
 etp̄rompe · eyxω
 ἡπεῖωaxe zṇoy
 mhtz̄mal ἡp̄r
 tpeṇbwtṇ eβολ
 50 ntṇ[ε]e eβολ· ἡp̄r
 tpeṇḥl zṇ nec
 52 zice ṇtṇobayṇ
 (margin)

Translation:

.....]peace(εἰρήνη), you are released⁽¹⁾ from your sickness. He has caused you to be prepared for the contest(ἀγών) until you receive the crown⁽²⁾. I was afraid in what I should make your remembrance, or, as regards you, how you should be able to come into His presence, nothing being in your hands, until I brought this ...(?)⁽³⁾, fasting(νηστεία), that she may cause you to find ease(παρερησία)⁽⁴⁾ in the presence of God.

O fasting(νηστ.) which does not delay to give its fruit(καρπός); it is she(i.e. fasting) which has been fixed within you. I would take her in(?)⁽⁵⁾ and I found her fruit(καρπός) before I came out. She put forth and took(?)⁽⁶⁾ their time with her oil⁽⁷⁾. Acquire her for yourselves as aid(βοήθεια) every time when negligence(ἀμέλεια) enters you, she will cast it(i.e. negligence) out and will not permit it to be fixed within you. Fasting(νηστεία) has become for you forgiveness of sins. The time of forgiveness has happened to you through repentance(μετάνοια), but not in the manner of some heretics(αἱρετικοί) who tell this saying: Forgiveness of their sins is given yearly; they telling this saying in servitude. Let us not be defeated and perish; let us not be taken in her toils⁽⁸⁾ and forget[.....

(1) Perhaps τετηνη is dialectical for ντετηνη, cf. chapter VIII par.138, in that case translate: 'that you may find(?)]peace and be released from your sickness'.

(2) Cf. I Pet.V,4; Jam.I,12; etc..

(3) εἰνε νκα- clearly not in the sense of 'bring against, accuse' (Crum: Dictionary p.79a); the exact meaning here is obscure.

(4) On παρερησία cf. E.Peterson: Zur Bedeutungsgeschichte von ΠΑΡΗΣΙΑ, Reinhold-Seeberg-Festschrift, 1929, pp.283ff..

(5) εἰνάωλ εἰσόν here is difficult. Crum: Dictionary p.521b only cites one example where it is used, as here, intransitively.

(6) ἀκχο δαωλ is difficult, but the reading is not certain.

(7) κλῖ is a very rare word, cf. Crum: Dictionary p.115a.

(8) μπρτενηλ ἐκ νεεζις is difficult; the exact meaning is uncertain; cf. εἰναωλ ἐζουν in line 23 and ασωλ in lines 26f., and above notes 5 and 6.

49

(a) HOMILY ON THE PASSION

(b) HOMILY ADDRESSED TO THE SOUL

(f 11) Two pages forming single leaf; $2\frac{1}{2}$ by $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches, complete.

Parchment. Written in late rounded uncials of the eighth century, see plate III,5. The manuscript is partly faded and lines 1 - 8 I was only able to read with the help of infra-red rays.

Two pages containing (a) part of a homily on the Passion, (b) part of a homily addressed to the soul.

(a) <u>Recto:</u> (margin)	<u>Verso:</u> (margin)
I <u>Ε</u> εντεϋτανρō ñ	12 εβολ εϋμ πκαε τηρῃ
νοϋτε ετοϋααβ	αϋω αϋεϋτῃ εϋϋε
ενεεβηϋε ετεϋϋε	ñσ†οc αϋειοϋεϋñ ^(sic)
εϋαϋ εβολ ϋε ϋοϋ	15 τεϋαπε ñοϋκαϋ
5 ωϋ αν ενδϋ επñ	αϋνεϋ πεεcε εζοϋñ ^(sic)
ο[β]ε μπρωμε ϋε	εμ πεεεō· αϋτcοϋ
ñϋτñτ ñεñτ αν	ñοϋεμϋ μñοϋcιϋε
εϋñ ñεñεβηϋε	μñοϋϋολñ· αϋ† ñαϋ
ανον ñρεϋρñοβε	20 ñοϋωc ñλογϋñ επεϋ
10 αλλα αϋπωρῃ ñαν	cñρ· αϋνεϋ κλñροc
11 εβολ μπεϋcñοϋ ε ^(sic)	εϋñ τεϋεβcω· αϋ†αc
(margin)	23 εζοϋñ εμ πεεεεō· αϋ
	(margin)
(b) <u>Recto:</u> (margin)	<u>Verso:</u> (margin)
25 ϋε ñτερcοοϋñ αñ	35 ερo μπñαϋ ñ <u>Ε</u>
μπñαϋ ερñααπñ	τοϋα αñαγκñτε ^(sic)

27	τα εἰπότε ἡ̅ζη	37	νοῦ δε μ̅π̅ταδε
	τῇ ἡ̅τεαπολογι[ζε]		[ε]π̅ει̅νη̅β̅ ξε̅ ἡ̅
	zanenta pa[ay]		[ne]ω̅ω̅ne̅ ne̅β̅ih̅n̅
30	τηρου· τεψ[υχη]	40	[μ̅n̅] ἡ̅ω̅μ̅μ̅ο̅ ε̅τ
	τεψυχη μ̅π̅[ραμε]		[παρ]ο̅υ̅cia̅ μ̅
	λει ε̅ρο̅ μα[υαδε]		[ne̅n̅]χ̅ο̅e̅ic̅ ic̅ ne̅
	ντερταλε[.]		[χ̅c̅ ε̅μ̅]n̅ke̅ α̅i̅ω̅n̅
34	μ̅n̅ πετ[]		[ε̅τ̅n̅h̅y̅] μ̅π̅ρ̅τα
	(margin)	45	[α̅τε̅ ε̅π̅ει̅]n̅h̅b̅.
			(margin)

The Ε in lines 1 and 35 is a quire-number.

Translation:

(lines 1 - 23)]with his divine holy mouth concerning the works which it is fitting to do, because he does not desire to see the sin of man; not that he is satisfied with the works of us sinners, but he poured out for us his blood, out upon the whole earth, and he was hung upon a wooden cross, and was struck upon his head with a reed, they spat in his face, they gave him to drink vinegar and gall and gall(χολή), they struck him in his side with a spear, they cast lots (κλήρο̅ς) for his garment, they buffeted his face, they[.....

(lines 25 - 45)]for thou(i.e.the soul) doest not know the time when thou shalt meet(ἀπαντᾷν) God and render an account(ἀπολογίσειν) of all the things which thou hast done. Soul, soul(ψυχη̅), do not be careless(ἀμελεῖν) concerning thine own self and⁽¹⁾ to thee at the time of the one need(ἀνάγκη). But now do not give thyself [to] sleep, that thou doest not become miserable [and] estranged to the coming(παρουσία) of [our] Lord Jesus [Christ in] the other world(αἰών) [which is to come]. Do not give [thyself to] sleep[.....

(1) Perhaps supply: ντερταλε[ε̅ρ̅αι̅] μ̅n̅ πετ[ω̅ο̅ο̅n̅(ω̅)]ε̅ρο̅... 'and exalt thyself with that which [belongs(?)] to thee at the time of the one need'.

HORTATORY SERMON OR EPISTLE

(e 31) 4½ by 3¼ inches, complete. Papyrus. Written in small sloping uncials of perhaps the sixth century; the hand is not unlike that of P. Cairo Masp. vol. II, plate XVIII. The text is partly faded and difficult to read.

One page from a hortatory sermon or epistle.

Recto: —→ (margin)	Verso: ↑ (margin)
1 μ[Ν] ὑπαρθενος· νελλω μῆ νωρηε κογι· νετμελε τα· ννεγωδῃ ὑπνευματι κον νωορπ· τε[ο]υ δε αυ 5 παωνε ννεγωδῃ ευτοειτ· αλλα· μαρῆςμου· επνουτε [ΝΑ]μερα[τε]· ὑπρτρη[ν] + νου [.] ναυ αλλα μαρῆςμκαε ν ζητ ντεϊζε ενριμε· επετο 10 νε ζωε εγμοουτ· ὑπε παι καιος γαρ μου· αλλα εγῆκοτκ αυω εγεωωτ εβολ ον τε ν τευνου· νταναστας ε[ν] ρωμε ευζοου εμπευβιος 15 ευωανμου· ωγε· ετοειτ ε ροου· σενη γαρ ετεκρισι[ς] νετνανοου δε ευ[ω]αν[μου] 18 ωγε εςμου εροου· χ[ε] ευ (margin)	19 [ΝΑ]ρβολ[ε]β[ον]ς εγταν[....] 20 θε ετςεε χε πμου· ννετο[γ]α αβ ὑπχοε[ς] ταῖνυ ὑπεμτο [ε]βολ ζω[ς]τε ναςνηυ ωαπει μα· μαρενμτον ὑμον· εἰ πεμτον· ουσοειτ γαρ ενα 25 νουκ πε πρπμεε[υ]ε] μπ[αι] καιος· πβω δε ο[ν] ὑπετ[μ] μαυ εγωοοπ να[γ] ετβετη[γ] τῆ· πβωλ δε εβολ ὑπετ ὑμαυ εγωωπε μῆ πεχ[ς]· ουσο 30 [ειτ] ὑπετῆμαυ· ὑπωρ δε [ετ]ρενουωλ[ς] νζητ ετβεπε [τα]πνουτε ταῖου παρα πενμ [.] ν· αλλα μαρενμμεε[υ]ε ε [βο]λ ναμερατε επεζογο· ετβε 35 [πε]ζοου ετμμαυ ετῆνα[τω] [ο]υν νζητ[γ]· ενωανρ ὑ[π]ωα 40 [δε νν]αυ ερογ εἰν[ε]ν[ο]β[ε] (margin)

Translation:

.....]and virgins, old men and young children, those who recite(μελετα[ν]) his spiritual(πνευματικός) songs(ὠδῆ) first⁽¹⁾. But now his songs(ὠδῆ)

have been changed to mourning. But let us bless God, [my] beloved, do not let us give [...] to them(?) but let us grieve thus, weeping for the living as though he were dead; for the righteous(δικαίος) has not died, but he is asleep; and also Jesus shall cut off in the hour of the resurrection (ἀνάστασις): men who are evil in their life(βίος), when they die, it is fitting to mourn for them, for they are coming to the judgement(κρίσις)(2), but the good, when they die, it is fitting to bless them, because[they shall]escape the wrath[....]as it is written(3): The death of the saints of the Lord is precious in his presence. So that, my brethren, as far as their place(?) (4) let us rest ourselves in their rest, for a good fame is the remembrance of the righteous(δικαίος)(5). The continuing(6) of that one belongs to him because of you, but the dissolution (i.e. death) of that one, so as to be with Christ(7), is a (good) fame for that one. By no means let us be disheartened because of him whom God has honoured beyond our [...](8), but let us think more especially, my beloved, concerning that day on which we shall [arise], if we are worthy[to] see him (i.e. God) with our sins[....]

(1) Cf. Eph.V,19; Col.III,16.

(2) Cf. John V,24.

(3) Psalms 115⁶.

(4) Precise meaning obscure, cf. Crum: Dictionary p.154.

(5) Proverbs X,7.

(6) Clearly the continuation of life, contrasted with πῦλ ἐβόλ 'death';

for this passage cf. Phil.I,23f. ... πῦλ ἐβόλ ἐμῶν περὶ ᾧ περὶ ἡμῶν

ἡμεῖς πῶς δεῖ ὅτι ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ ὁ ἀναγκαῖον περὶ ἐμβετηνῆν.

(7) Phil.I,23; cf. the last note.

(8) Probably supply ἀνάπαυσις 'rest'; it is not possible to read ἀνάπαυσις here.

half of the page. Papyrus. Written in non-literary uncials of probably the 8th century. The dialect of the text shows many spellings found in the non-literary texts.

One page containing advice to a monk. It is possible that this was never part of a proper manuscript, but it must be noted that the text begins and ends in the middle of sentences.

<u>Recto:</u>	^(me) ↑ (margin)	<u>Verso:</u>	→ (margin)
1	+ ΝΙΜ ΝΚΩΠΕΜΟΤ	15	+ ΧΕ ΝΕΚΕΚΟΥΪ ΝΕ
	ΝΤΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΧΟΟΥ		ΝΚΟΥΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΝΕΚ
	ΤΕΒΒΙΧ ΝΧΩΩ ΝΡΟΚ		ΜΑΝΩΩΠΕ ΜΕΝΕ
	ΝΠΕΡΤΕΣΤΙΣΤΕΣ		ΝΧΩΣ ΝΚΤΙΟΩ ΝΚ
5	ΤΕ ΖΝ ΠΕΚΕΗΤ ΝΚ		ΩΩΠΕ ΖΛΥΝΟΒ ΜΠΩ
	ΜΟΟΩΕ ΖΝΝΕΩΟΧ	20	ΜΝΟΥΚΗΤΗΝΟC ΔΥΩ
	ΝΕ ΕΝΕΡΩΜΕ ΜΝ		ΝΚΤΕΜΕΡΒΟΛ ΕΝΟΥ
	ΝΕΥΒ[ΙΟ]C ΕΤΩΟΥΕΙΤ		ΝΟΒ ΝΟΥΘΕΙΩ ΑΛΛΑ
	ΒΙ ΕΡΟΚ ΖΝ ΠΕΚΕΗ[Τ]		ΑΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΩΑΝΑΖ
10	ΔΥΩ ΚΝΑ ΕΡΒΟΛ[?]		ΤΗΥ ΖΑΡΟΚ + ΖΖΖΖ
	ΖΑ ΡΑΩΕ ΝΚΤΕΛ[ΗΛ]	25	+ ΒΩΚ ΝΚΤΙ Ν
	ΝΚΤΙ ΕΟΟΥ ΕΠΝΟΥ[ΤΕ]		ΠΕΚΕΡΗΤ ΠΕΝ
	ΕΧΝ ΠΗΝΤΑΥ[ΩΩ]		[Τ]ΑΚΖΟΜΟΛΟΓΙΝ
14	ΠΕ ΕΝΜΟΚ[?]		[Μ]ΜΟΥ ΝΠΩΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ
	(margin)		[Μ]ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΚΧΟΚ
		30	[Ε]ΒΟΛ ΝΚΤΕΜΕ
			(margin)

3. τεββίχ for τεγβίχ, similarly line 9 βι for γι; see chapter VIII par. 121b and 121d.

ροκ for ρωκ, similarly line 29 χοκ for χωκ; see chapter VIII par. 61.

6. ζννεωσχνε for ζννωσχνε, similarly line 7 νερωμε for νρωμε; see chapter VIII par. 88.

7. ενερωμε for ννρωμε; see chapter VIII par. 82d.

13. ΠΗΝΤΑΥ[αω]ΠΕ for ΠΕΝΤΑΥΩΠΕ; see chapter VIII par.22, cf. par.2g.
 14. ΕΝΜΟΚ for ΜΜΟΚ, similarly line 21 ΕΝΟΥΝΟ6 for ΝΟΥΝΟ6; see chapter VIII par.1A.
 19. ΜΠΩ, probably a mistake for ΝΕΤΠΩ.

Translation:

.....]every[...]and give thanks that God may send (out) his hand and it touch thy mouth. Do not be at variance(διαστρασιζέιν?) in thy heart, and (do not) walk in the counsels of men and their vain life(βίος). Endure⁽¹⁾ in thy heart and thou shalt escape[...]. Rejoice and be glad and give glory to God concerning that which has happened to thee. (verso) For it would be even a small matter⁽²⁾ that you would be far from thy cell and afterwards suffer loss⁽³⁾ and be under a great burden(?) and a danger(κίνδυνος) and wouldst not escape for a long time, but God has been pitiful to thee.

Go and give thy vow which thou hast promised(ὁμολογέειν) in the presence of God and be perfected⁽⁴⁾ and do not[.....

- (1) Cf. Crum: Dictionary p.620b.
 (2) The meaning clearly is: 'How easily wouldst thou be far from thy cell and suffer loss (if it were not for God's grace)'.
 (3) Cf. Mk. VIII,36.
 (4) For this meaning of ἁπλῶς cf. I John IV,12,17,18 al..

GNOSTIC TREATISE

(d 54) 6½ by 4½ inches, complete. Parchment. Written in square uncials of the fourth century, see Plate I,1; lines and columns probably ruled. The dialect shows some archaisms as α, +, cf. chapter VIII par.94A. Of great interest, and probably unparalleled, are the superlinear marks. Unusual is the division of words at the end of lines; the doubling of letters in ααααα(29-30), χχχχχ(50-51) and ααααα(53-54) is clearly intentional.

One complete page and fragments of two further pages from a Gnostic

Treatise. This text was published by Crum in J.T.S. XLIV (1943) pp.176-179; but I have been able to make a number of corrections, esp. lines 75 - 91. For a commentary on this text see Crum's edition. It is possible that the whole text may be preserved in one of the Gnostic manuscripts found at Nag-Hammadi, and it seems unnecessary to add to Crum's commentary before the new Gnostic manuscripts have been published.

(a) Recto(?): (margin)Verso(?): (margin)

1	ϸϸϸ[	8	τ]οοτκ
	πϸω[μα		]γεμντ
	καεηυ[	10	]χε...
	κονω[		]eye
5	ατνο[βε	12	]εδεκ
6	τα[		(broken)
	(broken)		

(b) Recto: (margin)Verso: (margin)

	Δ	μα	μβ
14	τβom ἡλογικον' em	35	νοκ ἰωζαννης' αἰχο
15	πατσοωνε εβολ		ος χε αἰαρχεισθαἰ εν
	ἡεμπεσαν αν πε		νογαρχη ενανους'
	παἰ' αλλα πεσαν π[ε]		[α]ἰχωκ εβολ νουγνω
	σιγη' επειδη net		ϸϸ μνομυστηρι
	em παραδισος ἡτπε	40	ον εϷηη' αυω zen
20	τηρου ἡευωοοπ' ευ		συμβολον' ἡτετμε'
	τοοβε' ενουκαρω		εαυπροτρεπε' ἡμοἰ
	τηρου ἡετναχιβε'		εβολ εἰτη τεκαγαπη'
	εβολ ἡεητη' ααααα		τουαυ δε on εϷνουκ'
	πε ἡλογικον' εαυ	45	χε εκεζερεμηνε
25	σουν ἡτηρη' ααααα		ναἰ εμπεκουωυ ε[τ]
	ωβε ἡττ ἡβom ενου		βε καἰν' ἡν αβελ χε ε
	καρω' εἰεεηητε' αἰ		αα(αε) τβε ἡτυπος α καἰν

28	ζερχηνευε νακ ω	49	εωτβ ναβελ' ηπαϊ δε
	ιωζαννης' ετβε αδα ^(sic)	50	ματε' αν αλλα' ε[υ]χ ^(sic) η
30	αμ' μη πιπαρδιςος		νου ιμοου ειτην πεντ[α]
	μηπιφοу ηωην ενοу		ωαχε' ημμαу εχχω
	συμβολον ηοερον'		ιμοc χ'ε εχτων' αβ ^(sic)
33	ητεριςωτη εναϊ α		βελ' πεκcon' καιη
	(margin)	55	δε' αφαρνα' εχχω μ
		56 ^(sic)	μοc χε εμη' ανοκ πε πζου(ριτ)
			(margin)

56. μοc added by a second hand.

(c)	Recto:	(margin)	Verso:	(margin)
58	[...]μα· ε[]		75	[...]ηχ[]
	[]·ιμ[]			[]οιηε[]
60	[]+ετη[]			[]με[]
	[]αυ'ερο[]			[τουωω]δε on ε[χ]νοуκ[]
	[]μμαу·η[]			[χε εκε]ζερχη[νευε]
	[]ητοуε[]	80		[ηαι ε]τβε μελ[χιζε]
	[]εcтo[]			[δεκ μ]η αυχο[oc εт]
65	[]μοc· ау[]			[βηηт η]χε ου[ατειωт πε]
	[...]εζοуη·εη[]			[εουαт]μμαу ε[μпоу]
	ηoc мπεηλη[ρωμα]			[ωαχε]ετεηге[ηεα]
	εχχηκ εβολ ει[сζηη]	85		[¹⁶ ε]μηтηαρχ[η ηζοоу]
	те' α'ζερχηηευ[ε]			[εμ]ηтеηζαη ηωηη[ε εη]
70	ηακ' ω ιωζανηη[с ε]			[т]ηтωηη επωηη[ε μ]
	тβε ηωζε μηт[εη]			[ηη]ουτε· εηωооη[η]
	κ'ιβωтoc· μη[]			[o]γηηηβ· ωαβολ· αυχοo[с]
73	[...]ηт[]	90		[o]η· εтβηηηт· χε тi[]
	(broken)	91		[]μηεμ[]
				(broken)

78f. For the lacunae cf. lines 44f..

82 - 89. An exact quotation from Hebrews VII,3; see above number 17 and note there on Heb.VII,3. In lines 84 - 85 the manuscript probably read ετεγρε[νεα λη][ω μντηρχη (propter spatium).

Translation: (1)

(lines 1 - 6)]the body(σῶμα)[...]naked[.....]without sin[.....](2)

(lines 14 - 56)]the spiritual(? λογικός) power, ere it (she) had been revealed, its (her) name was not this, but its (her) name was Σιγῇ. For(ἐπειδὴ) all they that (were) in the heavenly Paradise (παράδεισος) were sealed in silence. But such as shall partake thereof(3) will become spiritual(? λογ.), having known all; they shall seal the five powers in silence. Lo, I have explained(ἐξηγήσας) unto thee, o Johannes, concerning Adam and Paradise(παρ.) and the Five Trees, in an intelligible allegory(σύμβολον, ροερὸν). When I, Johannes, heard these(things), I said: 'I have made a good beginning (ἄρξασθαι, ἀρχή); I have completed knowledge(γνῶσις) and a hidden mystery(μυστήριον)(4) and allegories(σύμβ.) of truth, having been encouraged(πεστέπειν) by Thy love(ἀγάπη)'.
.....

Now I desire further to ask Thee that Thou wouldst explain(ἐξμ.) unto me in Thy will(5) concerning Cain and Abel: according to what fashion(τύπος)(6) did Cain slay Abel? And not this only, but he was asked by him (that) spoke with him(7), saying, Where is Abel, thy brother? But Cain denied(ἀρξασθαι) saying, Am(μή) I the keeper(8)
.....

(lines 67 - 72)]of the fullness(πληρωμα)(9) he (or: it) being completed. Lo, I have explained(ἐξμ.) unto thee, O Johannes, concerning Noah and[his(?)]ark(κίβωτος) and[.....]

(lines 78 - 90)]Now[I desire] further to[ask Thee that Thou wouldst] explain(ἐξμ.) [unto me] concerning Melchizedek. Is it not(μή) said [concerning him]:(10) being without [father, being without] mother, his generation(γενεά)[was not mentioned], having no beginning [of days],

having no end of life, [being] like to the Son of God, being a priest for ever. It is also said concerning him: ...[.....

- (1) The translation is that published by Crum in J.T.S. XLIV p.178, except where my text differs from that given by him.
- (2) Crum notes that this presumably relates to Adam and Eve and the Fall; but lines 10ff. almost suggest $\chi\epsilon[\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\ \tau\epsilon\rho\mu\eta\eta]\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\ [\eta\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\tau\epsilon\mu\epsilon\lambda\chi\iota\zeta]\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\kappa$ cf. lines 78ff..
- (3) 'Paradise, or the tree of knowledge? Either would be masculine; Crum.
- (4) Crum compares Rom.XV,14; I Cor.XIII,2.
- (5) Crum translates 'in Thy love', but notes 'More literally 'in Thy will' i.e.if Thou wilt; but it can be taken as equivalent to the phrase in line 43'.
- (6) Crum notes 'Lit.'Concerning, because of, what $\tau\acute{o}\pi\omicron\varsigma$ '. I am not certain of the meaning'.
- (7) Crum already noted that $\pi\epsilon\nu\alpha\chi\epsilon$ was probably a mistake for $\pi\epsilon\nu\tau\alpha\chi\alpha\chi\epsilon$, in fact, it seems that a second hand has added the $\tau\alpha\chi$ in the margin, as indicated above.
- (8) Crum notes 'The Sa'idic of Gen.IV,9 is not preserved. 'Denied' not found in any version.'
- (9) Crum notes ' $\pi\lambda\eta\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$ (if not $\pi\lambda\eta\theta\omicron\varsigma$?) presumably the biblical 'fullness', rather than the gnostic abode of the aeons.'
- (10) Hebrews VII,3; see note on line 82 above.

FRAGMENT

(f 13) $3\frac{3}{4}$ by $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches, complete. Parchment. Written in square uncial of the sixth or seventh century. Lines and columns are ruled. The fragment is practically illegible; I have tried infra-red rays with little success. The legible part contains a quotation from Deut.VI,4:

$[\mu\mu\omega|\tau\eta\ \lambda\gamma\omega\ \gamma\epsilon\eta\epsilon\ \omicron\eta|\chi\epsilon\ \epsilon\omega\tau\mu\ \pi\iota\eta\lambda]$ (margin)

FRAGMENT

(g 41; further fragments are in d 172 and d 183). Papyrus. Written in rounded uncials of probably the seventh century.

Recto(?): ———→ (broken)

1 η]νοϋτε [
]—... —... —

2 [ταλ τε]τεπροφητι[α](^l)

3 [N]πεπροφητη[ς](^l)
]—... —[

4]εε!]

5 []τωβε[

(broken)

Verso(?): ↑ (broken)

7]ωω νοϋσοϋ[

8].ταζε πραστ[
(broken)

55 - 63 VARIA

HISTORICAL CHART

(f 14) 4½ by 4 inches, incomplete. Papyrus. Written in non-literary uncials of probably the eighth century, see plate III,7. The dialect shows several features found in the non-literary texts.

Fragment of one page described by Crum in Petrie: Gizeh and Rifeh (double volume) p.41: 'Part of a leaf preserves the only example, I believe, in Coptic of those preliminary reckonings, familiar in Byzantine chronicles. They most resemble those in Eutychius (Gelzer: S.J.Africanus, II p.410) but are generally different or erroneous'. For Eutychius see E.Pocock: Contextio Gemmarum, Eutychii Patriarchae Alexandrii Annales (Oxoniae 1658) esp.pp.295-324. The Latin text was reprinted in Migne: P.G. lll, cf. especially p.1159. On the verso of the fragment is a text probably written by the same scribe, but with no apparent connection to the historical chart on the recto.

Recto:

(broken)

- ↑
 πτολεμεος φιλοπατωρ[πτολεμεος]
 ψωτηρ μνητὴ νρομπε [πτολεμεος αλεξανδρ]
 ρος εμε νρομπε // η[πτολεμεος διονυσος χουτ]
 ψίτε νρομπε // πτολ[εμεος]
 5 κλευπατρα τεβωε[ε]ρε μ[]
 περο εμε μν ωομτε ουδος[νρομπε πεχ]
 ρονος τηρ ννερωμπε χιντ[α αλεξανδρος πμκε]
 δων μογουτ νδαρίος ηπερ[ος ωατμεε χουχμνηε νρο]
 μπε ναυκοустος σεϊρε νχο[νρομπε]
 10 εντμεε χουχμνηε νρομπε ναυ[κοустος αυχο επεν]
 χοεϊс ιс πεχс // ωаре τηπε οη ν[νερωμπε χιν αδαμ]
 ωαπεχο μπεχс ете таїте тμее[χοухμνηε νρομπε]
 ναυκοустος ^(ne)ωαεrтiou νωο μ[ν του νωε νρομπε //]
 διβεριος кесар χουτχομτε νρ[ομπε]
 15 тiсma εїтн .[
 αυσταυρ[ου
 17 εтве па[

(broken)

5. τεβωε[ε]ρε for τεωωεερε, see chapter VIII par.121b.
 7. νερωμπε for νρομπε, see chapter VIII par.88.
 10. χουχμνηε for χουτωμνηε, see chapter VIII par.116.
 13. ωαεrтiou for ωαυεrтiou, see chapter VIII par.17.
 14. χουτχομτε for χουτωομτε, see chapter VIII par.119.

Verso:

(broken)

- 19 τας[
 20 πεττωε α[.]εc ναουων νεβ[
 απωηρε εωтп ерон̄ ненк[
 απνοντε каау нан εβολ ου[
 23 ηπαντωκρατωρ +
 > ————— >> ————— E

- 24 ἀρίτακλῆν μονκ νεμᾶι[
 25 ἐκο νκοῦι νεητ ντίζε[
 26 ἀρί παμееεε ἀνοκ θεοδ[ωρος
 27 []τα[
 28 μοc зη ттапро Ѡ[εϣκω μ]
 29 μοc χε ουπεταζεp[ατγ (?)
 30 πεтсωουε. Ѡ εϣε. ουνεϣω[
 31 ყроут. петс[

(broken)

24. μονκ for μονκ? Cf. chapter VIII par.56.

27. []τα , perhaps the lacuna was left blank.

Translation:

(lines 1 - 18)⁽¹⁾]Ptolemeos Philopator [seventeen(?) years; Ptolemeos]Psoter fifteen years; [...(?)⁽²⁾Ptolemeos] Alexandros forty years; [Ptolemeos Dionysios(?) twenty-nine years; Ptolemeos [...] Cleopatra his daughter [...] the king forty-three and a half [years⁽³⁾ ...(?)] The whole time(χρόνος) of years since [Alexander the] Macedonian killed Darios the Persian until the twenty-eighth year of Augustos make [...] years⁽⁴⁾.] In the twenty-eighth year⁽⁵⁾ of Augustos [our] Lord Jesus Christ [was born.] Now the number of [years from Adam] until the birth of Christ which is the [twenty-eighth year] of Augustos make five thousand and [five hundred(?)]⁽⁶⁾ years.] Tiberios Cesar twenty-three years [...] ...(?)[... Jesus Christ] was crucified(σταυρων)⁽⁷⁾ [...] ... (?)[.....

(lines 19 - 31)]he that is troubled(?) ... she⁽⁸⁾ shall open [...] the child⁽⁹⁾ has reconciled for us our [...] God has forgiven us [...] the Almighty(παντοκρετωρ).

Be so kind(χρηστη) and ... with me [...] you being of little heart thus [...] Remember me Theodōros [...].

[..... which God(?) spoke] by the mouth of [...] saying⁽¹⁰⁾:] Who

is he that standeth(?)[...] he that gathereth or(?) ...(?)[...]he
being glad; he that[.....

- (1) For lines 1 - 11 cf. the summary of Eutychius:

Epocha VIII, ab excessu Alexandri ad Christum natum, annorum 319

ann.

Philippus (qui et Ptolomaeus) Aridaeus	7
Ptolomaeus Alexander (Nicanor)	21
Ptolomaeus Lagus	29
Ptolomaeus Philadelphus	26
Ptolomaeus Euergetes I	25
Ptolomaeus Philopator	17
Ptolomaeus Epiphanes	24
Ptolomaeus Philometor	20
Ptolomaeus Euergetes II	23
Ptolomaeus Soter I	20
Ptolomaeus Soter II	15
Ptolomaeus Alexander qui et Jasphis Philopator 12	10
vel Ptolomaeus Phosas dies 18 pro quibus	
putatur anni	1
Ptolomaeus Dionysus	29
Cleopatra	22
inde ad Christum	30

- (2) Perhaps: 'From ... to Pt.]Alexandros ...'.

- (3) For lines 4 - 6 cf. Syncell.p.549,14: Πτολεμαῖος ὁ φιλομήτωρ πρῶτον
Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τὴν θυγατέρα Κλεοπάτρην δοὺς πρὸς γάμον ἔπειτα διὰ τὴν
Ἀμμανίου τοῦ στρατηγοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐπιβουλὴν συμμαχεῖ Δημητρίῳ κατ' αὐτοῦ.....

- (4) Dr. Barns supplied the lacunae in lines 6 and 7. For the time from
Alexander to the birth of Christ Eutychius reckons 319 years, cf.
note 1 above; the present list is evidently different.

- (5) So also Eutychios.

- (6) 5500 is the reckoning of Eutychios.
 (7) Lines 14 - 16 evidently contained a reference to the year in Tiberius' reign when Christ was crucified.
 (8) Perhaps the Virgin.
 (9) Evidently the child Jesus.
 (10) I am unable to identify this quotation, presumably from the Old Testament.

LIST OF CANONICAL BOOKS

(f 46) 2 by 6 inches, incomplete. Papyrus. Written in rounded uncial of probably the eighth century.

→	(broken)
1	]φαιος παυλ[ος
2	πρ[ο]ερωματος νταυσε[α] ενεν[
3	]προσκορινθιους ταυρη ενταυσε[α]
4	πρ[ο]ε ^ς κω[ρ]ινθιους ταυσε[α]ντε ντ[α]υσε[α]
	(broken)

Translation:

.....]the holy(ἁγιος) Paulos[...]to the Romans which he wrote being in [....]to the Corinthians, the first one, which he wrote[.....]to the Corinthians, the second one, which[he wrote

EPITAPH

(f 22) Written in heavy square uncials of the eighth century on the verso of 386. Probably a writing-exercise.

→	(margin)
1	πνουτε π[.]θος αυω
2	μαρωμε ηη ετε νουνε

3 ΠΕΤΝΑΝΟΥ ΝΙΜ ΜΕΝ Π

4 ΕΥΙΩΤ ΝΑΚΑΘΟC Ν

(margin, sic!)

1. π[α]ρ[α]θoc is evidently intended, but there is only room for two letters.

2. ΝΟΥ for ΝΟΥΥ; similarly line 3 ΠΕΤΝΑΝΟΥ for ΠΕΤΝΑΝΟΥΥ, see chapter VIII par.56.

Translation:

God the good(ἄγαθός) and lover of men to whom belongs every good thing together with his good(ἄγ.) Father⁽¹⁾ (sic, expl.).

(1) Description of Christ, (Barns).

58

PRAYER

(f 12) 4¼ by 3¾ inches, complete. Parchment. Written in uncials of probably the eighth century. On the verso 61, earlier. Cf. Crum's note on this prayer in Petrie: Gizeh and Rifeh (double volume) p.40.

(margin)

† ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΑΡΙ ΠΜΕ

ΕΥ ΜΠΑΠΑ ΠΑΠ

ΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΡΜΟΥΑΞΕ

ΝΤΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΟΠΥ Ε

5 ΕΟΥΝ ΜΝ ΝΕCΟΟΥ

ΕΤΞΙΟΥΝΑΜ ΝΤΟΥ

ΜΝ ΝΩΗΡΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ

ΜΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΔΔΑΜ

9 ΔΑΜΗΝ †

(margin)

2. ΠΜΕΕΥ for ΠΜΕΕΥΕ, cf. chapter VIII par.20.

Translation:

† God, remember Papa Papnoute the man of the Oasis⁽¹⁾, may God reckon

him with the sheep upon the right⁽²⁾, him and all the children of our father Adam.

(1) Crum (l.c.) notes: 'presumably the Great Oasis!'

(2) Cf. Matth. XXV, 33.

AMULET ?

(f 36) 4½ by 1½ inches, incomplete. Papyrus. Written in small uncial of probably the eighth century.

A fragment mentioning the saviour, Maria the Virgin and containing the sign $\overline{\eta\theta}$ for 'Amen'. Either an Amulet or a series of prayers.

	↑	(broken)	→	(broken)
		]\overline{\eta\eta}\alpha\chi	15	]\alpha
		]\epsilon\chi\overline{\mu}		]\eta\rho\eta
		]\eta\omega\overline{\eta}\epsilon		]\omicron\sigma\mu
		]\dots		]\phi\epsilon\eta\epsilon\varsigma
5		\tau\eta\rho\overline{\eta}\epsilon\iota\overline{\eta}\alpha		]\epsilon\iota\varsigma\tau\upsilon\lambda\lambda\omicron\varsigma
		]\chi\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\epsilon\tau	20	]\rho\eta\upsilon\epsilon\gamma\tau\omega
		]\omega\alpha\alpha\overline{\nu}\tau\epsilon		\omega\alpha\epsilon\overline{\eta}\epsilon\overline{\eta\theta}
		]\epsilon\tau\omicron\iota'\overline{\mu}\pi		]\mu\alpha\rho\iota\alpha\tau\pi\alpha\rho\overline{\eta\theta}
		]\epsilon\eta\overline{\mu}\mu\alpha		]\pi\epsilon\omega\tau\eta\rho
10		]\cdot\overline{\eta\theta}\cdot		]\rho\overline{\eta}\alpha\rho\chi\iota
		]\omicron\sigma\omicron\overline{\nu}	25	]\tau\iota\tau\omicron\gamma\epsilon
		\eta\epsilon\varsigma\lambda\alpha\varsigma		]\gamma\alpha\chi\rho\mu
13		]\delta\epsilon\pi\overline{\eta}	27	]\omega\epsilon\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda
		(broken)		(broken)

6. $\chi\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\epsilon\tau$ for $\tau\omega\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\epsilon\tau$, see chapter VIII par. 116.

HOROSCOPE(?) IN BOHAIRIC

(f 61) 4½ by 4½ inches, incomplete. Papyrus. Written in a non-literary hand, perhaps of the sixth or seventh centuries, see plate IV, 1.

A fragment probably from a Horoscope (Crum). The text is of some interest as it is written in Bohairic and is probably earlier than the eighth century, cf. chapter IX.

→ (margin?)

ΦΥΛΑΚΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΙΕ ΘΡΟΝΟΣ]
]ΟΥΕΡΕ ΝΕΥΩΗΡΙ ΕΛΦΗΤΕΝ[]
]ΥΝΑΜΑΣ ΕΤΕΥ[]
]ΛΕΒΕ ΟΝ ΕΧΩΟΥ ΝΑΥ
 5 ΠΟ]ΛΕΜΟΣ ΕΥΕΧΙΜΙ[?]
]ΑΤΕΥΕΕΡ ΑΤΡΩ[ΜΙ(9)]
]ΕΦΦΟΖΕΝΦΙΟΜ[]
]Ε ΛΒ ΙΕ ΜΖ ΙΕ ΝΖ ΕΥΕΜ=]
]ΕΥΟΥΑΔΒ ΕΠΕΚΑΤΕΝΤ ΝΑΙ[]
 10]..Ε.ΤΑΜ[]
 (broken)

61

MAGICAL CHARM

(f 12) 4½ by 3½ inches, incomplete. Parchment. Uncials, probably of the seventh or eighth centuries. On the verso 58, later.

A fragment from a magical charm. The text is mostly obscure.

(broken)

[]ΚΩ ΠΡΟΙ.[
 ΕΖΑΙ ΝΠΑΙΑΤΥ ΝΠΡ.ΜΕ ΩΑΝΤΕΚΤΑΖΕ[
 ΧΕΩΒ ΝΜ ΕΤΥΝΑΔΥ ΝΑΣ ΟΤ ΝΝ[
 ΛΑΚΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΜΩΡΟΥ ΕΠΕΣΜΟΤ[
 5 ΔΕΗΙΟΥΩ ✱

6

ΗΜΟΥΚΡΑΝΙΟΝ ΝΘΥΣΙΑΣΤΗΡ[ΙΟΝ

(below this magical signs, then broken)

2. ΗΠΑΪΑΤΥ, perhaps ΗΠΑΪΑΤΥ.

4. Evidently φυλακτηριον.

6. ΗΜΟΥΚΡΑΝΙΟΝ for ἡμικράνιον; this is sometimes found in magical texts, see Archiv für Religionswiss. 24, 176 (Crum).

62

MAGICAL ?

(g 49) 1½ by 2 inches, incomplete. Papyrus. Uncials.

Obscure fragment, probably magical.

→

(broken)

1

]ιμ[]

ΝΤ]ΟΚ ΠΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ

]μηρ

]μαθδ: αμῖνλ

5

]χωκ ναῖ ποου

6

⁽¹⁾
παου]ωυ τηρηγ

(margin)

6. τηρηγ for τηργ, see chapter VIII par.2.

63

MAGICAL ?

(g 79) Papyrus. Obscure fragment, probably magical.

(broken)

1

]. ιβ̄ . . . αλ̄ . ζ̄ . [

2

]χετ. εμνεμωνε[

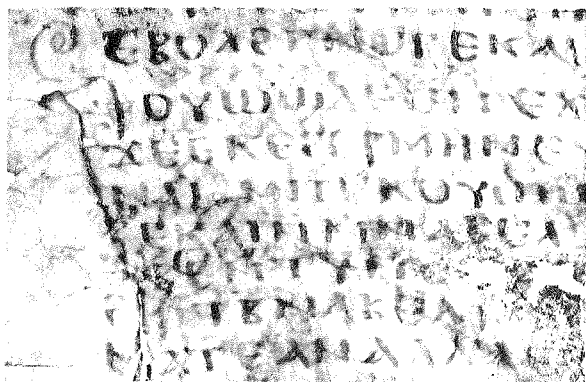
3

]βρ[.]ε ντεκα[

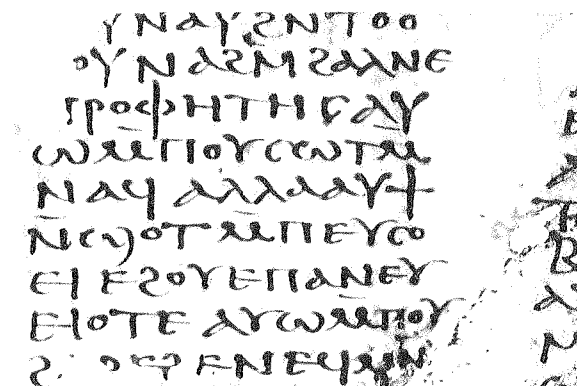
4

]. ιᾱ . ιᾱε . αβ̄ [

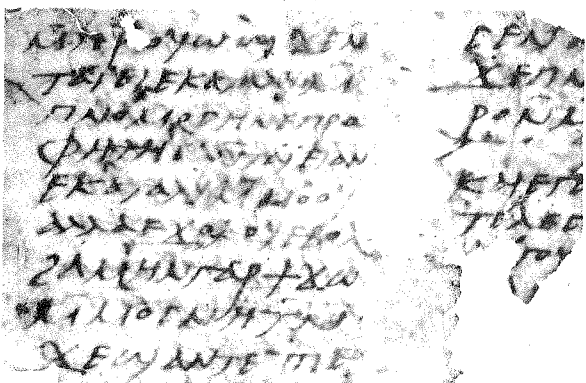
(broken)



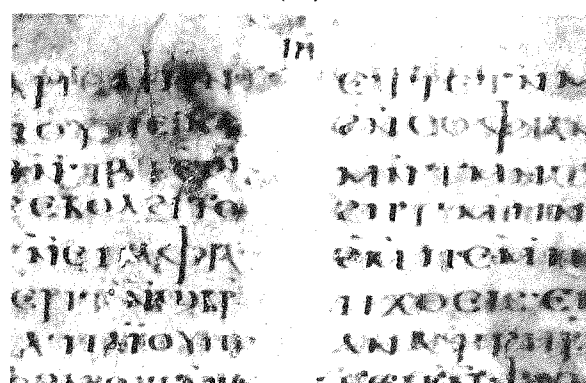
1 52 (IV)



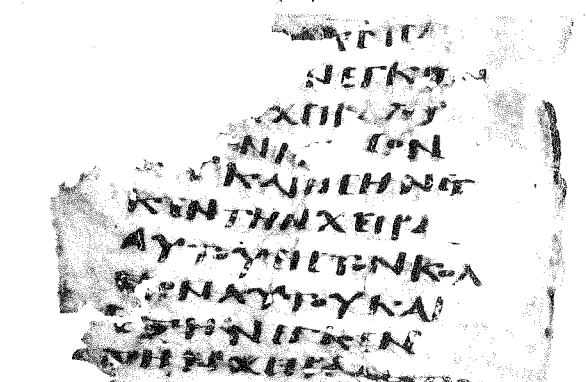
2 7 (IV)



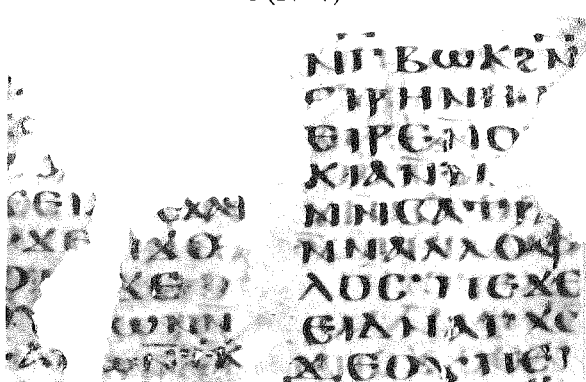
3 25 (IV)



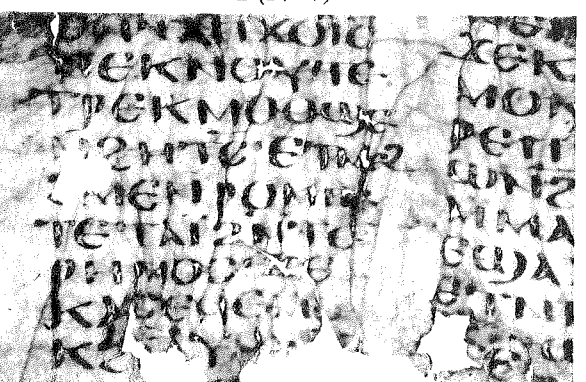
4 18 (IV-V)



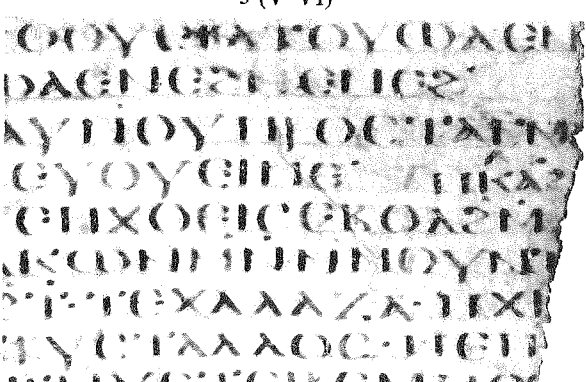
5 2 (IV-V)



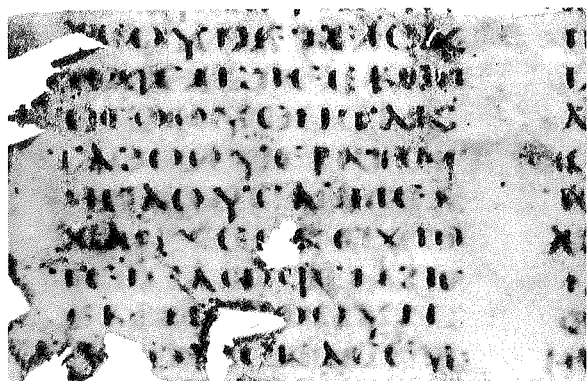
6 5 (V-VI)



7 3 (V-VI)

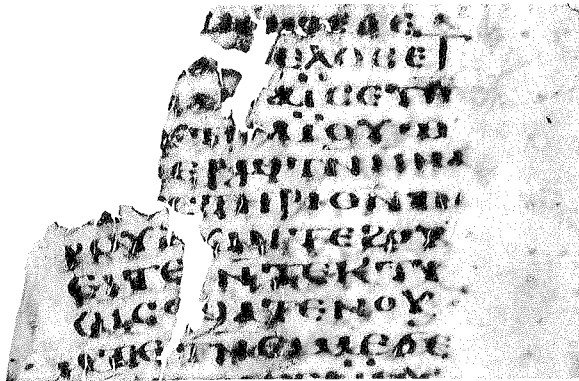


8 9 (V-VI)



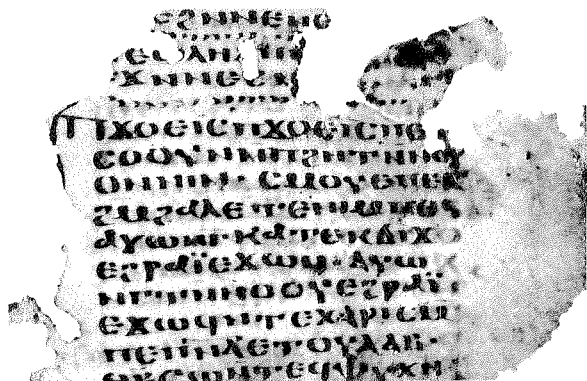
†

1 (VI)



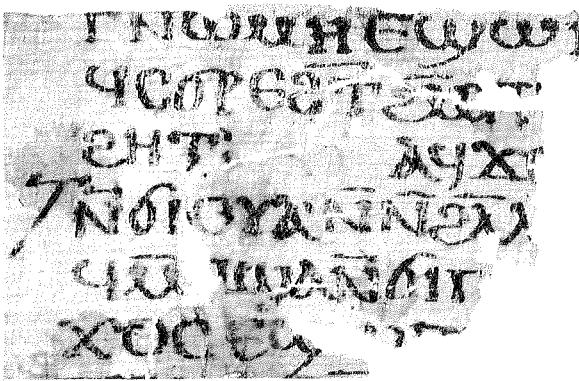
2

27 (VI)



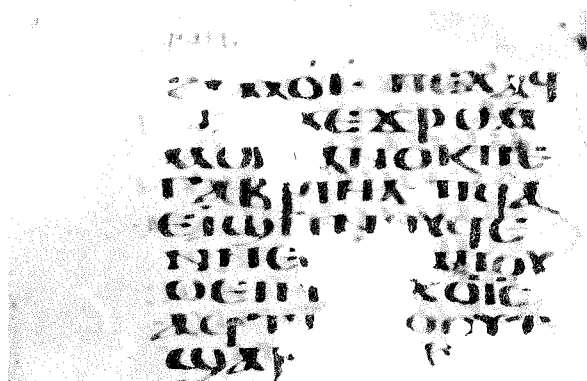
3

30 (VII)



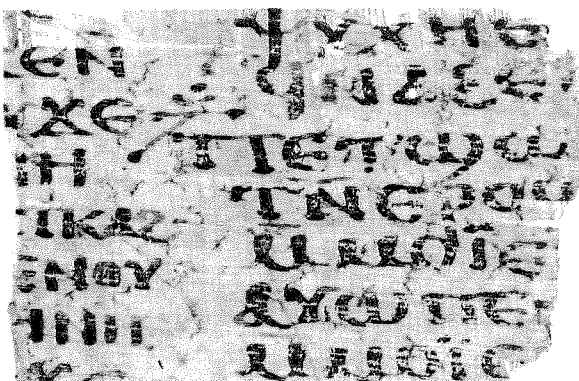
4

32 (VII)



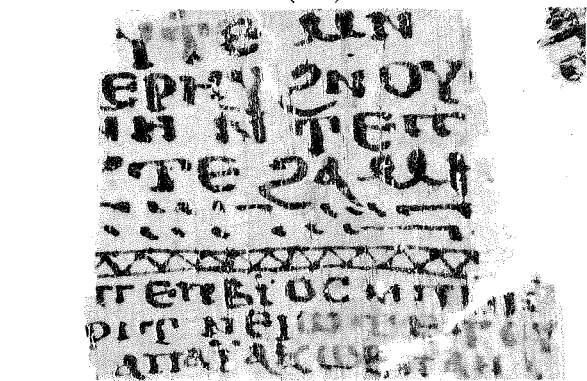
5

37 (VII)



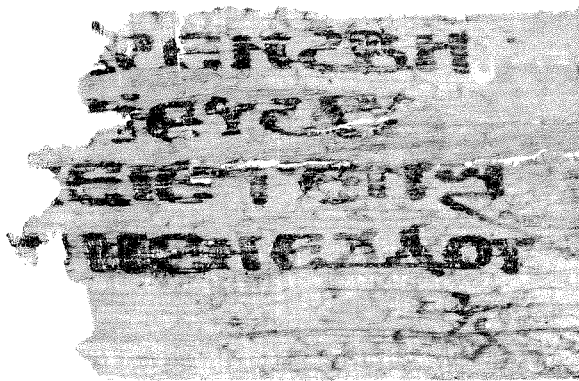
6

12 (VII)



7

36 (VII-VIII)

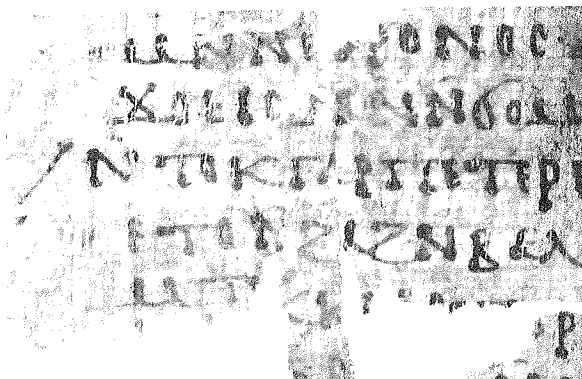


8

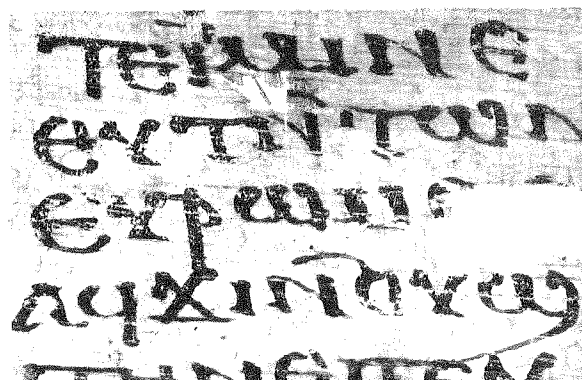
38 (VI-VII)



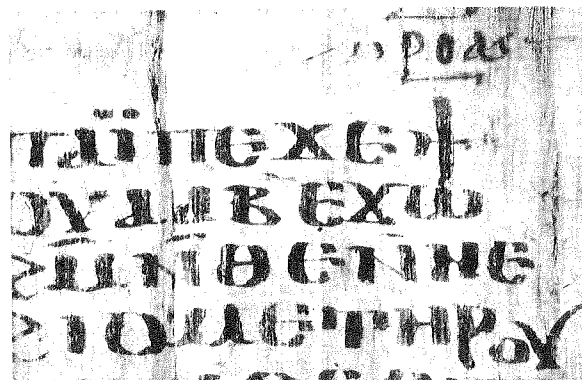
6B (VII-VIII)



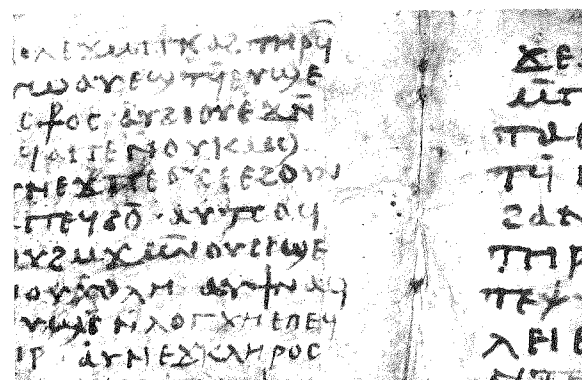
28 (VII)



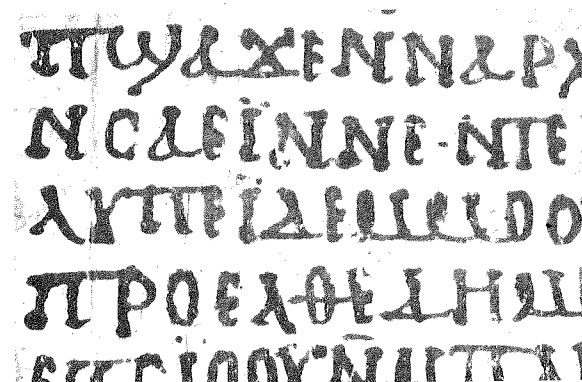
31 (VII-VIII)



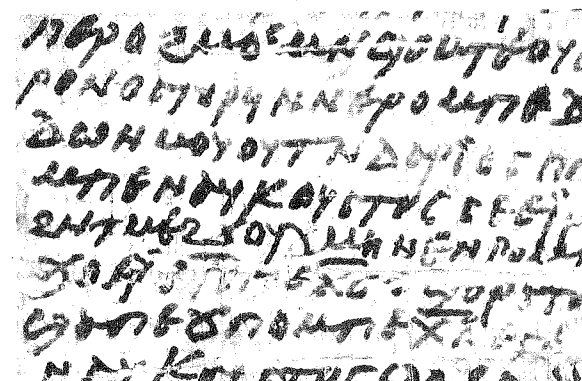
46 (VII-VIII)



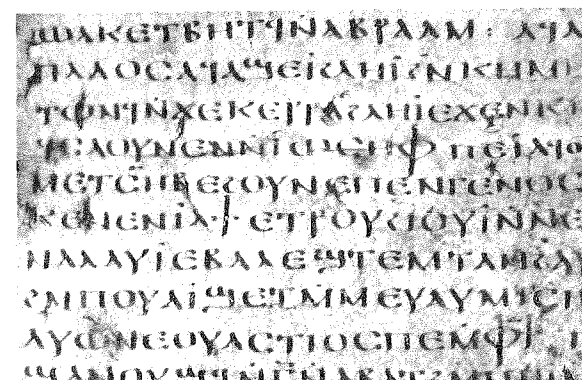
49 (VIII)



41 (VIII)



55 (VIII)



Chapter VIII App. II (IV-V)

BALA'IZAH

VOLUME II

BALA'IZAH

COPTIC TEXTS FROM DEIR EL-BALA'IZAH IN UPPER EGYPT

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(B) Non-Literary Texts.

100 - 179	Legal Documents.
180 - 285	Letters.
286 - 346	Lists and Accounts.
347 - 357	Fragments showing place-names.
358 - 394	Lists of names.
395 - 399	Varia.
400 - 401	Two Protocols.
402 - 410	Additional Texts.

APPOINTMENT OF A SUPERIOR

(d 24; d 113c,d; d 115a) 4 by 9½ in. Ligatured; same hand as 111.

On this and the following document cf. chapter V p.30.



(margin)

- 1 ϣ ΠΔΙΚΑΙΟΝ ΝΗΜΟΝΑСТ^H ΕΤ[ΟΥ]ΔΑΒ ΝΑΠΑ ΑΠΟΛΛΩ ΖΗΝΝΟΛ^Λ ΝCΒΕΕΤ
- 2 ΤΠΟΛΙC ΖΙΤΟΟΤΝ ΑΝΟΝ Ν[ΕΤ]ΕΥΠΟΓΡΑΦΕ ΖΑΡΑΤC ΝΤΙΖΟΜΟ^Λ
- 3 ΕΝCΖΑΙ ΝΑΠΑ ΑΜΜΩΝ[Ε ΖΜ ΠΕΙ]ΜΟΝΑCΤ^H ΝΟΥΩΤ ΧΕ ΕΠΕΙΔ[Η]
- 4 ΝΤΑΥΤΟΩΚ ΝΕΙΩΤ ΕΠΜΟΝΑCΤ^H ΤΕΚΔΙΟΙΚΕΙ ΜΜΟΥ ΝΖΝΖΟΥ ΖΗΠΤΡ[.]

(broken)

Verso: (docket) —→

6 + ομο^Λ γεν^Εαμ^Ε ϣ τ^ο μον^ν (space) αβ^ν απολλω^(sic) ϣ αμμωνιω

4.ειωτ επμοναcτ^H presumably for ειωτ νημοναcτ^H, cf. chapter VIII par.82d.

τεκδιοικει for νηδιοικει, see ch. VIII par.138. τεκ-is certain;

it is not possible to read τακ- (for ντακ-) here.

6. ϣ doubtful (for υπε^Ερ).

ϣ for δ.α.

Translation:

ϣ The δίκαιον⁽¹⁾ of the holy monastery (μοναστήριον) of Apa Apollo in the nome (νομός) of the town (πόλις) Sbeht⁽²⁾ through us who subscribe below this agreement (ὁμολογία); we are writing to Apa Ammone⁽³⁾ [in this] same monastery (μον.) saying: Since you were appointed superior⁽⁴⁾ of the monastery (μον.) that you should administer (διοικεῖν) it for some days⁽⁵⁾; when[.....(broken)].

Docket: (in Greek): +Agreement executed concerning the monastery of Apa Apollo through⁽⁶⁾ Ammonios.

(1) See chapter V pp.31f..

(2) See chapter III p.15.

(3) This person recurs elsewhere, see Index and cf.p.30 note 2.

(4) Lit.: 'father', see chapter V p.33.

- (5) It seems remarkable that a person should be appointed to be superior for only a few days, but grammatically this is the only translation possible here. As Apa Amnone recurs elsewhere as superior it is probable that the present document was drawn up to make his appointment permanent; cf. 312 note 18 and chapter V p.30.
- (6) Since this document deals with the appointment of Apa Amnone, it seems strange that he should have executed it.

101

APPOINTMENT OF A SUPERIOR ?

(f 84) Perhaps same hand as 102. For this document cf. chapter V p.30.

↑
(broken)

1]Κ ΕΩΣ ΕΙΩΤ ΕΚΕ[

2]ΟΥΩΜ ΛΑΔΥ ΕΝ[

3]ΕΠΕΙΜΑΝΟΥΩΣ[

4]ΕΝΤΑΚΧΟΟΥ ΕΒ[ΟΛ

(traces of two more lines)

Translation:

.....] as superior⁽¹⁾, you shall[.....you shall not (?)] eat anything[...
..]this dwellingplace⁽²⁾[.....] which you have spent⁽³⁾[.....

(1) Lit.: 'father'; see chapter V p.33 and Index.

(2) For this word see Crum, Dictionary p.508b.

(3) Alternatively: '.....] which you have sent away[.....'.

102

REPAYMENT OF A DEBT

(d 20; e 13) 16 by 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. complete. Ligatured, see Plate IV,2; perhaps same hand as 101 and 155.

————→ (sic)

(margin)

1 + ΠΔΙΓΕΟΝ ΜΠΜΟ[ΝΑCΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΜΠΖΑ]

- 2 Ἰός ἀπα ἀπολλῶ [εἰτοοτ ἀνοκ α]
παγῖρε ππρ̄ε· αὐ[ω ππρ̄ο μν πσε]
ἐπε ννοβ̄ ἵσν[ηυ τηρού μμμο]
5 να[στ]ηριον ἵ[ε]ραι ναπα αμρου πωα]
λί[ο]υ πετο[]
δε ἐπῖδῃ ἡ[ταν]ερχρία ἡψμ[ο]ύν
νεολοκ̄ο ἡ[ν]ο[υ]γ̄ τάρντααυ εζραῖ
ἡδυμοσίον μμμοναστηρίον· α
10 ἡῖ ἀνπαράκαλι μμοκ· ἀπεκ
να ταζον ακτααυ ναη μποου ἡ
ζοου· ετε παῖ πε соυμντασε ἡ
пeвот ἡψῖρ· ἡτίρωμπε ταῖ
τρίτης νδεκδιάνος· πδυν δε τн
15 ψοоп νακ νεετεμος τάρνμαακ
μμοου· ενευχариста соου ἡν ἡζο[υ]
τάρн·таау νακ наρψῖн зῡπикар
пос παῖ· ἡπρος ψμοуη νεртоу ἡν
сн̄те ἡοῖπε ευχπαεῖт· τοут естн̄^(sic)
20 пр̄[.та]ῖου νεртоу ευχπαῖт· αὐω
[пкесн]ау он· ἡζολοκ̄ тамаак он μ
μμοу он прос θε ἡψανбн̄тоу он ер
ψан πноуте оуωψ тнбн̄ еψ̄ω тар̄маак^(sic)
μμοу· прос пψаар етасωлп мн̄те
25 ке те енамаак μμοу он наρψῖн̄
καταθε он таῖтῖ наκ запгесоу ете
παῖ πε ψμοуη ευχпait μн̄ сн̄те ἡοῖпе
εῡωρ̄х̄ оуη наκ ἡ̄с̄м̄н̄ т̄иас̄ф̄ал̄ӣа наκ
ε̄н̄стоῖ̄ ерос· + ἀνοκ ἀπα^(sic) ἀпкр̄̄ре πпре
30 αὐω πпρ̄ο т̄исто̄ῑх̄· е̄т̄иас̄ф̄ал̄ӣ н̄е̄ ес̄с̄н̄е̄
μмос + ἀνοκ αβρᾱα^(sic) ре̄ αὐω п̄во̄ῑθ̄ос̄
т̄истоῖ̄ + ἀνοκ ἀπα φωка т̄истоῖ̄· + ἀνοκ

- 33 αμμω^(sic)νε^X τιστο^Xι + ανοκ απα θω
- 34 μα^(sic)ς τιστο^Xι. + ανοκ απα αβραε^Xαμ ο^Xν
- 35 π^Xπ^Xρε τιστ^Xοι. +] ανοκ απα κολ^(sic)θε^X στιστο^Xι
- 36 (different hand) (space)
(margin)]Δ^(sic)ι-[

Verso: (docket) —→ (sic)

37 + τας^Xφα^Xλια^X να^Xπα^X αμ^Xρο^Xυ^X π^Xγα^Xλι^Xο^Xυ^X € ζ^Xι^Xτο^Xο^Xτ^Xη^X[

1. Διγεον for Δικαιον cf. line 3 ἀπα γίρε, line 26 εαγγελεοο^Xυ cf. chapter VIII par.71
- 1 - 4. lacunae supplied from parallel documents (100, 103 - 112).
3. ἀπα γίρε for απα κυρε cf. note on line 1.
4. ννο⁶ for νννο⁶ see chapter VIII par.80m.
5. lacuna supplied from the Verso.
9. this spelling of δημοσιον recurs in a small fragment d 119b. cf. chapter VIII par.36.
14. νδεκδιανος for ινδικτιονος, similarly number 6, colophon(?) lines 3 - 4 ντεκτιανος. This spelling is found elsewhere e.g. Krall XLVIII,8 ντεκδιανος.
16. μ^ν the Greek μέν.
18. μ^νρος so also in V.C.46 (Ashmunein) α^Xισ^Xμ^Xν^Xτο^Xυ^X ν^Xπ^Xρο^Xς ο^Xυ^Xρ^Xτο^Xυ^X... and Rev-illout: Actes et contrats, Papyrus 2 du Louvre ε^Xτ^Xρα^Xε^Xα^Xρε^Xε^X τ^Xα^Xε^Xϊ^Xρε ν^Xπ^Xρο^Xς θ^Xε^X ε^Xτ^Xη^Xε^X ε^Xπ^Xϊ^Xχα^Xρ^Xτε^Xν. Cf. also the very common μ^Xπα^Xρα at this period and later and the archaic ν^Xγα^Xρ, ν^Xδε etc., see Ep. I p.251 esp.note 8, and in particular chapter VIII par.79A.
- 19,20,27. χ^Xπα^Xει^Xτ, χ^Xπα^Xι^Xτ. Crum: Dictionary p.779a cites this as being the qualitative of χ^Xπο. For the meaning see below note 14.
20. π^Xρ^Xο[τ^Xα]ϊ^Xο^Xυ. We should have expected some verb here - probably abbreviated - denoting "in all", "total". I cannot recall any such verb beginning with π^Xρ^Xο[... Perhaps the scribe wrote by

mistake $\pi\rho\omicron\varsigma$ cf. line 18.

$\tau\alpha\lambda\iota\omicron\nu$. 1 artaba contained 6 oipe-measures, cf. P.Lond.V pp.159 - 165; hence $6 \times 8\frac{2}{3}$ artabas = 50 artabas.

21. $[\pi\kappa\epsilon\varsigma\eta]\lambda\gamma$. The lacuna supplied from the context. In all 8 solidi were lent to the monastery. 6 of these are to be repaid in lentils; now the other 2 are discussed.

22. $\pi\rho\omicron\varsigma \theta\epsilon \nu\omega\alpha\nu\delta\epsilon\eta\tau\omicron\upsilon$ for $\pi\rho\omicron\varsigma \theta\epsilon \epsilon\omega\alpha\nu\delta\epsilon\eta\tau\omicron\upsilon$, an unusual example for $\eta = \epsilon$; see chapter VIII par.27.

23. $\tau\eta\delta\eta$ for $\eta\tau\eta\delta\eta$, see chapter VIII par.138.

$\tau\alpha\rho\mu\alpha\alpha\kappa$ for $\tau\alpha\rho\eta\mu\alpha\alpha\kappa$, I cannot parallel this but cf. ch. VIII par.80m.

24. $\epsilon\tau\alpha\varsigma\omega\lambda\eta$, Crum: Dictionary p. 331a suggests $\epsilon\tau\alpha(\psi)\omega\lambda\eta$ but $\epsilon\tau\alpha-$ for $\epsilon\tau\alpha\psi-$ does not seem to occur elsewhere. On the other hand $\epsilon\tau\alpha-$ is frequently found for $\epsilon\tau\eta\alpha-$ which gives excellent sense here; see chapter VIII par.130 esp. P.Lond.IV 1640 $\lambda\gamma\omega \pi\tau\omega\psi \epsilon\tau\alpha\psi\omicron\eta\epsilon \omega\lambda\eta$ ^(sic) ^(sic) $\psi\alpha\iota\tau\eta\omega\upsilon$ "and I will send the command which is to be executed...".
 $\mu\eta\tau\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ see below note 17.

25. $\epsilon\eta\alpha\mu\alpha\alpha\kappa$ for $\epsilon\eta\eta\alpha\mu\alpha\alpha\kappa$ see chapter VIII par.129.

26. $\tau\alpha\iota\tau\iota$ for $\eta\tau\alpha\iota\tau\iota$ see chapter VIII par.131A.

$\epsilon\alpha\pi\tau\epsilon\varsigma\omicron\omicron\upsilon$ for $\epsilon\alpha\pi\kappa\epsilon\varsigma\omicron\omicron\upsilon$ see chapter VIII par.71 and cf. note on line 1 above.

29 - 35. All written in the same hand as the rest as the text. It seems likely therefore that the document is not the original but a copy. As lines 1 - 29 are fairly accurately written with only one obvious mistake (?) (line 23 $\tau\alpha\rho\mu\alpha\alpha\kappa$), it is probable that the scribe of this document copied the numerous mistakes in lines 29 - 35 from the original. Cf. however the note on line 36.

29. $\lambda\pi\alpha \lambda\pi\kappa\rho\iota\tau\epsilon$ for $\lambda\pi\alpha \kappa\upsilon\tau\epsilon$ cf. line 3.

30. $\alpha\varsigma\phi\alpha\lambda\iota$ for $\alpha\varsigma\phi\alpha\lambda\iota\alpha$.

31. $\lambda\beta\rho\alpha\alpha \beta\epsilon$ for $\lambda\beta\rho\alpha\alpha\mu \pi\eta\tau\epsilon$.

33. $\lambda\mu\mu\omega\eta\eta\epsilon$ dittography for $\lambda\mu\mu\omega\eta\epsilon$.

34. $\tau\iota\tau\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\chi$ dittography for $\tau\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\chi\epsilon$.

35. $\kappa\omicron\lambda\theta\epsilon\sigma\tau\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\chi$; either $\sigma\tau\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\chi$ mistake for $\tau\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\chi\epsilon$ or the c is part of $\kappa\omicron\lambda\theta\epsilon$ ($\kappa\omicron\lambda\theta\epsilon\sigma$), but I cannot parallel this; cf. however 214¹³ and note 3 there.

36. These three letters present some difficulty. Perhaps they are the remains of a signature in a hand different from the rest and stand for $\Delta\iota(\alpha\kappa\omicron\nu\omicron\sigma)$ cf. 291²⁹ and 396²¹.

Translation:

+ The $\Delta\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\omicron\nu$ (1) of the monastery ($\mu\omicron\nu\alpha\sigma\tau\eta\rho\iota\omicron\nu$) [of the] holy ($\alpha\gamma\iota\omicron\varsigma$) Apa Apollo [through me] Apa Kyre (2) the priest ($\pi\epsilon\omicron\sigma\beta\acute{\upsilon}\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma$) and [the prior ($\pi\epsilon\omicron\sigma\tau\acute{\omega}\varsigma$), and the] rest of [all] the senior brethren (3) [of the] - 5 - monastery ($\mu\omicron\nu.$), we are [writing to Apa Amrou (4) the] $\alpha\gamma\alpha\lambda\iota\omicron\nu$ (5) who [....] saying:

Since we had need ($-\chi\epsilon\epsilon\acute{\iota}\kappa$) of eight solidi of gold that we should deliver them up as tax ($\delta\eta\mu\acute{\omicron}\sigma\iota\omicron\nu$) (6) of the monastery ($\mu\omicron\nu.$), we - 10 - came and besought ($\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\kappa\alpha\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$) you. And your mercy met us (7) and you gave them to us this day which is the sixteenth day of the month Mechir in this year the third indiction.

And the debt (8) we are - 15 - prepared ($\acute{\epsilon}\tau\omicron\tilde{\iota}\mu\omicron\varsigma$) to repay to you, we being thankful ($\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\chi\alpha\rho\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$) (9). On the one hand ($\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$) as regards six solidi we shall (10) give them to you in lentils from this crop ($\kappa\alpha\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$) (11) at the rate of ($\pi\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$) (12) eight artabas and two oipe-measures (13) they being acquired (?) (14) (per solidus). That is ($\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau'\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}\nu$) - 20 -? (15) fifty artabas they being acquired (14). And further [as regards the other] two solidi, I shall repay them to you according ($\pi\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$) as we shall find them. If God wills that we find honey, we shall (10) repay them to you according to ($\pi\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$) the price which shall be determined (16). Alternatively (17) - 25 - we shall repay them to you in lentils according ($\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}$) as I have (18) given you for the other six (solidi), which is eight (artabas) acquired (?) (14) and two oipe-measures

(per solidus).



As a security, therefore, for you we have drawn up this agreement (ἀσφάλεια) for you, we assenting (στοιχεῖν) to it. +I Apa Kyre⁽²⁾ the priest (πρεσβ.) - 30 - and the prior (προεστώς)⁽¹⁹⁾, I assent (στ.) to this agreement (ἀσφ.) as it is written. +I Abraham⁽²⁰⁾ the priest (πρεσβ.) and βοηθός⁽²¹⁾, I assent (στ.). +I Apa Phoka⁽²²⁾, I assent (στ.). +I Ammone⁽²³⁾, I assent (στ.). +I Apa Thomas⁽²⁴⁾, I assent (στ.). +I Apa Abraham again⁽²⁵⁾ - 35 - the priest (πρ.), I assent (στ.). [+I Apa Kolthe⁽²⁶⁾, I assent (στ.).

Docket: +The agreement (ἀσφάλεια) of Apa Amrou⁽⁴⁾ the ὡλλίος⁽⁵⁾ (L.S.) through us (?) [...]

(1) On the meaning of ΔΙΚΑΙΩΝ see chapter V p.31.

(2) Apa Kyre as priest and prior recurs probably in 106². He may be the same person who occurs elsewhere, see index, but, of course, this name is common.

(3) On "the senior brethren" see chapter V p.34.

(4) Amrou is an Arabic name  cf. P.Lond.IV 1441⁵⁵ note. This would be a most unusual name for a Christian at this period and Crum: Dictionary p.561a citing this passage suggested ἀπα might stand for ; this seems plausible but nevertheless unusual. In 150³ there is reference to an ἀπα κολαίμων who evidently is a monk of the monastery, see note there; but κολαίμων is a common name for a Christian in later times being the Arabic version of κολαμων. Cf. also note 9 below.

(5) For the title ὡλλίος see the full discussion below 303B note 9, and cf. Crum, Dictionary p.561a.

(6) δῆμοςιον originally meant the land-tax, but at this period frequently denotes merely public taxes in general. Cf. chapter VI.

(7) "And your mercy met us" i.e. 'you were kind enough to agree to do so'.

(8) The word translated "debt" (δυν) is the Arabic دَيْن. I have not

been able to find it elsewhere in Coptic literature. It is remarkable to find an Arabic legal term in Coptic document of this period (before AD 750). It is to be noted that it is written without the Arabic article أ which is generally employed when Arabic words are used in Coptic, except sometimes in lists and accounts.

- (9) $\epsilon\upsilon\chi\alpha\rho\epsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu$ in this context is somewhat rare, see BM 1115⁸; Ryl.188⁹ and 336; also in an unpublished papyrus from Wadi Sarga (BM Or. 9035(57). Cf. also $\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\epsilon\upsilon\chi\alpha\rho\epsilon\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ Krall 22⁷ and $\epsilon\upsilon\chi\alpha\rho\epsilon\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ Ryl.281⁵. A close parallel to our document is found in the homily on the Archangel Gabriel in Worrell; Coptic Manuscripts p. 166⁸. It seems probable that $\epsilon\upsilon\chi\alpha\rho\epsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu$ in these texts meant more than just "be thankful" and that in fact some interest on the money loaned or some gift was intended. If Apa Amrou indeed stands for أمرؤ (see note 4 above), this would appear certain, because an Arab - hardly a Christian - would not be likely to give a monastery money on loan without obtaining some interest. Whether six artabas and two oipe-measures of lentils in fact represented more than one solidus in current values, we cannot tell as prices fluctuated considerably at this period. I may compare the use of the word $\kappa\lambda\omicron\gamma$ "blessing" in Shenoute, where it frequently means something very concrete such as a room full of loaves. Cf. also $\tau\alpha\iota\omicron$, $\nu\lambda$ and others.
- (10) The use of $\tau\alpha\rho\epsilon$ - is interesting in this document, cf. ch. VIII par. 158.
- (11) I presume $\epsilon\mu\pi\iota\kappa\alpha\rho\pi\omicron\varsigma$ to stand for $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda\epsilon\mu\pi\iota\kappa\alpha\rho\pi\omicron\varsigma$ see Crum: Dictionary p. 684a. The crop referred to is obviously the one in the same year. For a special meaning of $\kappa\alpha\rho\pi\omicron\varsigma$ see Jern. 15 note.
- (12) $\pi\epsilon\sigma\varsigma$ in this particular sense recurs W.S. 174⁷; Krall 5¹³ and 7⁴.
- (13) For "oipe-measure" see the note on line 20 above.
- (14) The meaning of $\chi\eta\omicron$ given by Crum: Dictionary p. 779a "acquire" does not make sense here. Some phrase denoting "fully-measured" is

obviously intended here and εὐχρη(ε)ῖτ must mean something like that. Cf. εὐσταθμον in parallel passages: J.78³⁷; BM 1014⁶; Ryl.159²⁰ 196⁵; Krall 5^{12,14}, 56⁴; and the Theban use of the word μοϋε e.g. J.9⁸³⁻⁸⁵ τῶν Ἀτερμῆς[Ν]ῆς Ννοῦβ ἐνοβρίσον εὐμεε μῆϋι ἀπκαστρὸν.

(15) See note on line 20 above.

(16) For this passage compare Ryl.201⁷, 210² πρὸς παιδὰρ ἐλαγωγῆε (ἐνδωγῆε) and Krall 41⁶ πρὸς ὅν ἀπωεερ νωδωγῶπι; cf. also Krall 39⁴.

The meaning of ωλπ is discussed in the Appendix below.

(17) "Alternatively" μντκετε; I have found this expression in the same sense in five other passages: Ep.102⁶ (μντκετε δε); J.66⁷⁸ (μντκε δε), 76^{37,38} (μντδε δε), 76⁷⁷ (μντεδε δε), and 122²⁹ (μντεκε δε). The meaning in each case is "alternatively", "on the other hand" etc. cf. the translation of J.122 in the Appendix below. Crum assumed that this phrase was the Greek μέντοι γε δέ and noted it as such in his indices. That word is clearly meant in 6 passages I have been able to find: J.48⁶ (μντοιγε δε), 58¹⁵ (μντοιγε δε), 65⁶³ (μντοιγε), 75^{85,105} (μντοιγε δε) and Krall 62⁸ (μντηγε); in all these passages it appears to express a strong "but", "howbeit" etc., thus in J.65⁶³ the superior is to have complete control and a free hand over everything, but in certain matters he must follow the established custom. Then there are three passages where it seems to mean "and", "further": BM 441(μντοιγε), 442 (μετοιγε) and Krall 157¹³ (μντετε δε). It is remarkable that in the Bala'izah passage and the five parallel texts the word is spelt quite differently from the other passages (perhaps with the exception of Krall 157¹³). This does raise the question whether we have here the Greek μέντοι γε δέ or some Coptic phrase connected with κε "other".

(18) The writer regards the transaction concerning the six solidi as closed; so he can now say 'I have given you', although that

transaction is still to be executed in the future.

(19) On the title $\pi\rho\omicron\epsilon\tau\tau\alpha\varsigma$ see chapter V p.32.

(20) Perhaps the same person who elsewhere appears as superior; see index.

(21) On the title $\beta\omicron\gamma\theta\omicron\varsigma$ see chapter V p.35.

(22) This person probably recurs elsewhere; see index.

(23) Perhaps the later superior; see index.

(24) Perhaps the same person as in 142^{1,3}, 358⁹. (cf.note 26 below)

(25) The use of the word $\omicron\kappa$ "again" is remarkable here. It would seem to imply that this is the same person who has already assented in line 31, but it is not clear why he should assent a second time; I am unable to find any parallel.

(26) Perhaps the same person as in 396¹⁶ and 358¹⁴. (cf.note 24 above)

Appendix:

The meaning of the word $\kappa\omega\lambda\eta$ in line 24.

Crum: Dictionary p.331a gives the normal meaning of $\kappa\omega\lambda\eta$ as: "(intransitive) break, burst; (trans.) be cut off; (with $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ intrans.) be cut, broken off; (trans.) cut off." Of 11 instances where this verb occurs in non-literary texts the verb occurs in this 'normal' meaning 'be cut off' only once (S.T.251¹⁴). Of the others Crum cites three: (a) Bala'izah 102 (here discussed) "price that was decided (?)"; (b) BM 1124 in support of the meaning "decide". (c) J.122⁴⁴ (no translation given).

I have cited below all the ten instances known to me in their proper context and have given a translation in each case. In J.122 the word occurs three times and I thought it best to give a translation of the whole of that document. These examples, in my opinion, show conclusively that the meaning of $\kappa\omega\lambda\eta$ (and $\kappa\omega\lambda\eta \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$) in these texts is "settle", "agree upon", "make a settlement with".

(1)($\kappa\omega\lambda\eta$ absolute) Bala'izah 102, see above.

(2) (αωλπ absolute) Ryl.374 "...and with my consent you shall not leave me until the (inundation) water has been agreed upon." (φαντε αμοου αωλπ αν)
It is however possible to translate this passage: "...until the (inundation) water has been cut off".

(3) (αωλπ absolute) Worrell: Coptic Texts part III, 18 (p.205) lines 4 - 6: "...Because you know yourself that I have been three days waiting while the work is perishing. And although some (inundation) water is agreed upon (ερ ουμοου αωλπ) he will have much money in account against us..." Here again it might be possible to translate: "...although some water is cut off..." as in the last case.

(4) (αωλπ transitive) B.M.1146³ - 6: "...and behold Paule has come to you that you draw up the account of his wine, as to what he has given to you, and that you do the same (lit.:it) to him concerning money, as to how much he has given, and that you agree upon the tax (τητνε αωληπ πδημοσιον) of (ε=ν) the fields which he is sowing in (αι=αν) Tkoui-n-erot. For (Γαρ sic!) make him swear that he is sowing their fields, settle them for him (αολπου ναυ) as regards (?) Terot. Give him the rest of (ε=ν) the tax (δημόσιον) of Tahanjiho..."

(5) Ryl.284 αυαοληπυ, no context.

(6) (αωλπ εβολ absolute) J.122⁴⁰, see below.

(7) (αωλπ εβολ αα-) J.122⁶³, see below.

(8) (αωλπ εβολ μν-) J.122⁴⁴, see below.

(9) (αωλπ εβολ μν-) B.M.1116^{Verso 3 - 7}: "...Now^(a) Tshabar (, جاب or جابر) did not settle^(b) with us concerning land or^(c) any matter (νκα). Now^(a) inquire after him at your place^(d) and make a settlement with him (αολπ εβολ νεμαυ) by the will of God."

(a) ειλιπον for λοιπον see 189 line 14 note.

(b) παρκε Crum proposes to take this to be αωλδ.

(c) For ουλαλααυ νανκα I propose to read ουδε λααυ νανκα.

(d) For the meaning of ααατηκ see 188 note 5.

(10) (αωλπ εβολ μν-) B.M.1124 : "...and then as regards the things

you told me you desired, I am not wont to give him any more for them than that which I received from him. But I have already settled my affair with him (ἀπογ^(sic)ω ἰσῶλπ παζωγ ἐβολ νέμαγ): Everything that I have found he has taken according to the year...".

Translation of J.122.

I have collated this text in the British Museum and the following corrections should be made in the published edition:

line 3. εἰ^(sic) certain.

lines 4 - 7: ἸΤΑΚΤΝΝΟΟΥ^ΤΣ ὡΑΤΝΕΥΤΕΛΙ[Α ΑΝΡΑΨΕ]

5 ΧΕ ΑΝΖΕ ΕΠΕΚΟΥΧΑΙ ἸΖΗΤ^(?)Σ [ΕΚΚΕΛΕΥ[Ε]

6 ΔΗ.ΕΝ^(sic)ΔΦΩΒ ΝΝΕΚΡΑΜΜΑΤΗΦΟΡΟΣ

7 [Ε]ΤΕΝΙΚΕ ΜΝ ΝΕΥΕΡΗΥΕΤΒΕ ΖΕΝΚΑΖ ΝΚ[Λ]

line 10. οὐντο.ερε; I am unable to improve on Crum's reading here, obviously οὐντο εροι is meant here.

line 11. ἸΖΗΤ^(?) ΝΤΕ ΟΥΩΝΕ ἸΤΗΝ ΝΚΝΗCΙΟC

line 12. μαοῦατς.

line 22. ΝΑΥ.

line 37. ΜΠΒΟΛ ΜΗΤΚΩΤΕ ἸΚΑΧ ΜΜΑΔΧΕΤΕ Μ[ΝΠΚ]

line 56. [ΜΝΤΕΚΕ]Δε possible.

line 57. εγνζοτ.

line 58. CIC ΝΕΓΚΡΑΦΟΝ ΕΔΥCΝΑΛΙΖΕ

"+In the name of the Lord. The holy Trinity. Written month Mesore 25, the first year.

I have^(a) received the letter of your honoured fraternity which you sent to our lowliness (ἐβτελίσ), [and we rejoiced] because - 5 - we found concerning your wellbeing in it. [...] you commanded (κελεύειν)^(a)..^(b) concerning the matter of the letter-carriers (γραμματοφόρος) who are prosecuting (ἐν᾿αίγειν) each other concerning some lands of inheritance (κληρονομία) and the house of their parents which is the house of Tacham.

Joseph on - 10 - the one hand said: I have a share in it from a

real(γρηγόριος)^(c) sister of ours which Tacham took alone. And we heard these things and left them undecided(ἀπομειρος)^(d).

And - 15 - Tacham herself on the other hand said: We bought^(a) it from the late(μικκέριος) Hēms - he continuing to ... it^(e) -. And I received a (deed of)sale(πράσις) concerning it. When we heard these things we left them undecided(ἀπομειρος)^(d) according to that which God had put into our heart.

And we reckoned that this(lit.: it) was just(δικαίον) - 20 - : if Tacham found two or three witnesses in the village, worthy of being believed(πιστεύειν) concerning the (deed of) sale(πράσις) that she has bought the house from the late(μικκ.) Hēms - Joseph being in the village - 25 - and he did not (at the time) prosecute(ἐναγίζειν) her - it(the house) shall be under her authority(ἐξουσία). Because the matter has taken time^(f) since we are wont to hear from those senior to us^(g) that the sale(πράσις)^(h).

Alternatively(ἄντεκε δε) if she does not find a credible witness - 30 - concerning (the) (deed of) sale(πράσις), she shall be taken into the holy place⁽ⁱ⁾ and shall be made to swear by oath as to what she has paid(ἀπολογίζεσθαι) to the late(μικκ.) Hēms for it, and Joseph shall pay (ἀπολογίζεσθαι) her his share and the house shall be divided between - 35 - the two of them^(j).

Further as regards the matter of some shares of land which are the yard of the outside and the surround of^(k) and the land of Sarah as far as the palm-trees of Georgios:

Joseph on the one hand said: Our parents reached an agreement (συγκαλίξαι)^(l) - 40 - on those lands and made a settlement(ἀγρωλὴ ἐσθ[ε]) before I came of age^(m). And we heard these things and left them undecided(ἀπομειρος)^(d).

Tacham for her part and Phaustos and Aron on the other hand said: We did not divide them nor did we make a settlement with each other - 45 - for these shares (of land) (ἀγρωλὴ ἐσθ[ε] ἀνεμερος ναί).

When we heard <these things> we left them undecided (ἀπομερος)^(d) according to that which God had put into our heart.

And we reckoned that this was just (δίκαιον): If Joseph found two or three credible witnesses - 50 - worthy of being believed (πιστεύειν) concerning <the> deed (ἔγγραφον) that they have divided the lands with their parents, they shall not be able to prosecute (ἐνῳχεῖν) each other for this share, but they shall attend to their boundaries according as they have agreed - 55 - on it, because the matter has taken time^(f).

[Alternatively], if Joseph does not⁽ⁿ⁾ find a faithful witness or a deed of agreement (δίκαιον, ἔγγραφον) that they have reached an agreement (συγκαλῆναι)⁽¹⁾, they shall take Tacham - 60 - into the house of God⁽ⁱ⁾ and she shall be made to swear by oath - because she is come of age^(o) - saying: We did not divide the lands nor did we reach an agreement (συγκαλῆναι)⁽¹⁾ that we should make a settlement for them (ΝΤΝCΩΝΝΕCΩΛ CΑΡCΟΥ). - 65 - For? they shall be divided between each other^(p) according to their proportion (ἀνὰλογίαν)^(q).

Farewell in the Lord. Written month [Mesore] 25; first year.

(a) Line 3 εΙΧΙ for ΔΙΧΙ; line 5 perhaps εκκελεγ[ε] for ακκελεγ[ε]; line 15 ΧΕΝCΩCΠΥ for ΧΕΔΑΝCΩCΠΥ.

(b) The passage is not clear.

(c) The word γνησίος is frequently used to distinguish between real sisters (or brothers) as opposed to cousins etc., since the Coptic (CΩΝC and CΩΝ) is ambiguous. Cf. J. index.

(d) ἀπομερος. The word does not seem to recur elsewhere. The meaning is probably that the judge did not decide the question either way but kept an open mind.

(e) This sentence is added between the lines. The meaning is obscure.

(f) This is evidently used in both instances to express that the state of affairs has existed for some time already and that it is only now that one party is prosecuting.

- (g) I presume that this sentence indicates the law governing such law-suits, which the judge here cites.
- (h) The passage is somewhat obscure (ΜΩΝΗ ΠΡΑΞΙC). I have thought of taking ΜΩΝ to stand for ΜΟΥΝ, and Η being the Greek article, but to find the Greek article in such a position is quite unusual, though parallels might be found. In that case one might translate: "because the (deed of) sale is established" i.e. the validity of the deed as declared by Tacham is to be established; which would give good sense here.
- (i) In line 31 it is 'the holy place', in line 60 'the house of God'.
For this practice cf. Worrell: Coptic Manuscripts p.175.
- (j) Reading: ΜΠΜΕΡΟC CNAΥ.
- (k) For ΚΑΧ ΜΑΔΑΧ see Crum: Dictionary p.134a and p.213a.
- (l) The Greek word συνάγειν generally means "come together", "collect" "assemble"; here it evidently has a transferred meaning of "reach an agreement" in all three passages. I am, however, unable to parallel this use here.
- (m) Reading: ΜΠΑΤΕΙC ΕΠΤΗ cf. J.79²².
- (n) Reading: ΕΤΑΤΡΕ ΙΩΧΗΦ; for ΤΕ=ΤΡΕ see chapter VIII par.146.
- (o) For ΕΤΟΟ=ΕΤΟ see Ep.vol.I p.240 and J.index p.383.
- (p) Reading: ΜΝΝ[ΕΥ]ΕΡ[ΗΥ] for Crum's: ΜΝΝ[ΕΝ]ΕΡ[ΗΥ].
- (q) ἀνὰ λόγῳ sometimes in Coptic texts clearly means "value" see C.O. 306¹³ (note on p.28); J.68^{37,73}; B.K.U. 97⁶ and V.C.34¹¹. Here, however, as in Ryl.144⁷ it appears to have its normal meaning of "proportion".

REPAYMENT OF A DEBT

- (e 48; d 101a; d 125a; d 148b) Few ligatures. 10½ by 6¾ inches, complete. Same hand as 101⁶ and 7 and 142.

(margin)

-
- + ΠΔΙΚΕΟΝ ΝΠΜΟΝΟ^Τ ΕΤΟΥΔΑΒ ΝΑΠΑ ΑΠΟΛ^Ω
 ΖΝ ΠΝΟΜΟΣ ΝCΒΕΣΤ ΤΠΟΛΙC ΖΙΤΟΟΤ ΑΝΟΚ Π
 ΟΥΑ ΠΙΕΛ^Χ ΝΠΡ^Ε ΑΥΩ ΠΕΠΡ^Ο Μ^Ν ΠCΕΕΠΕ ΝΕΝΟ
 Β ΝΩΗΡΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΜΠΜΟ^Τ ΕΝCΖΑΪ ΝΑΠΑ ΑΜ
 5 ΜΩΝΕ ΧΕΠΙΔΗ ΝΤΑΚΔΙ ΟΥΖΟΛΟΚ^Τ ΖΑCΟΥΟ
 ΤΕΝΤΑΔΥ ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΤΕΜΟCΙΟΝ ΝΠΜΟΝΟ^Τ ΤΕΝΟΥ
 ΤΕΝΖΟΜΟΛΟΓΙ ΤΑΡΕΝΤΙ ΝΑΚ ΝΜΗΤ ΝΕΡΤ
 ΟΥ ΝCΟΥΟ ΕΥΒΟΥΤ ΖΑΡΟΥ ΖΝΧΗΡΕ ΕΥΩΡ
 Χ ΟΥΝ ΝΑΚ [α]ϊ[CΜΝ] ΤΙΑCΦΑΛΙΑ ΝΑΚ ΕΤΝCΤΗ
 10 ΧΙ ΕΡΟC ΕΝ[ωPK Μ]ΠΡΑΝ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΠΑ[Ν]^Τ
 Μ^Ν ΠΕΥΧΑΪ ΝΕΝΧ[ΙCΟΥΕ ΕΤ]ΑΡΧΙ ΕΧ[ΩΝ]
 ΝΚΕΡΟC ΝΕΙΜ[] ΝΑΚ ΠΡΟC [τ⁶]
 ΟΜ ΝΤΙΑCΦΑΛΙΑ[ΕΧΕ, Μ Φ]ΑΡΜΟΥ^Θ Β δ γ[?]]
 ΑΥΩ ΕΙC[] ΑΝΤΙ ΝΑΚ[?]
 15 +ΑΝΟΚ ΠΟΥΑ Π[ΙΕΛ^Χ ΝΠΡ]^Ε [ΑΥΩ ΠΕΠ]^Ο ΤΙCΤΟΙΧΙ
 +ΑΝΟΚ ΑΠΑ[]..
 II † ΑΝΟΚ ΑΠΑ[]ΤΙCΤΟΙΧΙ
 [ΕΤΙΖΟΜΟΛ]ΟΓΙΑ [+]
 19 I +ΔΙ ΜΟΥ ΓΕΩΡΓΕ ΕΛ^Χ [δ]ΑΚ^Ο ΕΓΕ«Ψ»Α [+]
 (margin)

3. ΝΕΝΟ⁶ for ΝΝΝΟ⁶ see chapter VIII par.93.

4. ΜΟ^Τ for ΜΟΝΑCΤΗΡΙΟΝ.

5. ΧΕΠΙΔΗ for ΧΕΕΠΙΔΗ .

ΝΤΑΚΔΙ for ΝΤΑΚΤΙ see chapter VIII par.111.

6. ΤΕΝΤΑΔΥ for ΝΤΝΤΑΔΥ see chapter VIII par.138.

ΕΤΕΜΟCΙΟΝ for ΝΤΕΜΟCΙΟΝ cf.102⁹; see chapter VIII par.82h.

ΤΕΜΟCΙΟΝ for ΔΗΜΟCΙΟΝ so 132², 136^{2,5}, 151⁶ and elsewhere; cf.

chapter VIII par.68 and par.34.

8. ΖΝΧΗΡΕ for ΖΝΤΧΗΡΕ cf. chapter VIII par.116A. .

11. ΝΕΝΧ[ΙCΘΟΥΕ] for ΝΝΕΝΧ[ΙCΘΟΥΕ], see chapter VIII par.80m.

12. ΝΕΙΜ for ΝΙΜ see chapter VIII par.40.

the lacuna should be supplied by either [ΤΑΡΗΡΟΕΙC] or [ΕΤΡΗΖΑΡΕZ] see chapter VIII par.159.

Translation:

+ The ΔΙΚΑΙΟΝ ⁽¹⁾ of the holy monastery(μοναστήριον) of Apa Apollo in the nome(νόμος) of the town(πόλις) Sbeht ⁽²⁾ through me Psha ⁽³⁾ this least(ἐλάχιστος) priest(πρεσβύτερος) and prior(προεστώς) ⁽⁴⁾ and the rest of all the senior sons ⁽⁵⁾ of the monastery(μον.), we are writing to Apa Ammone ⁽⁶⁾ - 5 - saying:

Since you gave (us) a solidus for wheat ⁽⁷⁾ that we should give it up as tax(δημόσιον) ⁽⁸⁾ of the monastery(μον.), now we agree(ὁμολογεῖν) that we shall give you ten artabas of wheat, being expected at the season of threshing ⁽⁹⁾.

As a security, therefore, for you I have [drawn up] this agreement (ἄσφαλεια) for you to which ⁽¹⁰⁾ we assent(στοιχεῖν), - 10 - we [swearing by] the name ⁽¹¹⁾ of Almighty God and the health of our lords [who] rule over us at any time(καίρος) [that we will adhere] for you to the validity of this agreement(ἄσφαλεια). [Written month] Parmouthi 2, indiction 3. And behold [.....] we have given to you ⁽¹²⁾.

+ I Psha ⁽³⁾ this least priest(πρ.) and prior(προεστώς) I assent(στοιχεῖν).
+ I Apa [... I assent].

+ I Apa [.....] I assent [to this] agreement(ὁμολογία) ⁽¹³⁾

+ Through me George ⁽¹⁴⁾ (the) least deacon, I have written (it). [+]

(1) See chapter V p.31.

(2) See chapter III p.15.

(3) This person recurs in the next document(104); he is perhaps also the Apa Psha of 293⁶.

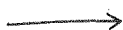
(4) See chapter V p.32.

(5) See chapter V p.35.

- (6) Probably the later(?) superior of the monastery; see Index and cf. chapter V p.30.
- (7) "Since you gave us a solidus for wheat", this is rather strange as the wheat is to be given in the future. The usage, however, recurs elsewhere e.g. 114⁴.
- (8) $\delta\eta\mu\acute{o}\sigma\iota\omicron\nu$, this is either the land tax or more probably refers to public taxes in general; cf. chapter VI.
- (9) For the meaning of the Coptic word $\chi\eta\pi\epsilon$ in the particular sense of "corn threshed", "season of threshing" see Crum: Dictionary p.782a, where this passage is cited. It would however be quite possible to translate the passage by: "being expected from ($\alpha\lambda\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda\ \alpha\lambda\epsilon\beta$) the threshing-floor. Cf. also 117⁷ here.
- It may be noted that normally in this type of document the corn is repaid from the crop of the same or the next year, cf. Krall numbers 8 - 33 passim and here 102¹⁷. Cf. also P.Lond. IV 1593 note.
- (10) "to which we assent" is strange and, I believe, unparalleled; the normal clause reads "we assenting to it" in this context.
- (11) "swearing by the name of Almighty God" is also found in a small fragment d 76e $\dots\epsilon\gamma\omicron\rho\chi\ \omicron\gamma[\alpha\alpha\dots\{\dots\epsilon\}\alpha\omega\rho\kappa\alpha\eta\rho[\alpha\alpha\dots]$ This is the clause commonly used at Aphrodito during this period, but outside this region is only found three times at Thebes. See chapter VII.
- (12) Notes like this sentence, added as it were as an afterthought are rare in Coptic documents, but parallels may be cited: e.g. the document from this neighbourhood published by C.Schmidt in Ä.Z. LXVIII (1932) pp.60 ff. lines 23 and 28 and Krall 132¹² - 14.
- (13) It is very strange to find this document being referred to both as $\alpha\sigma\phi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\epsilon\iota\alpha$ and as $\acute{o}\mu\omicron\lambda\omicron\gamma\acute{\iota}\alpha$, but I am unable to suggest any alternative to $\dots\omicron\gamma\acute{\iota}\alpha$.
- (14) This person recurs frequently, see index.

END OF A DOCUMENT

(e 21) This fragment containing only the signatures to a contract is published here on account of its obvious relation to 103. Lines 6 and 7 are written in the same hand as 103 and 142.



(broken)

II + πωα πρ^[ε], [πρ]^ο στοιχι

+ ἀνοκ ἀπα κ[υ]ρ[ε] πρε τῖστηχι [+]

+ ἀνοκ ἀρων τῖστηχι +

+ ἀνοκ αἰνούτε τῖστηχι [+]

5 + ἀνοκ αἰούλε τῖστηχι +

I + ἀνοκ γεωργε πιε^χ νδιακ^ω ντατιαςφ[α]λια

7 αωπε ζιτοοτ αγω τιστοιχι [+]

(margin)

4. This spelling of αενούτε recurs 151¹, 278⁹ and elsewhere.

5. αἰούλε for ιούλε; this spelling occurs in a few late Byzantine Greek documents, cf. Preisigke: Namenbuch. It is also found in a few Coptic documents, cf. Krall 64⁶ ἀπα αἰούλι.

Translation:

+Psha.⁽¹⁾ priest(πρεσβύτερος) and prior(προεστώς)⁽²⁾ <I> assent(στοιχεῖν).

+I Apa Kyre⁽³⁾ priest(πρεσβ.) I assent(στ.).

+I Aron I assent(στ.). +

+I Shinoute I assent(στ.).

+I Aioule I assent(στ.).

+I George⁽⁴⁾ this least(ἐλάχιστος) deacon(διάκονος), this agreement (ἀσφάλεια) was executed through me and I assent(στ.).

(1) See 103 note 3.

(2) See chapter V p.32.

(3) Perhaps the later(?) superior, 102³ and 29, 106²(?)

(4) Cf. 103 note 14 and see Index.

The document originally numbered 105 is now 303A.

FRAGMENT

(g 35) Same hand as 107.

(margin)

1. ↑ ϣ ΠΔΙΚΑΙΟΝ ἸΠ[ΜΟΝΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΕΤΟΥΔΔΒ ΝΑΠΑ ΑΠΟ]
 2. ΛΛΩ ΖΙΤΟΟΤ ΑΝΟΚ ΑΠΑ Κ[ΥΡΕ]
 3. ΠΕΤΣΖΑΙ ΝΠΑCΟΝ ΘΕΩΝΑ[]

(broken)

Verso: ↑(sic) fragment of an account, different hand.

3. ΠΕΤΣΖΑΙ see chapter VIII par.155.

Translation:

The ΔΙΚΑΙΟΝ⁽¹⁾ of the [holy monastery of Apa] Apollo through me
 Apa Kyre(?)⁽²⁾ [the priest and prior,] who is writing to my brother⁽³⁾
 Theona⁽⁴⁾ [.....(broken).

(1) See chapter V p.31.

(2) See 102 note 2.

(3) The title ΠΑCΟΝ "my brother" here merely signifies that the person
 is a monk.

(4) This name recurs 321⁵.

FRAGMENT

(g 13) Same hand as 106.

(broken)

1. [εἰ μὴν ἂν ὑπνοῦτε πεπροεστως
 2. [μῆμοναστῆ] ΕΤΟΥΔΔΒ ΝΑΠΑ Α[ΠΟΛ]ΛΩ Εἰπτοῶ
 3. [ΝCΒΕΣΤ ΤΗ]ΟΛΙC ΕΙΤΣΖΑΙ ἸΝΝῶμαῖνοῦτε
 4.]ωμ[.]:ΧἸ ΝΕCΚΟΥΛΚΑ ΚΑΤΑ

(broken)

3. $\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\mu}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\iota}\bar{\nu}\bar{o}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\tau}\bar{\epsilon}$ for $\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\nu}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\mu}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\iota}\bar{\nu}\bar{o}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\tau}\bar{\epsilon}$, cf. chapter VIII par. 85.
4. $\kappa\omicron\upsilon\lambda\kappa\alpha$ is probably the Latin "cuculla" cf. B.S.A.C. vol. IX (1943) p.211 note 3.

Translation:

.....]by the mercy of God⁽¹⁾ the prior($\pi\rho\omicron\epsilon\sigma\tau\acute{\omega}\varsigma$)⁽²⁾ [of the] holy [monastery] of Apa Apollo in the nome($\tau\omicron\omega$)⁽³⁾ [of the] town($\pi\acute{o}\lambda\iota\varsigma$) [Sbeht], I am writing to our God-loving⁽⁴⁾ [.....] upon(?) her coverings(?) according ($\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}$) (broken).

- (1) This expression is sometimes used in Coptic documents by bishops, archpriests and priests, cf. J.3⁷¹, 18⁷², 35⁸⁸ etc.. It may be noted, however, that at Thebes out of many signatories only three make use of this formula: Pshēre, priest and hēgoumenos of the holy church of Jēme (7 times), Papnoute, priest of the holy church of Jēme (twice) and Zacharias, archpriest of the holy church of Jēme (once). The formula corresponded to the Greek $\epsilon\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omega\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$ so here 405⁴] $\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\omega\ \overline{\theta\gamma}\epsilon\nu\iota\kappa\gamma$ [. It is probable that only certain persons had the right to use the formula; cf. the use of the Greek adjectives $\epsilon\upsilon\kappa\lambda\epsilon\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$, $\upsilon\pi\epsilon\rho\phi\upsilon\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$ etc., which were applicable only to persons with the appropriate rank. Cf. also Krall in Mitt. P.E.R. V pp. 33 f..

- (2) See chapter V p.32.
- (3) $\tau\omicron\omega$ here as elsewhere interchanges with $\nu\omicron\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$.
- (4) The Coptic shows that the letter was written to several persons.

108

REPAYMENT OF A DEBT (?)

- (g 15) Same hand as 109; small hand, ligatured.

(margin)

- 1 ↑ [+ $\pi\lambda\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\omicron\nu\ \mu\pi\mu\omicron$] $\overline{\nu\omicron}^T$ $\eta\lambda\pi\alpha\ \lambda\pi\omicron\lambda\omega\ \epsilon\iota\overline{\tau}\rho\omicron\omicron\tau$
- 2] $\pi\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon\pi\epsilon\ \eta\epsilon\eta\omicron\acute{\beta}\ \eta\varsigma\eta\eta$] $\overline{\gamma}$

ΝΤΑΝΕΡΧ]ΡΙΑ ΝΟΥΖΟΛΟ Κ[Τ

(broken)

Verso: (docket) →]ϑ^υ μΟΥ

2. ΝΕΝΟΒ for ΝΝΝΟΒ see chapter VIII par. 93.

For ΝΟΒ ΝCΝΗΥ see chapter V p.34.

FRAGMENT

(d 95a, b, c; d 92d; d 142b) Same hand as 108. On the Verso 112 different hand(earlier).

(margin)



[+ΠΔΙΚΑ]ΟΝ ΜΗΜΟΝΟ ΕΤΟΥΑ[ΑΒ ΝΠΖΔ]
 [ΓΙΟΣ ΑΠ]Α ΑΠΟΛΛΩ ΖΙΤΟΟΤ Δ[ΝΟΚ ΑΠΑ]
 [ΑΒΡΑΖ]ΑΜ ΠΕΠΡ^Ε ΑΥΩ ΠΕΠ[Ρ^Ο ΜΝ]
 ΠCΕΕΠΕ ΝΝΕ[ΝΟΒ Ν]
 5 ΜΗΝΔ[]

(broken)

4 - 5. These lines do not actually join on to lines 1 - 3, but in view of parallel documents (102, 103, 108) it does not seem likely that there was a gap here.

Translation:

[+The ΔΙΚΑ]ΟΝ⁽¹⁾ of the holy monastery(μοναστηρίον)[of the holy] Απα Apollo through me [Απα] Abraham⁽²⁾ the priest(πρεσβύτερος) and prior (προεστώς) [and] the rest of[.....] Μena[.....(broken)].

(1) See chapter V p.31.

(2) That the name of the superior was Abraham seems probable from the next document 110; see note 1 there.

FRAGMENT

(d 163g) Few ligatures.

(broken)

ΤΠΟΛΙΣ ΖΙΤΟΟΤ ΑΝΟΚ [ΑΠΑ ΑΒ]
 ΡΑΖΑΜ ΠΕΙΕΛ^χ ΝΠΡ^ε [ΔΥΩ]
 ΠΕΠΡΟΕΣΤ^ω ΠΕΤΣΖΔΪ ΝΠΜΑΙ [ΝΟΥΤΕ]
 ΝΣΟΝ ΑΠΑ ΖΗΛΙΑΣ ΧΕ ΕΠ[ΕΙΔΗ ΝΤ]
 5 ΑΝΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΕΙ ΜΜ[ΟΚ]

(broken)

Verso: (docket) ↑ 6 σμο^λ γεν^εαμμ^ε ς μον^τ
 7] εχ^αψ^α++

3. ΠΕΤΣΖΔΪ see chapter VIII par. 155.

6. σμο^λ for ὁμολογία; ς for ὑπέρ.

7. εχ^αψ^α++ could also be read εχ^αψ^α++.

Translation:

....]the town(πόλις)[Sbeht] through me [Απα] Abraham⁽¹⁾ this least(ἐλάχισ-
 τος) priest(πρεσβύτερος)[and] prior(προεστώς)⁽²⁾, who is writing to
 the [God]-loving brother Απα Helias⁽³⁾ saying: Since we besought(παρά-
 καλεῖν)[you](broken).

Verso: ...]agreement executed concerning the monastery[....]I have
 written <it>.+

(1) Απα Abraham as superior recurs in 109³ and 205⁷ and he is probably
 the same person as Απα Abraham the priest in 102³⁵ and 365³. As
 such he also appears in the address of two fragmentary letters
 g 73 and d 106b:]ΑΠΑ ΑΒΡΑΖΑΜΠΕΡ^ε[(Απα Abraham the priest). A
 further letter addressed to him as superior is e 74; the following
 is the text: ↑ [+ΝΩ]ΟΡΠ ΜΝ ΝΖΩΥ ΝΙΜ ΤΙΩΪΝΕ ΔΥΩ[Τ]||[Π]ΡΟΚΗΝΕ ΝΟΥ
 ΜΗ[Η]ΩΕ ΝΣΟΠ ΕΠ[ΑΜΕΡΙΤ Ν]||[ΕΙ]ΩΤ ΑΠΑ ΑΒΡ.Δ.Ζ[Α]Μ ΤΙΠΑΡ[Α]Κ[Α]ΛΕΙ[...]
 [...]. ΕΡ[Ε ΠΧΘ]ΕΙΣ ΣΜΟΥ ΜΜ[...].[. Ν]ΕΝΙΟΤΕ ΝΚΕ[ΣΟΠ (broken).
 Address: → ...Ε]ΩΤ ΑΒΒΑ ΑΒΡΑΖΑΜ ΠΙΕΛΑΧΙ[ΕΤΟΣ ...]

(2) See chapter V p.32

- (3) As Apa Helias is called "brother" he is presumably a member of the community; he is probably the same person who occurs elsewhere, see Index.

111

REPAYMENT OF A DEBT (?)

(f 18; d 24b; d 104d; d 128a) Same hand as 100, ligatured.

(margin)

1

[+ΠΔΙΚΑΙΟΝ ΝΠΜΟΝ^ΤΕΤΟΥ]ΑΔΒ ΝΑΠΑ Α[ΠΟΛΛΩ

(gap)

3

η]ΔΗΛ^Ο ΝΠΜΟΝ^ΤΑΝΕΙ ΑΝΠΑΡΑΚΑΛ[Ε]Ι[

4

μ]ΠΡΟΥ ΝΖΟΥ ΕΤΕ ΣΟΥ[ΜΝ]Τ[

5

]Ε Δ^δ ΤΕΝΟΥ[

(gap)

7

]μΠΕΠΙΣΚ^Π ΜΝ η[ΟΥΧΑΙ

8

]ΤΑΡΗΡΟΕΙΣ ΝΑΚ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΕΣΒΟΜ[

9

στο]ΙΧΕΙ +

10

II (?)

]ΕΛ^Χ ΝΔΙΑΚ^Ω ΠΩΕΝΠΜΑΚ[Ε]ΥΗΡ^{ΟΥ} ...[

11

]ΕΡΕΠΚΑΙΡΑΜΑΜ.ΤΙΣΤΟ^Χ [

12

]ΝΤΠΕ ΔΙΣΖΑΙ ΖΑΡΟΥ ΖΙΤΝ ΝΕΥΣΗΛ^Υ ΝΣΤΑΥΡ^Ο[+]

(gap)

14

]ε^δε

(margin)

7 - 8. On this oath-formula see chapter VII.

10 - 12. Probably different hand from the rest.

11. Except for ΤΙΣΤΟ^Χ unintelligible.

12. "...]above, I wrote for him through his cross-signs (σημείον, σταυρός)!"

A similar phrase occurs in 165¹⁷⁻¹⁸; I cannot recall an exact parallel.

REPAYMENT OF A DEBT

(d 95a,b,c; d 92d; d 142b) On the Verso 109, different hand, later.

→

(broken)

[ΜΟΝΑC]ΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΝΑΠΑ ΑΠ[ΟΛΛΩ ΧΕ ΕΠ]
 [ΕΙΔΗ ΝΤ]ΑΙΕΡΧΡ[Ι]Α ΝΥΤΟΟ[Υ ΝΖΟΛΟΚΟΤ]
 [ΤΙΝΟC ΝΝ]ΟΥΥ ΔΙΕΙ ΔΙΠΑΡ[ΑΚΑΔΛΕΙ]
 [ΜΜΟΚ ΑΚΤΑΔΥ ΝΔΙ] ΜΠΟΟΥ ΝΖΟΟΥ
 5 [ΕΤΕ CΟΥ]ΠΕ ΜΠΕΒΟ[Τ]
 []ΚΑΤΗΣ[]

(broken)

3 - 6. For the lacunae in these lines cf. 102⁹ - 14.

Translation:

.....]monastery (μοναστήριον) of Apa Apollo [saying: Since] I had need (-χρεία) of four [solidi of] gold, I came and besought (παρεκαλεῖν) [you and you gave them to me] this day [which is the ... day] of the month [... in this year the]...⁽¹⁾ [indiction (broken).

(1) Read Δε]κατης "tenth" or ενδε]κατης "eleventh" etc.

FRAGMENT

(d 96b) few ligatures.

↑
 1 θεο]δωρος πωνημακαρ Δ[
 2]... ΕΠΕΙΔΗ ΑΤΕΚΑΙΝΟ[ΤΗΣ
 (broken)

Verso: (docket) → 3]βοι^δ απ^ο πετε^ρ αββ^β που^λ πετε^ρ[

2. ΚΑΙΝΟ[ΤΗΣ for ΚΟΙΝΟΤΗΣ. The κοινο^της of a village apparently corresponded to the δίκαιον of a monastery; cf. Steinwenter: Studien par. 7 pp. 52 ff..

3. βοι^δ either the end of some name or more probable a title, perhaps

4. $\bar{\eta}\nu\omicron\chi\tau$, perhaps the scribe intended to write $\nu\omicron\nu\alpha\lambda\alpha\kappa\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$; $\omicron\chi\tau$ for $\omicron\omega\tau$ is impossible here.
7. The gap here was probably only one line.
9. $\epsilon\omega\rho\epsilon\delta\omicron\nu\eta\alpha\kappa$, we should have expected $\epsilon\omega\rho\chi\omicron\nu\eta\alpha\kappa$, but this phrase is sometimes found, e.g. 160¹⁴, J.7⁵⁶.
- $\varsigma\mu\eta\eta$ for $\varsigma\mu\bar{\eta}$, see chapter VIII par.2e.
- $\alpha\varsigma\phi\alpha\lambda\epsilon$ for $\alpha\varsigma\phi\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota\alpha$ so again in lines 14 and 17; cf. $\alpha\varsigma\phi\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota$ V.C.5¹⁶.
11. $\pi\alpha\nu\tau\omicron\upsilon\kappa\rho\alpha\tau\omega\nu$ (sic!) for $\pi\alpha\nu\tau\omicron\kappa\rho\alpha\tau\omega\rho$, see chapter VIII par.10l.
- $\eta\eta\tau\alpha\rho\chi\epsilon$ for $\eta\eta\epsilon\tau\alpha\rho\chi\epsilon\iota$ so B.M. 1041⁶ $\pi\epsilon\upsilon\chi\alpha\iota\eta\eta\tau\alpha\rho\epsilon\chi\epsilon$; see chapter VIII paragraphs 22 and 80m.
12. $\epsilon\chi\omega\nu$ for the normal $\epsilon\chi\omega\nu$; unparalleled.
- $\tau\eta\nu\omicron\upsilon$ for $\tau\epsilon\nu\omicron\upsilon$ see chapter VIII par.22.
- $\kappa\alpha\tau\eta\rho\omicron\varsigma$ (sic!), mistake for $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\kappa\alpha\iota\rho\omicron\varsigma$.
14. $\varsigma\tau\eta\chi\iota$, between η and χ remains of another letter(illegible); for $\varsigma\tau\omicron\iota\chi\epsilon\iota$.
- $\varsigma\tau\eta\chi\iota\tau\iota\alpha\varsigma\phi\alpha\lambda\epsilon$ for $\varsigma\tau\omicron\iota\chi\epsilon\iota\epsilon\tau\iota\alpha\varsigma\phi\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota\alpha$, see chapter VIII par. 20.
16. $\tau\iota\alpha\kappa\omega\nu$ for $\delta\iota\alpha\kappa\omicron\nu\omicron\varsigma$, cf. chapter VIII par. 68.
- $\tau\iota\epsilon\kappa\eta$, as this line is written in a hand different from the rest of the document, $\epsilon\kappa\eta$ cannot be an abbreviation of $\epsilon\gamma\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\eta$; it is probably a mistake for $\tau\iota\varsigma\tau\omicron\iota\chi\epsilon\iota$.

Translation:

In the name of God. We Jacob and George⁽¹⁾ his son of Pnom[.]ets⁽²⁾ in the nome(τω)⁽³⁾ of Antinoou, monks(μοναχοί) saying⁽⁴⁾: Since we came and besought(παρεκκαλέειν) you - my brother Lampou⁽⁵⁾ - you gave us a(?) solidus for wine⁽⁶⁾, and I agree(ὁμολογεῖν) - 5 - [that I shall give]you[...] $\lambda\alpha\eta\bar{\epsilon}$ -measures⁽⁷⁾ of wine[....]and again I agree(ὁμολογεῖν) [....(gap)....]month Tobe, I securing you again⁽⁸⁾. I have drawn up this agreement(ἀσφάλεια) - 10 - for you, I assenting(στοιχεῖν) to it, I swearing by almighty(παντοκράτωρ) God and the health of those who rule over us now and at any time⁽⁹⁾ that we shall observe for you its

validity. + We Jacob and George, we assent(στοιχεῖν) to this agree-
ment(ἁσφάλεια) - 15 - as it is written.+ +I Thomas the deacon(διάκο-
νος) I assent(?).

Docket: The agreement(ἁσφάλεια) of George concerning the[...]

- (1) These two persons only here.
- (2) This village does not seem to recur elsewhere.
- (3) τοῦ here as elsewhere corresponds to νομός. The Nome of Antinoou recurs here 119⁶, 127¹, 291³, the παγαρχία in 180². Outside the Bala'izah texts I have found it only twice again in published Cop-
tic texts: P.Lond.IV 1521¹⁰ and V.C. 46⁹; it also occurs a few times in the series B.M.Gr. 6201 A and B. On this nome see Pis-
toris: Indices Antinoopolitani (Leiden 1939).
- (4) Supply: "we are writing to my brother Lampou, saying..." cf. the note on line 3a above.
- (5) Lampou as deacon recurs several times in this collection (see index).
I have not been able to find this name again outside the Bala'izah texts, cf., however, λαμπων in Preisigke: Namenbuch.
- (6) Cf. 103 note 7.
- (7) On this measure see Crum - Bell: Wadi Sarga p.23 note 12 and p.135 note 8.
- (8) See above note on line 9.
- (9) On the oath-formula see chapter VII and references there.

115

REPAYMENT OF A DEBT

(d 46 and d 151g) 6½ by 11 inches. Ligatured.

In script, size and subject matter this document is very closely connected with the documents from the Ashmunein region.

(margin)

↑
+ πα!...NN η[]
τωσαννησ π.[.....]νε X[ε] τιχρεωσται νακ καθαρωσ κα[]

- 3 ἀποκροτῶς νητ[οοὺ ν20]λῶκοτῆ μν ψμοβ[η]ν ο[υ]βος κκερατια ννοὺβ]
- 4 γγχε^ν δ^ν γ γη- συ.[ναι οὐν τιγοοθ^ν ἤζετοίμος τα[μοὺ2 μμοοὺ νாக 2]
- 4a z..60. NN [
- 5 νηχωωλε κα[ρ]πων πεμτς ινΔ^ο νατλααγ[ναμφιβολια καν σαζητ κ]
- 6 αν σαρυς ντεσηνη
- 7 + ερε^α χοιακ β ινδ^ν τεταρτης + ~~++++~~ ^{σημιον ισακ^ο πρ^ο στοιχε +}
- 8 ἀνοκ παμοὺν ἀνεπειτροπη [η]αι [α]ιζα[ι]ζαροοὺ αγω+
- 9 ο νμετρε^(II) + ἀνοκ ππαπα ζηλια^ς τιω μετρε τιασφαλια η[θε] εςση2 μμοστ]
- 10 + ἀνοκ .[]α. τιο νμντρε ετιασφαγ +
- 11 σε[] (blank)
- (margin)

Verso: (docket) 12 →]χε^ν δ^ν γ γη γ κκεπε[ο]

13 ε ινδ^ν +

- Perhaps παι πε etc. (cf. παι πε πσυμφωνον etc. B.M.1064 f.) or some name; not παμοὺν.
- [τιχρεωσται νாக καθαρος και] ἀποκροτῶς this phrase is common in the texts from Ashmunein and the Fayyum, cf. Ryl. 191 and note 8 there also Ryl. 207, 209, B.M.1058 etc.. The occurrence here and in 117⁵ appear to be the only instances known from this region; it also occurs in Theban texts: J.58⁶, 59⁶⁻⁷, 64¹¹, C.O.Ad.16⁵, S.T. 427⁹, 429⁴, V.C.25⁷⁻⁸.
- συ., perhaps συ^ν (σὺν θεῷ), but this would be very unusual here; it is sometimes found in the middle of a document, but generally in front of the date e.g. B.M.1041⁵ τιρομπε εςσην συ^ν τριτης ινΔ^ο/ similarly B.M.1024, Ryl. 159, 162, 163 etc.. More probably, however, συ[stands for συγ^ω followed by the name of some important town e.g. B.M.1030⁴ γι^α αε^ν β αε^ν ζογ^ω εεμ^π. For συγ^ω = συγ^ω see chapter VIII par. 69.
- a. Some note added between the lines; obscure.
- πεμτς for πεμπτης so again in line 6 σαρυς for σαρης, see chapter VIII

par.36, and for the omission of π par.78B.

ΚΑΝ ΣΑΖΗΤ Κ]ΑΝ ΣΑΡΥΣ ΝΤΕΩΝΗ, lacuna supplied partly from the context partly from 188¹³⁻¹⁴ see 188 note 11.

7. The words following ΣΗΜΙΟΝ are extremely doubtful.

8. ἐπειτροπή on the use of a noun for a verb here see chapter VIII par. 157B.

9. μετρεῖ for μντρε see chapter VIII paragraphs 23 and 82c.

μετρε looks more like μερρε (mistake).

* μετρε τιασφαιδια for μντρε Ν-(or ε-)τιασφαιδια see chapter VIII paragraphs 20 and 80.

12. Cf. line 4; χρ = χρυσῶ; κγ = κεράτια; ξ = ὑπέρ.

Translation:

.....(line 2)]Johannes [....] saying: [I am owing to you clearly and] without fail(ἀποκρότως) four solidi and eight and a [half carats of gold] i.e.(γίνεται) gold, solidi: 4 and carats: 8½ ...⁽¹⁾ [These therefore] I am prepared(ἐτοίμος) [to repay to you] from the harvest of the crop (καρπός) of the fifth indiction without any [ambiguity whether⁽²⁾ north] or south of Teshnē⁽³⁾. +Written month Choiak 12, Indiction 4 + sign(σημεῖον)⁽⁴⁾ Isaac(?) the prior(πρεσβυτέρως)(?) I assent(στοιχεῖν)(?)+ I Pamoun, I was requested(ἐπιτροπή) and I wrote for them and I am witness. +I the papa Helias, I am witness to this agreement(ἁσφάλεια) [as it is written.] +I, I am witness to this agreement(ἁσφάλεια). ..[...] (?) (margin).

Docket:]gold, solidi: 4, carats: 8½ concerning crop, fifth Indiction.+

(1) See above note on line 4.

(2) See 188 note 11.

(3) Teshnē as a place-name recurs Ryl.170, Krall 130, W.S.355 and B.M.

1041, perhaps also Ryl.354; on the locality see W.S. 355 note 3.

The word literally means "the garden" which could be the meaning

here.

- (4) On the triple cross(≡) here cf. Steinwenter: Studien pp. 70 - 71 and references there; also Mitteis: P.Leipzig 90. This only occurs three times at Thebes while it is very common in the Ashmunein texts and further north. In the neighbourhood of Bala'izah it also occurs in the papyrus from the monastery of Apa Mena (C. Schmidt in Ä.Z. vol.LXVIII (1932) pp 60 ff. line 22) and in another papyrus fragment from Bala'izah; d 139e :

→] Ν Σ Υ Μ Ι Ο Ν Ν Β Ι Κ Ξ [
] ≡ ≡ ≡ Μ Ο Ν [

116

REPAYMENT OF A DEBT

(d 44 and d 95f) 2½ by 2½ and 7 by 6½ inches. Few ligatures.

↑

(broken)

- [οκρ[ο]τως...[
 [.]ζολοκοττιν[ος
 [τα]υ νακ ντ[σαωγ ν]
 [κα]τους νηρεπ[μποογ ν]
 5 ζοογ ετεσογ.[
 ζντιρομπε ται Δ[
 (gap)
 8 ταρειταδυ [να]κ εμ πουω[ω μπνουτε]
 ζν περος νπχ[ωλ]ε ζντι[ρομπε ται]
 10 δεσαρις ^(sic) τε τεκατ[ης ε]τε [νει]σαωγ
 νκατους νηρεπ[νε]ιεν[]
 ευωρεχ ουν ν[α]κ αισμν [τιασφαλεια]
 νακ ειστηχει ερος ειωρ[κ μπνουτε]
 ππαντωκρατορ μν πουχ[αι (ν)νενχισοογ]
 15 ε νερωου εταρχει εχω[ν τενογ]
 ταρειωωπε ειροεις νακ [προσ τβομ]

- 17 ΝΤΙΑΣΦΑΛΕΙΑ ΑΝΟΚ Α[πεπ]^[ε]
 ΠΕΤΩΗΡΠΣΖΑΙ ΤΙΣΤΗΧΑΙ ΕΤΙΑΣΦΑΛΕΙΑ
- II ρ ΑΝΟΚ ΑΠΟΛΛΩ ΠΜΟΝΟΧΟΣ ΤΙΣΤΗΧΗ ΕΤΙ
 20 ασφαλῖα νθε^(sic) ες νμος
- I τΑΝΟΚ ΑΠΑ ΕΙΣΑΚ ΠΕΚΟΝΟΜΟΣ †ΟΝΜΥΤΡΕ Χ
 τΑΝΟΚ ΑΠΑ ΕΙΣΑΚ ΠΣΟΝ ΝΖΗΚΕ †ΟΝΜΥΤΡΕ Χ
- III τΑΝΟΚ ΠΕΤΡΟΣ ΠΜΟΝΟΧΟΣ ΤΙΣΤΗΧ
- 24 I τΑΝΟΚ ΑΠΑΤΗΡ ΠΕΡ^ε ΔΙΣΖΑΙ ΖΑΡΟΥ ΔΥΩ †ΟΝΜΥΡΕ
 (margin)

1. See 115 line 2 note.

4. κατοϋς for καδος, so again in line 11, see chapter VIII par. 68.

10. δεσαρϋς for τεσσαρες cf. line 6, see chapter VIII paragraphs 111 and 107.

τε (sic!) for και, cf. chapter VIII par. 71A.

τεκατης for δεκατης see chapter VIII par. 68.

16. ταρειωωπε ειροεις this strange formula again B.M.1035⁸ and Turaief: Materiali 6⁷; see chapter VIII par. 159c.

18. ωηρπςζαι for γρπςζαι see chapter VIII par. 2g.

στηχαι for στοιχει cf. επαιδη 119¹⁰.

20. ες mistake for εσσηζ.

24. περ^ε for πεπρ^ε for πεπρεσβυτερος.

μυρε for μυτρε, see chapter VIII par. 110.

Translation:

.....I am owing you clearly and]without fail(ἀποκερότως)(?)[....]solidi
 [....]give(or:gave) them to you[..... seven]jars(κάδος) of wine[.....]
 today which is the[...]day[of the month ...]in this year [the fourteenth
 indiction(gap).....I am prepared]to give them to you by the will
 [of God]at the time(καρρός) of the harvest in this fourteenth year, which
 are [these] seven jars(κάδος) of wine[.....] As a security, therefore,
 for you I have drawn up [this agreement] for you, I assenting(στοιχεῖν) to

it, and I swear [by] almighty [God] and the health [of our lords] the sovereigns⁽¹⁾ who rule over us [now], that I shall observe for you [the validity] of this agreement(ἀσφαλεία). I A[...] the priest(?) who wrote already⁽²⁾, I assent(σ.τ.) to this agreement(ἀσφ.).

† I Apollo the monk(μοναχός), I assent(σ.τ.) to this agreement(ἀσφ.) as it is written.

+ I Apa Isaac the steward(οἰκονόμος)⁽³⁾, I am witness. X⁽⁴⁾

+ I Apa Isaac the poor brother⁽⁵⁾, I am witness. X⁽⁴⁾

+ I Petros the monk(μοναχός) I assent(σ.τ.).

+ I Apa Tēr⁽⁶⁾ the priest(πρεσβύτερος), I wrote for him and I am witness.

(1) The Coptic word ρρο here translated 'sovereign' refers to the Caliph and not to the Byzantine emperor. That neither βασιλεύς and the adjective βασιλικός nor the Coptic ρρο was regarded as a special attribute of the Byzantine emperor, but merely referred to the ruling person, is pointed out by E.Seidl: Der Eid im Römisch - Ägyptischen Provinzialrecht, vol.II, p.141. To the references cited there by Seidl I may add that βασιλικός occurs several times in the eighth century legal documents from Thebes.

(2) This very common phrase πεταφρησα sometimes with the addition of νησε (who wrote already above) presents some difficulty in exact translation. The meaning of the phrase is clearly: 'who has already been mentioned(above)' but grammatically it is impossible to translate it like that.

(3) On this title see chapter V p.34.

(4) This sign (X) is sometimes found for the usual cross (+); in this collection again 152^{10,11}, 151⁸, 176¹.

(5) The title 'the poor brother' I have been able to find only once again in the sixth century Aphrodito papyrus which is cited in the Introduction chapter III p.21. In line 2 we read:]μν πλος τηρυ μπνουτε μννεσνηογ νζηκ[ε "and the whole people of God and the poor

brethren".

- (6) Apa Tēr is not a very common name, but is cited in Preisigke: Namenbuch and elsewhere for the 7th - 8th century. In the present collection it recurs perhaps in 215⁴ and as ΠΠΑΠΑΤΗΡ in 126¹¹. It may be noted that the name does not seem to occur at Thebes. It is probably a shortened form of ΠΑΤΗΡ.

117

REPAYMENT OF A DEBT

(f 45) Uncials. Two fragments.

↑ (broken)
 1 [...]εϥσζαι μ⁶¹⁰α[
 2 []ΠΕΤΡΑ Ν[
 (gap)
 4 ΝΤΝ[
 5 ΤΙ ΝΑΚ ΚΑΘΑΡΩ[Σ ΚΑΙ ΑΠΟΚΡΟΤΩΣ]
 ΝΥΤΟΥ ΝΡΤΟΥ [Ν ΖΝΤΧΗ]
 ΡΕ ΝΤΡΙC ΚΑΙ Τ[ΕΚΑΤΗΣ ΙΝΔ, ΝΑΤΛΑΛΥ]
 ΝΑΜΦΟΙΒΟΥΛΙΑ[Μ]
 ΜΟΚ ΤΑΚΟΒΟΥ[†CΤΟΙ]
 10 ΧΕΙ Ε†ΑCΦΑΛΙ[Α ΝΘΕ ΕCCHΖ Μ]
 ΜΟC ΑΝΟΚ ΦΟΙΒ[ΑΜΜΩΝ ΝΘΕ]
 ΝΤΑΥΑΖΙΟΥ ΜΜ[ΟΙ ΔΙCΔΑΙ ΖΑΡΟΥ ΔΥΩ]
 †Ω ΜΜΝΤΡΕ ΕΓΡ[ΙΝΔΥ]
 14 //Β# [(margin)

Verso: (docket) → 15].ΙΦΩΝΑΡ.[

Translation:

....[who is writing to my[..... in the] rock⁽¹⁾ of [.....(gap)....]give⁽²⁾
 you clearly (καθαρώς) [and without fail] four artabas [of ... from the] sea-
 son of threshing⁽³⁾ of the thirteenth [indiction without any] ambiguity

(ἀμφιβολία) [if I do not give them⁽⁴⁾ to] you I shall pay them double.

[I ..., I] assent(στοιχεῖν) to this agreement(ἀσφάλεια) [as] it [is written].

I Phoibammon, [as] he requested(ἄξιον⁽⁵⁾) [me I wrote for him and] I am witness. Written [month ... indiction] 12.⁽⁶⁾

Docket: (obscure)

(1) Reading εντ[πετρα ν], cf. chapter IV pp.27ff., but doubtful.

(2) In view of the context, the τ is hardly the end of χρεωτ[ι], but the Coptic verb τ, cf. ST 427, VC 26 and cf. above 115² note.

(3) Cf. 103 note 9, but doubtful.

(4) Cf. BM 1031⁸⁻⁹, 1036⁶, etc..

(5) See chapter VIII paragraph 156.

(6) The ≡ ß ≡ in the text is unusual, but a parallel may be cited from Peremans-Vergote, Papyrologisch Handboek pl.X.

118

REPAYMENT OF A DEBT

(d 57 and d 151d; further fragments are two fragments in d 57 and d 151e) Crude hand.



(broken)

[μπο]ου [Νεοου ετε
 ουχωτεσε πε νεατρωρ τινου ντε[]

υοον ζετεμος ταμαζ νμοου νακ

νηκουι νμερε2 ον ειωρεκ νη

5 νουτε παντωκρατωρ ετρα[2]

[α]ρε2 νακ επιχαρτης νθε εχ

[ε]η[2 μμ]ος ανοκ πεωατε πετωε

ρεπсзαι тис[τοιχει]

+ αν[οκ] μμετρε[+ ?]

10 +[] μμετρε[+ ?]

11 + ανοκ ζαχαριας τιο νμετρ[ε + ?]

(margin)

2. $\chi\omega\tau\epsilon\epsilon$ for $\chi\omicron\tau\alpha\epsilon$ see chapter VIII paragraphs 56B and 7.

$\tau\iota\nu\omicron\upsilon$ for $\tau\epsilon\nu\omicron\upsilon$ see chapter VIII par. 23.

$\nu\tau\epsilon$ [] is difficult. From the context we should have expected $\tau\epsilon\nu\omicron\upsilon$ $\tau\iota\omega\omicron\omicron\tau\eta\ \eta\epsilon\tau\epsilon\mu\omicron\varsigma$. To read $\nu\tau\epsilon$ [N] $\omega\omicron\omicron\tau\eta$ is impossible in view of $\tau\alpha\mu\alpha\varsigma$ and $\epsilon\iota\omega\pi\epsilon\kappa$ following; and in any case the use of the conjunctive here would be unparalleled. I can only suggest that $\nu\tau\epsilon$ stands for $\eta\Delta\epsilon = \Delta\epsilon$ which is found in the Acta Pauli and a few other early Coptic manuscripts; in this case supply $\tau\iota\nu\omicron\upsilon\ \nu\tau\epsilon$ [τ] $\omega\omicron\omicron\tau\eta$. But the occurrence of $\eta\Delta\epsilon$ in a late text like this is quite remarkable and certainly unparalleled.

3. $\tau\alpha\mu\alpha\varsigma$ for $\tau\alpha\mu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ (sic!).

4. I can only suggest that $\mu\epsilon\pi\epsilon\varsigma$ stands for $\mu\lambda\varsigma, \mu\epsilon\lambda\varsigma$ cf. Crum: Dictionary p. 166a where a form $\mu\pi\epsilon\varsigma$ is also cited; cf. also chapter VIII par. 75.

9 - 11. $\mu\epsilon\tau\pi\epsilon$ for $\mu\eta\tau\pi\epsilon$ see chapter VIII par. 82a.

Translation:

.....] this day which is the twenty-sixth day of Hathor. Now [I] am prepared ($\acute{\epsilon}\tau\omicron\iota\mu\omicron\varsigma$) to repay them to you with the little salt(?), I swearing by almighty God that I shall observe for you this document ($\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\tau\eta\varsigma$) as it is written. I Peshate who has already written, I [assent]. + I [... , I am] witness. + [I ..., I am] witness. + I Zacharias, I am witness.

119

DEED OF SALE

(b 8, d 7lh, d 155c) 17½ by 4½ inches, complete. Ligatured.

An ass and its foal sold for one solidus.

(margin)



$\epsilon\mu\ \pi\rho\alpha\tilde{\eta}\ \mu\pi\eta\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$
 $\alpha\tilde{\eta}\omicron\kappa\ \pi\epsilon\iota\lambda\iota\theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$
 $\pi\omega\eta\pi\epsilon\ \mu[\tau]\mu[\alpha]\kappa$
 $\pi\epsilon\iota[.] \phi\epsilon\ \pi\rho\tilde{\alpha}\tau\mu\omicron\upsilon$

- 5 [μηρ] εμνηνομ[ος]
 [να]ντ[ινο]ου τπολις
 ειςσαι μ[α]σων αβρα
 εαμ̃ πρμμωναστ/
 ετουααβ απα μηνα
- 10 Σε επαιδη ντ[ανπι]
 θε μννηρηγ αι†
 νακ ντειω ετωι τε
 μν πεσωνρε ακ† ναι
 ντες†μη ετε ^(sic) παι ^(sic)
- 15 [ο]υζολοκ ν̃ α
 αυω †ζομολογει
 Σε ατες†μη ει ετοτ ^(sic)
 ειωρκ μπνουτε
 ππαντωκρατωρ
- 20 μν πουχαι ννεταρχ ^(sic)
 εχων ταρειζαρεε
 νακ προσδομ ντε[ι]
 ασφαλια †αν[οκ]
 πελιθεος στο[ιχε] ^(sic)
- 25 II †ανοκ μακαρ[ε] πιελαχ]
 [μπ]^ε †ω μμ[ντρε†]
 III †ανοκ[α] ηακ[υρε] πειε]
 λαχ μπρ^ε †ω μμντρ[ε]†
 I(?) ανοκ ππαπα πωοι
- 30 †ω μμντρε †
 (margin)

Verso: (docket) ↑ 31 ^(sic) ταας φαλια μ[πει]
 32 λιθεος εατειω

4. Crum suggests πει[λο]θε.

4 - 6. The reading of these lines was based on 127¹.

10.επαιδη a very unusual spelling of επειδη; cf.στηχαι 116¹⁸.

14.ετε παι we should have expected ετε ται τε. The omission of the enclitic is sometimes found, see chapter VIII par.157A.

21.ταρειζαρεζ in this context only 172⁵ again, we should have expected ετραζαρεζ see chapter VIII par. 159e.

27-28. Perhaps the same hand as that of lines 25f.

29-30. Perhaps different hand from the rest.

31.ταασφαλια for τασφαλια(sic!).

Translation:

In the name of God. I Peilitheos the son of the late(μακάριος) Pei[.]the from Tmoumēr⁽¹⁾ - 5 - in the nome(νομός) of the town(πόλις) Antinoou(?), I am writing to my brother Abraham from the holy monastery (μοναστήριον) of Apa Mena⁽²⁾ saying:

- 10 - Since we agreed(πείθειν) with each other, I sold you the ass which is mine and its foal and you gave me its price which is this:
- 15 - one solidus - solidus 1 -. And I agree(ὁμολογεῖν) that its price has come into my possession, I swearing by almighty(παντοκράτωρ) God - 20 - and the health of those who rule(ἄρχειν) over us, that I shall observe for you the validity of this agreement(ἀσφάλεια). + I Peilitheos assent(στοιχεῖν). - 25 - + I Makare [this least] priest(?), I am witness. [+ I] Apa Kyre this least(ἐλάχιστος) priest(πρεσβύτερος), I am witness. +

I the Papa Pshoi, I am witness. +

Verso: Docket: The Agreement(ἀσφάλεια) of Peilitheos concerning the ass.

(1) This village recurs 124² and 127¹, but apparently not elsewhere.

(2) On this monastery see chapter IV p.25.

(broken)

↑

- [X[.] ΠΕΙΕΒΤ ΔΥ[ω] ΠΕΜΝΤ ΕΥΩΡΧ ΟΥΝ
 [ΝΑΚ ΔΙΣΜΝ ΤΙΠ]ΡΑΣΙΣ ΕΙΣΤΟΙΧΕΙ ΕΡΟΣ ΔΥΩ ΕΙ[ωρ]Κ [μπ]ΝΟ[ΥΤΕ]
 [ΠΠΑΝΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ ΜΝ ΠΟΥΧΑΙ]ΝΝΕΝΧΙΣΟΟΥΕ ΕΤΑΡΧΙ ΕΧΩΝ ΚΑΤΑ
 [ΚΑΙΡΟΣ ΝΙΜ]ΤΙΣΜΝ ΤΕΙΠΡΑΣΙΣ ΔΥΩ ΔΙ[Π]ΑΡ[Δ]
 5 [ΚΑΛΕΙ]ΜΜΟΣ +
 []ΝΘΕ ΕΣΧΗΖ ΜΜΟΣ +
 [ΜΝ]ΤΡΕ ΕΤΙΠΡΑΣΙΣ ΝΘΕ ^(sic)ΕΣΧΗΖ ΜΜΟΣ +
 [ΜΝ ΑΛΛΑ^(sic)ΛΗ ΔΙΑΔΥΣΙΣ ΝΤΑΪΣΩΤΜ
 9 [ΖΙΤΝ ΠΕΤΣΜΙΝΕ ΜΜΟΣ +] (blank)
 (margin)

Verso: →

- 10 ρ ΑΝΟΚ ΑΒΡΑΖΑΜ ΠΕΙΕΧ^χ ΝΓΡΑΦΕΥΣ Τ[
 11 ΖΩ[μΔ]ΤΙΖΕ ΜΜΟΣ ΖΙΤΝ ΤΑΙΤ[ΗCΙC ΝΠΕΤΣΜΙΝΕ ΜΜΟΣ +]
 (margin)

4. τίςμν is strange; we should have expected ΔΙΣΜΝ.

8. ΑΛΛΑΛΗ mistake for ΑΛΛΑΓΗ.

9. ΖΙΤΝ ΠΕΤΣΜΙΝΕ ΜΜΟΣ; cf. Ryl.146, Krall 7^{14,15}, 138¹⁶, 216⁸.

11. ΖΩ[μΔ]ΤΙΖΕ for ΣΩΜΑΤΙΖΕ; cf. chapter VIII par. 104.

For the lacuna cf. P.Lond.IV,1499¹⁴, 1515¹⁷, Ryl.152, etc..Translation:

.....]the east and the west. AS a security therefore[for you I have drawn up this](deed of) sale(περάσις) and I assent(στοιχεῖν) to it and I swear by [almighty] God[and the health]of our lords who rule(ἄρχειν) over us at [any time]I draw(sic!) up this (deed of) sale(περάσις) and I have besought[.....]it.+ [.....]as it is written.+ [..... I am]witness to this (deed of) sale(περάσις) as it is written.+ [.....]and deed of exchange(ἀλλάγη, δόλυσις)⁽¹⁾ which I heard [through him who drew it up.+]

Verso: ρ I Abraham this least(ἐλάχιστος) scribe(γεράφους) [.....]I wrote

(σωματίζειν)⁽²⁾ it at the request(αἴτησις)[of him who drew it up.+]

- (1) For ἀλλαγῆ in this sense see Preisigke: Wörterbuch; it probably occurs in much the same sense in C.O.296⁸. The word occurs in a different sense in Ryl. p.162 note 5 "discount" and J. Sch. 6¹², etc. where it seems to mean "change of men" as part of the duties imposed by the government, cf. Preisigke: Wörterbuch.
- (2) For σωματίζειν in this sense see Preisigke: Wörterbuch. On the occurrence of the word in Coptic texts see C.Schmidt in A.Z.vol. 68 (1932) p. 63, note on line 33. Cf. also P.Ross.Georg.V 41⁹.

121

DEED OF SALE

(g 62 and d 93a) Few ligatures. Perhaps same hand as 143.

(broken)

1 | [X]Ε Α Τ Ε C T I Μ Η Ε Ι Ε Τ Ο Ο Τ Ε Τ Ν Δ Ε Ι Ν Ε [..] Τ [..]
 2 | []. Ν Ν Ο Υ Β Ε Ν Δ Ν Ο Υ Ε Υ Ο Ν Ν Ε Υ Ω Ι [Ε Π Ε Κ Ω Ρ Χ]
 3 | Ο Υ Ν Δ Ν C Z Δ Ι Τ Ι Π Ρ Α C I C Ε Ι Ν Δ Κ Ε Ν C T Η Χ Ε Ρ Ο C []

(broken)

Verso: (docket) —→

5 | Θ Ε] Ο Φ Υ Λ Υ Ν Χ Ο Ε Ι C Ν C Ο Ν Ε Τ Α Υ Δ Η Δ Κ Ο C Μ Δ
 6 | Ζ Ι Τ Ν Γ Ε Ω Ρ Γ Ε Π Ω

(broken)

1. ΕΤΝΔΕΙΝΕ for ΕΤΕΝΔΙΝΕ; see chapter VIII paragraphs 20 and 40.
 3. ΠΡΑCICEI; the scribe first wrote ΔCΦΑΛΕΙC and then corrected it to ΠΡΑCIC but omitted to delete ΕΙ.
 6. ΠΩ; presumably for ΠΩΝ; there was probably another line which contained the name of George's father.

Translation:

..... now I agree] that its price has come into my possession which is this [... solidi] of good gold, they being their weight⁽¹⁾. [For your

security,] therefore, we⁽²⁾ have written this (deed of) sale(πράσις) for you and we assent to it.[...(broken).

Docket:..]most God-loving(θεοφιλέστατος) honoured lord brother Apa Kosma from George the son of [....]

- (1) I am unable to find this phrase elsewhere; it evidently stands for εὐσταθις and is used to denote fully-measured gold solidi.
- (2) After εἰσοῦ in line 1 we should have expected the first person singular here.

122

DEED OF SURETY OR GUARANTEE

(c 10, d 73a, d 165a) 7 by 12½ inches (incomplete). Script: see Plate IV,3. Same hand as 131.

This document is for several reasons of unusual interest and takes us into the realm of the Aphrodito papyri with which it has much in common. It is addressed to the δημόσιος λόγος (Public authority), for which see Bell and Roberts: Merton Papyri number 49 p.184 note. Such documents are very rare in Coptic outside the Aphrodito find (P.Lond. IV; also Grohmann: Arabic Papyri in the Egyptian Library vol. III numbers 164-5) and the only others known to me are Ryl. 115, 116, 160, J. Sch. 6 and a few documents in the series B.M.Or. 6201 A and B.

On the Verso(287) is an account of the taxes for the pagarchies of Siout(Σούτων) and Kousson(κούσσων) which is dated 25th Phamenoth (or Parmouthy), indiction 8, years (A.H.) 106 which gives us the date of that document as Feb-March A.D. 725. The present document(122) was almost certainly the first text to be written on this papyrus and is dated 8th Paoni, indiction 7. This document was thus presumably written 9 or 10 months earlier than the verso which would give us the date for this document as May A.D.724.

The δημόσιος λόγος is here represented by αβ] Δελλα ὡν γαζογαν (عبد الله بن غزوات) the emir(= pagarch) of the combined pagarchies of

Sioout(Lycopolis) and Shōtep(Hypsēlē). This emir does not seem to occur elsewhere. That he was pagarch of the combined pagarchies of Sioout and Shotep is of special interest; on the verso (287) too we find these two pagarchies mentioned together(παρχ^χ λυκ^ω ; υψηλης δ^δ ηρακλειω ιωαν^ν ζ^ζ) which almost suggests that the two nomes had been merged as was the case of the two pagarchies of Antaiopolis and Apollonopolis Parva, see Sir Alan Gardiner: Ancient Egyptian Onomastica vol. II pp.56ff.. On the other hand, the fact that the village Tōhneshin[.] here is evidently described as being in the pagarchy of Sioout(lines 1 - 2) and that we find another village described as being in the nome of Shōtep (152³) seems conclusive evidence that the two pagarchies were temporarily combined under the same pagarch but continued as separate nomes.

- ↑
(margin)
- 1 [ΕΝ ΟΝΟΜΑΤΙ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ] ΑΜΗΝ ΕΞΕ Μ^μ Π^π Η^η ΙΝΔ^δ Ζ^ζ
- 2 [Ν]ΕΓΓΥΗΤΗΣ Μ^μ Ν ΠΣΕ[ΕΠΕ ΝΤΚΟΙΝΟ]ΤΗΣ ΤΗΡ^ρ [Ν] ΤΩΖΝΕ
 ΨΙΝ[]
- 3 [ΖΝΤΕΙΠΑΓΑΡΧΙΑ ΤΑΙ]ΣΙΟΥΤ ΖΙΤΟΥΤ^τΝ ΑΝΟΝ ΝΕΤΝΔΖΥΠΟΓΡΑΦΕ ΣΑΠΕΣΗΤ
 ΝΤΕΙΕΓΓΥΗΤ[ΙΚΗ]
- 4 [ΖΟΜΟΛΟΓΙΑ ΔΥΩ ΖΙΤΝ]Τ^τΖΥΠΟΓΡΑΦΗ ΗΓΟΥΝ ΠΕΤΟΥΝΑΣΖΑΙΖΑΡΟΥ ΧΕΜΑΥΝΟΪ
 ΕΝΣΖΑΪ ΜΠΑΝΜΟ[Ε]
- 5 [ΟΣ ΛΟΓΟΣ Η(ΤΟΙ)ΠΕΝΧΟΕΙΣ ΑΒ]ΔΕΛΛΑ Ψ^ψΝ ΓΑΖΟΥΑΝ' ΠΕΥΚ^κ ΝΑΜΙΡΑ^ρ ΝΤΕΙΠΑΓ^γ
 ΤΑΪΣΙΟΥΤ Μ^μΝ ΨΩΤΠ
- 6 [ΝΤΧ[.....
 ...]Ω ΠΩΝ ΦΙΛΟΘΕΟΣ
- (broken)

1. The lacuna hardly contained more than this.

3 - 4. Cf. P.Lond.IV 1529²⁻³; for ΕΓΓΥΗΤΙΚΗ ΖΟΜΟΛΟΓΙΑ cf. P.Lond.IV 1494ff.

5. For the lacuna cf. Ryl.115, 116 and p.63 note 3.

Translation:

[In the name of God,] amen. Written month Paoni 8, indiction 7.
 [..... the] guarantors (ἐγγυητής) and the rest [of the] whole community
 (κοινότης) of Tōhneshin^[1] [in this pagarchy] Sioout, through us who
 shall subscribe (ὑπογράφειν) below this deed of surety (ἐγγυητικὴ ὁμολογία)
 [and through] his signature (ὑπογραφή) that is to say (ἵγουν) he for whom
 it shall be written because he knows (νοεῖν) not (how to write), we are
 writing to the public authority (δημόσιος λόγος) [that is to say our lord]
 Abdella son of Gazouan the most illustrious (εὐκλεέστατος) emir⁽²⁾ of
 this pagarchy (παγαρχία) Sioout and Shōtep [.....] the son of Philotheos [..
 ... (broken).

(1) This village only here.

(2) The title 'emir' is used for the title 'pagarch' if the holder of
 this office is an Arab; cf. Steinwenter: Studien pp. 9ff.

123

GREEK RECEIPT

(Ms. Greek Class. g 57) 3¼ by 3 inches complete. Script not unlike
 Bell and Roberts: Merton Papyri 48 (plate XLVIIIa). I am indebted to
 Mr. C.H. Roberts who made some valuable suggestions on this document.

This is one of the few Greek documents in this collection. It is
 a receipt for fourteen and a half carats of gold for a fixed quantity
 of fruit (τακτός καρπός) of the ninth indiction. Unfortunately the
 first line of the document has remained obscure.

(margin)

↑
 + έχω έχω .. πιζλαζ απο του
 ζορουχ απο τακτου καρ
 που εννατης ινδ⁹ χρυ
 σου κερατια δεκατεσ
 σερα ημισου συνβοιθ. [.]

- 6 $\kappa\tau$ $\epsilon\delta\lambda$ $\sigma\upsilon\nu\beta\omicron\iota\theta\prime$
 $\epsilon\gamma\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\eta$ $\chi\omicron\iota\alpha\kappa$ α $\iota\nu\delta\prime$ []
- 8 $\sigma\epsilon\nu\omicron\upsilon\theta\iota$ μ^{α} κ^{ν} $\sigma\eta$ $\sigma\tau\eta\chi$
 (margin)

1. $\epsilon\chi\omega\epsilon\gamma\omega$ very doubtful; $\epsilon\sigma\chi\omicron\nu$ or some abbreviation of this cannot be read here. After this follows a letter or ligature which I am unable to read (\mathcal{W}). $\pi\iota\epsilon\lambda\alpha\epsilon$ is perhaps part of a name.

2. $\epsilon\sigma\phi\omicron\upsilon\chi$ evidently a place-name.

5. (and 6.?) $\sigma\upsilon\nu\beta\omicron\iota\theta$ [] this word again in P.Grenf. II 97⁷, republished in Wessely, Studien zur Paläographie und Papyruskunde vol. III (= U.K. F.) 318⁷.

8. μ^{α} κ^{ν} $\sigma\eta$ $\sigma\tau\eta\chi$ probably for $\mu\epsilon\tau\prime\alpha$ $\kappa\upsilon(\rho\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon)$ $\sigma\eta(\mu\epsilon\iota\omega\sigma\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma)$ $\sigma\tau\omicron\iota\chi\epsilon\acute{\iota}$.

(c 14, d 71 b-g, d 90d) 4½ by 12 inches, complete. No ligatures.
 On the Verso letter in different hand (240), earlier.



(margin)

+ $\alpha\lambda\omicron\kappa$ $\Sigma\alpha\chi\alpha\rho\iota\alpha\varsigma$ $\pi\alpha\gamma\bar{\eta}$ $\pi[\mu]\alpha\kappa\alpha\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$ $\mu\eta\eta\alpha$ $\bar{\eta}\bar{\rho}\bar{\mu}$
 $\pi\epsilon\pi\eta\gamma\iota\omicron\bar{\nu}$ $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\rho[\gamma\epsilon\epsilon\omega]$ $\bar{\nu}\tau\kappa\omicron\iota$ $\bar{\nu}\tau\mu\omicron\upsilon\mu\eta\rho$ $\epsilon\iota\varsigma\epsilon\alpha\iota$ $\mu\pi\alpha\varsigma\omicron\bar{\nu}$
 $\varsigma\alpha\mu\omicron\upsilon\eta\lambda$ $\chi\epsilon$ $\epsilon\pi\mu\alpha$ $\bar{\nu}\pi\omicron\omega$ $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\tau\eta\tau\omicron\omicron\tau\kappa$ $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ $\gamma\tau\omicron\omicron\upsilon$
 $[\bar{\nu}\epsilon]\omicron\lambda\omicron\kappa\prime$ $\alpha\gamma\epsilon\iota$ $\epsilon\tau\omicron\omicron\tau$ $\mu\pi[\dots]$ $\gamma\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ $\varsigma\omicron\upsilon\mu[\bar{\nu}]$ $\tau\alpha\varsigma\epsilon$ $[\mu]$

5 $[\pi\alpha\omega]\bar{\nu}\epsilon$ + $\alpha\lambda\omicron\kappa$ $\beta\alpha\rho\theta\omicron\lambda\omicron\mu\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ $\pi\iota\epsilon\lambda\alpha\chi\epsilon\iota\varsigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$

5a $\epsilon\pi\iota\chi\alpha\rho\tau\eta\varsigma$

6 $\tau\iota\omicron$ $\bar{\nu}\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ $\bar{\nu}\theta\epsilon$ $\epsilon\varsigma\varsigma\eta\epsilon$ $\mu\mu\omicron\varsigma$

7 [$\tau\iota\varsigma\tau\eta\chi\epsilon$ $\pi\iota\chi\alpha\rho\tau[\eta\varsigma$ +]

(margin)

1. $\bar{\eta}\bar{\rho}\bar{\mu}$ for $\pi\bar{\rho}\bar{\mu}$ (sic!)

2. $\pi\epsilon\pi\eta\gamma\iota\omicron\bar{\nu}$ for $\pi\epsilon\pi\omicron\iota\kappa\iota\omicron\bar{\nu}$.

3. $\bar{\nu}\pi\omicron\omega$ (sic!) apparently for $\bar{\nu}\tau\pi\alpha\gamma\epsilon$, cf. chapter VIII par.10; cf.

also note 3 below.

4. Perhaps $\mu\pi[\alpha\alpha\alpha]\gamma$, we should have expected $\mu\pi\alpha\alpha\gamma \alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha$.

5. $[\pi\alpha\omega]\alpha\epsilon$ seems probable but is not certain; for the omission of the enclitic $\alpha\epsilon$ see 119¹⁴ note.

5a. Added between the lines.

6. $\epsilon\sigma\sigma\alpha\epsilon$ mistake for $\epsilon\gamma\sigma\alpha\epsilon$.

7. Probably supply $[\tau\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha \alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha]$.

$\sigma\tau\eta\chi\epsilon \pi\acute{\iota}\chi\alpha\rho\tau[\alpha\epsilon]$ for $\sigma\tau\eta\chi\epsilon \epsilon\pi\acute{\iota}\chi\alpha\rho\tau[\alpha\epsilon]$ see chapter VIII par. 20.

Translation:

+I Zacharias the son of the late ($\mu\alpha\kappa\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\varsigma$) Mena from the $\epsilon\pi\alpha\acute{\iota}\kappa\iota\alpha\alpha$ Hr[.].feesh⁽¹⁾ of the field of Tmoumēr⁽²⁾ I am writing to my brother Samuel saying: as regards(?)<the> half solidus which is from you⁽³⁾ behold four solidi have come into my possession [this day] which is the sixteenth day of Paoni(?). +I Bartholomeos this least one ($\epsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\chi\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\varsigma$), I am witness to this document ($\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\tau\eta\varsigma$) as it is written. [+I Zacharias (?),] I assent ($\sigma\tau\alpha\iota\chi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$) to this document ($\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\tau\eta\varsigma$).

(1) This $\epsilon\pi\alpha\acute{\iota}\kappa\iota\alpha\alpha$ only here.

(2) Tmoumēr, a village in the nome of Antinoou, recurs 119⁴ and 127¹.

(3) The passage is extremely difficult; I can only suggest that Samuel had paid half a solidus and was then told to pay four solidi which are now receipted.

125

RECEIPT

(f 16) Few ligatures.



(margin)

+ $\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha \alpha\epsilon\alpha\alpha \alpha\alpha\epsilon\alpha \alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha$

$\alpha\alpha \alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha \epsilon\alpha\alpha\alpha \alpha\alpha\alpha$

3 $\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha \alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha \alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha$

3a $\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha \alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha \alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha \alpha\alpha$

4 $\alpha\alpha\alpha \alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha \alpha\epsilon \alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha$

receipt of $\frac{1}{2}, \frac{1}{3}$ solidi in part-settlement of his ἀσφάλεια.

126

RECEIPT ?

(f 63) Line 3 suggests that some articles (σκευος) were involved.



(broken)

ΕΤΟΝΕ[

ΕΙ ΕΤΟ[ΟΤ

ΝΕΥΣΚΕ[ΥΕ

ΤΕΝΟΥ CYN[†] Κ[

5

ΜΕ ΕΝΕΓΕ ΝΑ[

ΕΠΑΟΥΕΝΟΒΡ...Ω[

ΟΥΡΠ[Ο]ΔΑΙ[

ΧΕ ΕΙΩΡΚ Ε[

ΜΟΣ + ΑΝΟ[Κ

10

ΝΘΕ ΕΣΣΗΕ[ΜΜΟΣ

ΠΠΑΠΑ ΤΗΡ Π[

(broken)

4. The κ following CYN[†] (sic!) is difficult. We should have expected the year of the indiction here, cf. 115⁴ note, but no numeral from 1 to 15 begins with a κ.

11. On Papa Tēr see 116 note 6.

127

RECEIPT ?

(e 70) Few ligatures. Two fragments.



(broken)

1 ρ]ωμ πΔιμε τμογμhr εΝΠτοω ΑΝΤΙΝΟΟΥ ΤΠΟΛ[ΙC

2]μετ ἤελοκοττη νο[Υ]η εΑτεγμοττηC Ν[

3 CΟΥ μ]ΗΤψΙC ΠΕ[

(gap)

5] ΝΙΩΖΑΝΗC ΠΩΗ[Ν Π]ΜΑΚΑΡ[ΙΟC
6]ΕΝ Π.Μ.Α. ΠΡΟΥ[
(broken)

Verso: (docket) —→

8 +ΤΑCΦΑΛΙΑ ΠΑCΩΝ ΙΩ ΕΓΒΕ

1. ΤΩΥ ΑΝΤΙΝΟΟΥ for ΤΩΥ ΝΑΝΤΙΝΟΟΥ; similarly line 2 εΟΛΟΚΟΤΤΗ ΝΟ[Υ] for εΟΛΟΚΟΤΤΗ ΝΝΟ[Υ] and line 8 ΤΑCΦΑΛΙΑ ΠΑCΩΝ for ΤΑCΦΑΛΙΑ ΝΠΑCΩΝ, see chapter VIII par. 80.
2. ΜΕΤ for ΜΗΤ; see chapter VIII par. 34, or ωδμετ for ωομντ, ib. par. 82.
8. ΙΩ a frequent abbreviation for ΙΩΖΑΝΗC, though usually written ΙΩ, see index.

Translation:

.....] from the village Tmoumēr⁽¹⁾ in the nome(τω) of the town(πόλις) Antinoou⁽²⁾ [.....] ten solidi of gold for their satisfaction⁽³⁾ [..... this day which is the] nineteenth day [.....] Johannes the son of the late [.....(one more line, then broken).

Docket: The agreement(ἁσφάλεια) of my brother Johannes concerning [...

- (1) This village recurs 119⁴ and 124².
- (2) On the nome of Antinoou see 114 note 3.
- (3) For the Coptic word ΜΟΤΗC see W.S. p. 137 note 3, cf. also Crum:

Dictionary p. 195b.

RECEIPT

(d 148e) Uncials. On the Verso letter in different hand.

————→ (margin)

1] ΠΕΝΤΑΧΕΪ ΕΤΟΟ[Γ
2] ΝΚΑΧ ΕΔ Ν[
3 ΒΑΡΘΟΛ]ΟΜΕΟC ΚΕΟΥΑ ΕΔ[

(broken ?)

2. καλ, on this rare word see Crum: Dictionary p.134a; here again 303⁵.

129

RECEIPT ?

(g 71) Uncials. On the Verso literary fragment in different hand.

(margin)

↑
]ΝΑΚΕΛΜΑΤΕΝ[

]ΝΟΒ ΕΡΩΜΕ ΑΠΔ[

]ΝΕΙΤ ΝΠΝΟΝΟΧΙΟΝΝΑ[

]ω< ε^(sic) ΗC ΠΤΕΡΜΗCΙΟ[Ν

5]Κ ΑΥΙ ΕΤΟΟΤΚ[

]ΜΜΟΥ ΕΝΠΑΣ[Ο]Ν Μ[

(broken)

1. Obscure.

2. ΝΟΒ ΕΡΩΜΕ for ΝΟΒ ΝΡΩΜΕ; see chapter VIII par. 82b.

3. ΝΟΝΟΧΙΟΝ ought to be a Greek word; perhaps for ΜΟΝΑCΤΗΡΙΟΝ (Drescher).

4. ω< (sic!). The sign < is obscure.

ε^{ΗC} for εΙC ; cf. index for various spellings of this word.

130

NOTIFICATION OF TAX ASSESSMENT IN GREEK

(Ms. Greek Class. f.86 and g.52) 4½ by 4½ inches, complete. Minuscule hand, see plate IV,4.

From the early Arab period we have quite a number of documents of this type in Greek, Arabic and Coptic. A number of Greek documents were published by Wessely, Studien III, VIII (=U.K.F.) numbers 260, 1083, 1180-1200, 1202, also Studien X, 197. These are mostly earlier than the present document and the only one which in some ways resembles it is U.K.F. 1195. Well-known is the group of documents of this type from Aphrodito, usually issued in both Greek and Arabic, published by C.H. Becker in Papyri Schott Reinhardt I, in Zeitschr.f.Assyriologie XX (1906) and in Der

Islam II(1911)pp.266ff., cf.Preisigke,Sammelbuch 5638,5644-5654; these are again a special group and they are almost certainly earlier than the present document. A most interesting parallel to these is provided by the Colt Papyri recently found in Palestine, see H.I.Bell,The Arabic bilingual Entagion in Proc.Am.Phil.Soc. LXXXIX(1945)pp.531ff..

In Coptic there are quite a number of documents of this type, though few of them have so far been published. We can distinguish three types among these. Firstly Ryl.117 and 118, and to these four documents at Vienna can now be added. Professor Till very kindly communicated these to me and he is proposing to include them in his forthcoming volume of Coptic legal documents at Vienna. Ryl.378 is probably yet another document of this type. A second group is formed by five documents issued apparently by the same person and written by the same scribe from Bawit (about A.D.725). I found these among the Lansing papyri which came to the Egyptian department of the British Museum in 1887. I am proposing to publish these elsewhere. The third group consists of Ryl.119, B.M.440 and probably here 131, and the present Greek document is a very close parallel to these. B.M.440 (B.M.Or.4664 A and B, two documents of which one is a copy of the other) was described by Crum as: "A financial document in the form of a letter the purport of which it is difficult to comprehend." The short extracts which Crum published from this document attracted my attention and I am publishing the text in full in the appendix to the present document. It was the Coptic document which helped me greatly to read and to understand the Greek document.

B.M.440 is of special importance as it is an assessment for the years A.H. 105-6 = A.D.723; the years of the indictions, however, do not agree with the years A.H. there and presumably the scribe made a mistake in the years A.H., dating the document one year too early. We would thus obtain the year A.D.724 for the date of that document. In view of the obvious relation of the Bala'izah text to that document and

the fact that the years of the indiction are in both cases the same, we are probably right in assigning the Bala'izah document to the same year A.D.724. Probably Ryl.119 too belonged to the same period, but unfortunately the year of the indiction is not preserved there.

(margin)

Ε εχω σαλε υι αβιρασζιδ υμιν απολλα απα κ' /
 απο πετερ αββ πουλει ελ^κ σοι απο δημ^ο
 [κατ] ζ υ' ζ δ' η υ' αρι[†] υ' υ' β δυ ουτ^ω διαχ υ' αχ[†]
 [δ'] μ μ β υ' γ εζ[ε] δ υ' γ ζ δ' εμβ^λ αε[†] υ' υ' / σου
 5 [ιν] πλ^η μηθεν ετ[†] παρο[ν] . . . απ εκ[†]
 αποδ εντ^α διδομ^ε παρ[τ^ν] υπο +
 7 γυ β αε[†] υ'

(margin)

1. On Ε at the beginning of this document see below 185 introduction.

It is remarkable that in line 6 here the scribe makes use of the cross(+).

σαλε υι αβιρασζιδ; in Arabic صالح بن ابي شيبه
 υμιν; note that in line 2 it is σοι.

2. πετερ αββ πουλει; on this πέτερ see chapter IV p.25.

ελ^κ for έλαχε.

δημ^ο for δημόσιον; this corresponds here to δάχραφον in line 3. For this meaning of δημόσιον see P.Lond.IV pp.XXV ff..

3. δ' for δαπάνη. This was the tax imposed to bear the expenses of the local officials and others, see P.Lond.IV pp.XXV ff.. It is interesting to note that the δάχραφον (poll-tax) has to be paid for the current year, whereas the δαπάνη to support the local officials is paid a year early; we find the same in B.M.440, see below and also in Ryl.120.

αρι[†] υ' for αρίθμια νομίσματα as opposed to the έχόμενα νομίσματα.

The αρίθμια νομίσματα were solidi weighed by the official standard

and they differed from the ἐχόμενα νομίσματα by two or more carats, see P.Lond.IV pp.84 ff..

∂∂ (sic!) written ∂∂. Both signs are commonly used for νομίσμα(τα) though the latter is more common in late documents like this, and elsewhere in the present document it is always the second sign(∂), in particular also in line 4 after αε^τ where it was inserted by mistake.

διαχε^ε for διαγραφον or διαγραφή.

4. [δ^π] μμ^β for δαπάνη μηνῶν δώδεκα "expenses for twelve months". This tax is also found in the parallel documents Ryl.119 and B.M.440 (see below), also in 300¹⁹ below. In P.Lond.IV the δαπάνη is paid for various months and generally for a particular person, e.g. P.Lond.IV 1433^{117,118}; but δαπάνη for twelve months is also found e.g. P.Lond.IV 1433³⁴ and P.Ross.Georg. IV 4⁷. At the period when the present document was written the δαπάνη for the local officials appears to have become a fixed item for twelve months. On other δαπάνη payable at this period cf. the next note and see chapter VI.

(δ^π) εζ[ε]^δ This tax recurs as the last δαπάνη μηνῶν δώδεκα in 300¹⁹ and is evidently the same as that described by Bell in P.Lond.IV 1419 line 16 note: "εζ^δ this word varies frequently; in line 184 it is apparently written εζε^δ and in line 785 εζε^δ. Sometimes e.g. line 371 it precedes a new section of the τόπος; there in each case the name of the τόπος is followed by (ὕπερ) with a personal name; so that εζ^δ may be taken to referring to those persons, for whom the person under whose name the previous entries stand, pays. The word therefore is probably ἐξέδρων i.e. 'persons away from home'; it seems, indeed, a rather literary word, but that is not in itself a decisive objection."

στ^εμβ^λ for ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐμβολῆς. The ἐμβολή was the corn-tax which was paid in kind (here half an artaba). It is to be noted that the

ἐμβολή is absent in the parallel documents Ryl.119 and B.M.440; but in some of the Aphroditos accounts it is required as here side by side with the δαύραρον: S.B.5638, 5644, 5646, 5648, 5650, 5653, 5654.

αε^τ for ἀετράβη. The ^ν after αε^τ is probably a mistake, cf. note on line 3 above.

σου for ἡμισυ.

5. [ιν] πλη^η μηδεν ετ^ν παρε[ν] evidently for ἵνα πληρώσης μηδεν ἔτει παρόντι.

After this the lacuna may have contained one further letter, then follow a few letters which I have not been able to read satisfactorily, cf. photo on plate IV,4. According to the Coptic parallel we would have expected something like: "so that you do not pay anything in the present year more than that expected from every-one..."

απ εκ^τ for ἀπ' ἐκάστου.

6. απο^δ εν τ^{αδ} διδομ^ε παρ[τ^ν] υπο^ο for ἀποδέχου ἐντάξιον διδόμενον παρὰ τοῦ ὑποδέκτου, cf. the similar phrase in B.M.440 (see below). The ὑποδέκτης as tax-collector occurs also in U.K.F. 1195, Ryl.118 and elsewhere, cf. Preisigke: Wörterbuch, also B.M.1022.

Appendix

B.M.Or.4664 A and B, partly published as B.M.440.

B.M.Or.4664 A: 7½ by 7¾ inches, complete. Crum already noted that the hand is that of Aristophanes son of Johannes who wrote many of the legal documents from Thebes; cf. the facsimile in B.M. plate 3 no.1011. B.M. Or. 4664 B is a second copy of 4664 A written by the same scribe.

B.M.Or.4664 A:

(margin)

↑
 συν^θ σααλ γι^ο αβδελλα περσεαι νδανιηλ πων παρωμ
 ημ ηκαστ^ρ[ο]ν χημε^ε χε [να] νε ντασταζοκ μμοου
 ηγταδυ ζμπδιαστ^τ ηνδην^ο η ζ ετ^ν ρε μν δ^π η η ετ^ν ρε

- 4 ΕΤΕ ΝΑΙ ΝΕ ΑΝ^δ ΟΝ^α ΕΥ ΚΕΦΛ̄ ὦ ΑΥ^γ Β^μ Μ^η ΟΥΤ^ω ΔΙΑΥ^ε ὦ ΑΥ^γ Δ^π Μ^μ Β^β
- 5 ὦ Γ^κ Δ^δ Δ^π ΑΜΙ^ρ ὦ Κ^δ Μ^η ΓΥ ὦ ΑΥ^γ Β^μ Μ^η ΔΥΩ ΠΕΤΕΚΝΑΤΑΔΥ
- ΤΗΡΥ ΧΙ ΑΠΟΔΕΙΞΙΣ ΕΡΟΥ ΕΥ...^λ [...ΧΕ] ΝΝΕΚΤΙΛΔΔΥ ΠΑΡΑ
- ΤΕΚΠΙΤΤΑΚ̄ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΒΟΜ ΝΔΙΟΙΚ̄ ΝΤΕ ΠΕΚΤΙΜΕ +
- ΕΥ^ε Μ^μ Τ^τ Ι^ι Ζ^ζ
- ΔΙΑΥ^ε ὦ ΑΥ^γ Δ^π Μ^μ Β^β ὦ Γ^κ Δ^δ Δ^π ΑΜΙ^ρ ὦ Κ^δ Μ^η
- 10 . ΓΥ ὦ ΑΥ^γ Β^μ Μ^η
- (margin)

2. [ΝΑ]Ι ΝΕ ΝΤΑΣΤΑΖΟΚ ΜΜΟΥ, so again Ryl.117, 118 etc..

3. ΔΙΑΥ^ε very doubtful; the scribe here makes use of a difficult ligature (3) and ΔΙΑΣΤΑΛΜΟΣ is little more than a guess.

4. «^δ ΟΝ^α ΕΥ ΚΕΦΛ̄ for ἀνδρισμός ὀνόματος α εἰς κεφαλισμόν. «^δ appears to be certain.

For Δ^π Μ^μ Β^β see above 130⁴ note.

5. ΑΜΙ^ρ is almost certainly an abbreviation for ΑΜΙ^ρ ΑΛΜΟΥΜΕΝ , in Arabic: أمير المؤمنين. At Aphrodito the most common abbreviation used for this is ΑΜΙ^ρ «^λ P.Lond.IV 1338¹², P.Ross.Georg.7⁵ etc., other abbreviations found are: ΑΜΙ^ρ «^λ P.Lond.IV 1362¹, 1438⁹ 1451^{100,109}, 1487; ΑΜΙ^ρ «^λ 1378¹ and 1517⁷.

6. ΕΥ...^λ [...ΧΕ], one is tempted to read ΕΥΑΣΦ^λ [ΝΑΚΧΕ] here, but it is somewhat difficult to justify this reading from the traces extant on the papyrus. The λ above the line is certain and there can be little doubt that something like this was intended here.

Translation:

With God⁽¹⁾. Saal son of Abdella⁽²⁾ it is who is writing to Daniel the son of Pahōm⁽³⁾ of the castron Jēme, saying:

These are those which are due from you and you shall pay them in the assessment(? ΔΙΑΣΤΑΛΜΟΣ) of the poll-tax(ΔΗΜΟΣΙΟΝ)⁽⁴⁾ of the 7th indiction, year 105⁽⁵⁾ and the expenses-tax(ΔΑΠΑΝΗ) of the 8th indiction year 106; which are these: Tax(ἀνδρισμός)⁽⁶⁾ for one person(ὄνομα)

for poll-tax-assessment(κεφαλισμός)⁽⁷⁾ solidi: $1\frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{3} \frac{1}{12} \frac{1}{48}$; thus: poll-tax(δ'α'γρα'φον) solidi: $1\frac{1}{2}$, expenses-tax(δ'α'πα'νη) for twelve months solidi: $\frac{1}{3} \frac{1}{24}$, expenses-tax(δ'α'πα'νη) for the Emir al-moumenin⁽⁸⁾ solidi: $\frac{1}{24} \frac{1}{48}$; total, solidi: $1\frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{3} \frac{1}{12} \frac{1}{48}$.

And as regards everything which you shall pay, receive a receipt (ἀποδείξις) concerning it as a[security for you(?) that]you shall not pay anything beyond your order of payment(παρακίον) according to the authority of (the) administration(διοίκησις) of your village. +

Written month Tobe, indiction 7.

Poll-tax(δ'α'γρα'φον) solidi: $1\frac{1}{2}$, expenses-tax(δ'α'πα'νη) for twelve months: $\frac{1}{3} \frac{1}{24}$, expenses-tax(δ'α'πα'νη) for the Emir al-moumenin solidi: $\frac{1}{24} \frac{1}{48}$, total, solidi: $1\frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{3} \frac{1}{12} \frac{1}{48}$.

(1) The introduction to this document is of some interest; we have several documents written by the same scribe which are headed by the full Christian invocation formula e.g. J.10,11,14,etc., but here he writes the document on behalf of an Arab, and consequently omits the cross usual at the beginning of Coptic documents, and merely writes 'with God'; in line 7 he adds the cross by mistake, clearly by force of habit.

(2) Definitely not Saul as read by Crum in B.M.440. Saal son of Abdella, in Arabic *ساهر بن عبد الله* recurs in J.45³ as Emir(ἐμμεν) i.e. patriarch of διοικ(ο)λ(ις) ἑως λατοό(πολ(ις)).

(3) Daniel the son of Pahom recurs in J.52², 61⁴ and Verso 6, 63³, 71⁶.

(4) On δημόσιον here see above 130² note.

(5) On the discrepancy between the years A.H. and the years of the indiction see the introduction to 130 above.

(6) For a full discussion of ἀνδρισμός in the meaning of poll-tax see Bell in P.Lond.IV p.168. Bell there points out convincingly that there was no apparent difference between ἀνδρισμός and δ'α'γρα'φον (= δ'α'γρα'φή). In the present document ἀνδρισμός is used to include

both δῶλεαφον and also δαπάνη which almost suggests that ἀνδρεσμός had that particular significance. In support of such a meaning those documents might be cited where δῶλεαφον and ἀνδρεσμός occur side by side as here in number 303; on the other hand ἀνδρεσμός is also frequently found side by side with δαπάνη e.g. P.Lond IV 1421³⁸, 1573⁵, and we are probably right in concluding that in the present document as elsewhere the word meant no more than poll-tax and that its peculiar use here is accidental.

(7) On the meaning and significance of εἰς κεφαλισμὸν see Bell's discussions in P.Lond. IV p.171 and J.E.A. vol. IV p.95; cf. W.S. p.14 and Wilcken: Grundzüge p.236.

(8) On this tax see chapter VI.

Text of B.M.Gr.4664 B:

↑

(broken)

] ὦ α\ γ' β' μῆ ουτ' διαγ[
 η] ΕΤΕΚΝΑΤΑΔΥ ΤΗΡΥ ΧΙ ΑΠΟΔΕΙΞΙC
 Ν] ΝΕΚΤΙ ΛΑΔΥ ΠΑΡΑΠΕΚΠΙΤΤΑΚ' ΠΡ[C
 η] ΕΚΤΙΜΕ + ΕΓΕ Μ' Τ' Δ' Σ[
 5] διαγ, ὦ α\ δ' π' μ' β' ὦ γ' κ' δ' δ' π'
] γ' α\ γ' β' μῆ [

(margin)

For this document see the corresponding lines in the last document.

131

NOTIFICATION OF TAX ASSESSMENT ?

(d 165 b) Same hand as 122.

↑

(broken)

1] ΧΙ ΑΠΟΔΕΙΞΙC ΕΡΟΥ ΕΠΑΡΑ[
 2] ΝΤΑΒΙΧ + ΕΓΕ Μ' Φ' Ι' Θ[
 3] + (blank)

(margin)

1. Cf. 130 Appendix (B.M.Or.4664A) line 6.

132 - 134

These three tax-receipts are of unusual interest since they are receipts for weaving-garments tax(132 and 133) and weaving tax(134). There is also a small fragment d 164a f ΠΕΝΤΑΚΝ ΝΤΑ[Ε]ΥΤΗΝ which is probably yet another one. This tax was discussed by Crum in W.M.Fl.Petrie: Gizeh and Rifeh p.42(par.103) and Ep.vol.I p.157. Cf.also above chapter VI. In all three the amount required is one and a half solidus.

132

WEAVING-GARMENTS TAX RECEIPT

(d 29) 4 by 9½ inches, complete. Crude hand. On the Verso is an Arabic letter from Al-Kasim b. Ubaid Allah(ca.A.D.740) which was the first text on this papyrus. The present document, therefore, must have been written after A.D.740.

→ (margin)

+ ΕΝΩΧ ΠΒΩΘΟΣ ΜΝ ΠCΩΤΕ ΠΕΠΡΟCΤΟC ΠΕΤCΑΙ ΕΝΠΑCΟΝ
 ΧΑΗΛ ΧΕ ΑΝΧΙΪ ΑΙΜΟΥC^(sic) ΕΝΤΟΟΤ^(sic) ΖΕΝΠΤΕΜΟCΕΝ ΕΝΤΑΛΕCΥΤΕ
 Ν ΜΕΝ ΝΕΤΙΜΕCΤΗΥΛΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΕΤΕ ΠΕΡΟC ΖΕΝΤΟΥC ΠΟΥCΙΡΕ
 ΕΤΕ ΠΑΪ ΠΕ ΚΥΒΟC [Ε]ΝΖΩΛΟΚΟΤΕΝ ὧ α \
 5 ΖΕΝΤΙΡΟΠΕ ΤΑΙ ΖΕΚΤΕC ΕΝΤΙΑΝΟC CΟΥΧΟΟΤ
 ΕΝΤΩΒΕ ΕΝΟΧ ΜΕΝΠCΩΤΕ CΤΗΧΕ ΕΤΕΑΠΟΥ
 7 ΤΑΚΕΙCΕΝ ΠΡΟC [Τ]ΕCΒΟΜ Χ

(margin)

Verso: (docket)

8 ↑ [+]ΤΑΠΟΤΑΚΕΙC ΝΤΑ[Λ]ΕCΥΤΗΝ ΕΛΤΑΜΗΝΑ ὧ α \

1. Βωθoс for Βонθoс; πpocтoс for пpoectωc.

caι for c2aι, see chapter VIII par.108.

There is a remarkable interchange between the first person singular and the first person plural thus ΠΕΤCΑΙ line 1, ΑΝΧΙΪ and ΑΙΜΟΥC line 2.

2. ΕΝΤΟΟΤ mistake for ΕΝΤΟΟΤΚ.

ΤΕΜΟCΕΝ for δημόσιον.

3.(ΝΕ)ΤΙΜΕCΤΗΥΛΕ, this ought to be a Greek word, but no such word is known to me.

πΕροC obscure; perhaps for ημεροC, cf. chapter VIII par.96B.

4. κυβοC; we should have expected α ουβοC or οΥΑΜΝ ΟΥΒΟC in view of ὕα\ following; mistake?

5. ροπε for ρομπε, see chapter VIII par.79.

ΕΝΤΙΑΝΟC for ΙΝΔΙΚΤΙΟΝΟC (sic!).

ΧοοΤ for ΧογωΤ, see chapter VIII par.56.

6. Ετε-for ΕΤΙ, see chapter VIII par.39.

ΑΠΟΥΤΑΚΕΙCΕΝ and line 8 ΑΠΟΤΑΚΕΙC for ἀπόδειξις (sic!).

Translation:

+Enōch⁽¹⁾ the βονθοC⁽²⁾ and Psōte⁽³⁾ the prior(προεστώς)⁽⁴⁾ writing to my brother⁽⁵⁾ Chael⁽⁶⁾ saying:

We have fully received from <you> from the weaving-garments-tax and all the ...(?) which is the ...(?) in <the> nome(τοῦ) Pousire⁽⁷⁾ which is this: one(?) and a half solidi - solidi 1½ - in this year the sixth indiction, the twentieth day of Tobe. Enōch and Psōte assent (στοιχεῖν) to this receipt(ἀπόδειξις) according to its validity. X⁽⁸⁾
Docket: Receipt(ἀπόδειξις) for weaving-garments-(tax) for that of Mena⁽⁹⁾, solidi 1½.

(1) From Enoch the βονθοC we have a fragment of another tax-receipt in d 85b: † ΕΝΟΧ ΝΒΟ[θ]οC which was written by the same scribe.

(2) On this title see chapter V p.35.

(3) The name Psōte is very rare in non-literary texts, cf. Krall 59⁸.

We know also of an Apa Psōte who was martyred under Arianos cf. Till; HM vol.I pp.205ff.. It is probable that Psōte is a variant spelling of the names Psate, Pisate, Peshate, etc.. Psōte as prior does not recur in this collection, it is, indeed, unlikely

that he was superior of the monastery at Bala'izah. A tax-receipt issued by a βοηθός and a prior jointly is unparalleled.

- (4) On this title see chapter V p.32.
- (5) The title 'my brother' here merely signifies that Chael is a monk.
- (6) Chaël is a very common shortened form of the name Michaël.
- (7) The mention of the nome of Pousire(Busiris) here is remarkable; see above chapter VI and chapter VIII p.232 note 1.
- (8) The x stands for the normal +, see 116 note 4.
- (9) 'For that of Mēna'(εαταμνηνα) is strange and unusual, but presumably it is meant for εατητρανα(να) μνηνα 'for the rock of Apa Mēna'. The monastery of Apa Mēna recurs elsewhere in the present collection, see chapter IV p.25.

133

WEAVING-GARMENTS-TAX-RECEIPT

- (d 36) 5½ by 8¾ inches, complete. Uncials, perhaps the same hand as 145. Written below another text, different hand, now broken away.

(margin)

- 1 + ΜΗΝΑ ΠΕΠΡ^ε ΠΕΤΣΑΪ ΝΛ...ΚΟΥ ΔΙΧΪ ΔΙΜΟΥΣ ΝΤΩΟΤΚ ΝΠΤΕΜΟCΙΝ
- 2 ΝΤΑΔΕ ΟΥΤΗΝ ΝΠΟΥ ΠΑΪ ΕΤΕ ΟΥ ΜΕΝΤΑΖΕ ΠΕ ΝΕΜΩΪΡ^(sic) ΠΕ ΖΝΝΕΤΕ
- 3 ΜΟCΙΝ ΝΤΕΤΑΡΤΕC ΜΗΝΑ ΠΕΠCΔΗΧΕ +

(margin)

1 and 2. ΤΕΜΟCΙΝ for δημόσιον.

2. ΜΕΝΤΑΖΕ for ΜΕΝΤΑCΕ; see chapter VIII par.104.

The second enclitic ΠΕ was added by mistake.

3. ΠΕΠCΔΗΧΕ mistake for ΠΕΤCΤΟΙΧΕ .

Translation:

+Mena⁽¹⁾ the priest(πρεσβύτερος) it is who is writing to L....⁽²⁾
(saying): I have fully received from you the weaving-garments-tax(-δημόσιον)
on this day which is the sixteenth day of Mechir in the public taxes

(δημόσιον) of the fourth <indiction>. Mena it is who assents. +

(1) Probably the same person as Mena the βολύθης in 145¹, same hand?

(2) I am unable to read this name, not Loukas.

134

WEAVING-TAX RECEIPT

(d 150a) Few ligatures.



(margin)

1	[	]πετρεαι απλω ξε εε
2	[	ογα μν ογβο]ε εολοτν̄ ἡ αλ̄ αβ̄ῑε
3	[	τοοτ ντοοτκ εαη]τεμοριον̄ πωεε
4	[	]προϋ παϊ ..

(broken)

1. πετρεαι <N> απλω so line 2 ογβο]ε <N> εολοτν̄ and line 3 τεμοριον̄ <N> πωεε
see chapter VIII par.80.

εε for εικ ; for this spelling cf. Crum: Dictionary p.86a; cf. also
here εικ 187⁸, 189^{21,29}, 339¹ and εικ 129⁴.

2. εολοτν̄ for εολοκοττινος̄.

Translation:

.....]it is who is writing to Aplō⁽¹⁾ saying: Behold [one and a half] solidi - solidi 1½ - have come into [my possession for the] weaving-tax
(-δημόσιον) [.....] this day [.....(broken)]

(1) Aplō as a shortened form of Apollo recurs in this region, cf. P. Lond.
IV 1553^{verso} 10, Brunton: Qau and Badari vol. III pl. LII; also
elsewhere cf. Ryl. index, Maspero: Bawit index, J. index, etc..

135

TAX-RECEIPT

(f 25) 5½ by 5½, width complete. Ligatured. Badly faded in places.

On the verso there are traces of an earlier account.

This and the following two tax-receipts are unusual as they are receipts not for one tax only but for several taxes and, as the present document shows, paid at different periods. Parallels known to me are Worrell, Coptic Texts IV, 16, MH 323 and P.Lond.V 1784.

(margin)

→ + ΔΝΟΚ ΔΧΙΛΛΙΤ ΒΟΗ^Θ ΕΙΣΔΑΙ ΝΚΟΛΘΕ ΙΕΡΕΥ
 ΧΕ ΕΙΣ ΟΥ[...] ΔΥΕΙ ΕΤΟΟΤ ΖΑΠΕΚ^Δ ΖΝΝΕΔΗΜ^Δ
 [Ν] Δ[ΝΟ]Κ Δ[Χ]ΙΛΛΙΤ ΒΟΗ^Θ ΣΤ^Θ + Μ^Δ ΘΩΘ Θ
 + ΔΧΙΛΛΙΤ^Γ [ΒΟΗ^Θ] ΕΙΣΔΑΙ ΝΚ[Ν]
 5 ΟΥΠ ΖΑΤΕΜΒΟΛ^Η ΠΕ[]
 . Δ[] Μ^Δ ΧΟΙ[ΑΚ].. + ΔΧΙΛΛΙΤ ΒΟΗ^Θ ΣΤ^Θ]
 [...] ΡΕΚ ΠΡ^Ε ΠΥΣΔΑΙ Π[]
 [...] ΖΟΛΟΚ^Τ ΔΥΕΙ ΕΤΟΟΤ[]
 [...] Δ Μ^Η Μ^Χ Η + ΔΧΙΛΛΙΤ]
 10 []..... ΠΡ^Ε ΠΕΤΣΔΑΙ[]
 ΟΥΖΟΛΟΚ^Τ ΔΥΕΙ ΕΤΟΟΤ[]
 12 ΠΡ^Ε ΔΧ[]

(faded and broken ?)

Verso: (continued, upside down, margin)

↑ 13 ΔΥΕΙ ΕΤΟΟΤ ΖΑΠΕΚ^Δ[
 14 [Ζ]ΗΛΙΑΣ ΒΟΗ^Θ ΕΓΡ[

(margin)

2. ΖΑΠΕΚ^Δ ΖΝΝΕΔΗΜ^Δ for ΖΑΠΕΚΔΙΑΓΡΑΦΟΝ ΖΝΝΔΗΜΟCΙΟΝ so again in the next document line 2. It is interesting to note that in all Theban tax-receipts issued by the well-known scribe Aristophanes son of Johannes the same phrase occurs (C.O.422,423; S.T.79; Till: Die Koptischen Quittungsostreca Orientalia 1947 numbers 21,23,24; also three unpublished Bodleian ostraca: C.I.303,437,521; and S.T.415 a and b, collated = Bodleian C.I.281,282); the same phrase occurs

in two documents written by other scribes: C.O.416 written by Kyriakos and Till: Die Koptischen Quittungsostraca der Wiener Papyrus Sammlung, Orientalia vol.XVI (1947) pp.525 ff. number 25 written by Kyriakos son of Petros, presumably the same person as the scribe of the last. It is interesting to note that all the tax-receipts issued by Aristophanes son of Johannes were written in the 10th - 13th indiction and the two written by Kyriakos both fall into the 11th indiction. Two further tax-receipts also mentioning the same phrase - Tor.22 and B.K.U.85 - were presumably written by either of these two scribes. This is fully confirmed by the recently published Stephansky-Lichtheim, Coptic Ostraca from Medinet Habu. 4-5. ⲛⲟⲩⲛ; probably for ⲛⲟⲩⲃ, cf. chapter VIII par.65.

Translation:

+ I Achillitēs⁽¹⁾ the ⲃⲟⲩⲛⲓⲛⲓ⁽²⁾, I am writing to Kolthe⁽³⁾ (the son of) Jerēmias saying: Behold a [...] has come into my possession for your poll-tax (ⲉⲛⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩⲟⲩⲛ) in the public taxes (ⲉⲛⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩⲟⲩⲛ) [of the ...] indiction. I Achillitēs the ⲃⲟⲩⲛⲓⲛⲓ assent. + Month Thoth⁽⁴⁾ 9.

The rest of the document is too fragmentary to permit a translation.

Lines 4 - 6, the second tax-receipt deals with the corn-tax (ⲉⲙⲃⲟⲗⲓ) and is issued in the month Choiak⁽⁴⁾ by Achillitēs.

Lines 7 - 9, the third tax-receipt is issued by [...] rek the priest in the month Mechir⁽⁴⁾; the tax is not preserved.

Lines 10 - 12, the fourth tax-receipt is issued by some priest; the tax and date are not preserved.

Lines 13 - 14, the fifth tax-receipt mentions the poll-tax (ⲉⲛⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩⲟⲩⲛ) and Helias⁽⁵⁾ the ⲃⲟⲩⲛⲓⲛⲓ who may have issued it; the date is not preserved.

(1) Achillitēs as ⲃⲟⲩⲛⲓⲛⲓ occurs only here, but presumably he is the same Achillitēs who occurs frequently in financial documents from the present collection, see 197 note 8.

(2) On this title see chapter V p.35.

(3) Kolthe is a very common shortened form of the name Kollouthos; cf.

Serne for Serēne, Aplō for Apollo, etc..

(4) Thoth(1st month) - Choiak(4th month) - Mechir(6th month); the document thus covers a period of at least six months.

(5) Helias the βοηθός recurs 291²⁷ and 304⁶. He may be identical with the Helias of 146.

136

TAX-RECEIPT

(d 159) Uncials. On the Verso 410, earlier.

For this document see 135 introduction.

→

(margin)

+ ΙΩΑΝΝΗΣ ΠΡ^Ε Π[ΕΤ]Ε[Σ]ΑΙ ΝΑΠΑ [..] ΝΕ ΧΕ ΕΙΣ ΟΥ
ΤΡΙΜΗΣ ΑΧΕΙ ΕΤ[ΟΟΤ] ΕΔΠ[ΕΚΔΙΑΚΡ^Ο] ΕΝΤΕΜΟΣΙΟ[Ν]
ΝΤΕΣΑΡΑΣ Α[] [..] ^(sic) ΣΤΧΙ[]

+ ΙΩΑΝΝ^Ω ΠΡ^Ε ΠΕΤΕ[Σ]ΑΙ ΧΕ ΕΙΣ ΟΥΤΡΙ[]

5 ΜΗΣΙΟΝ ΑΧΕΙ [ΕΤΟΟΤ] ΕΔΠ[ΕΚΔΙΑΚΡ^Ο] ΕΝΤΕΜΟ
ΣΙΟΝ ΜΠΕΤΕΚ[] μ^Ϟ φαρ^Ϟμου ιθ

+ ΙΩΑΝΝΩ ΠΒΗΘΟΣ[]

(margin)

6. ΠΕΤΕΚ[], hardly for ΠΕΝΤΕΚΑΙΔΕΚΑΤΗΣ in view of ΤΕΣΑΡΑΣ line 3.

Translation:

+ Johannes the priest it is [who is] writing to Apa [..] he saying:
Behold a trimesion has come into [my possession] for [your poll-tax (δωρεαφον)
in the public taxes (δημόσιον) ⁽¹⁾ of the fourth indiction. [...] assents(?).
[...(?).] + Johannes the priest it is who is [writing to ... saying: Be-
hold a] trimesion has come [into my possession for your poll-tax(?)] in the
public taxes (δημόσιον) of ... (?) [...] Month Pharmouthi 19. + Johannes the
βοηθός ⁽²⁾ [assents(?).]

(1) See 135² note.

(2) It is to be noted that Johannes is both priest and $\beta\omicron\eta\theta\acute{o}\varsigma$, cf. Mēna the priest (133¹) and $\beta\omicron\eta\theta\acute{o}\varsigma$ (145¹); Johannes probably recurs 150¹. On the title $\beta\omicron\eta\theta\acute{o}\varsigma$ see chapter V p.35.

137

TAX-RECEIPT

(e 12; d 76d; d 92a) Very crude hand.

For this document see 135 introduction.

—→

(margin).

+ πωοῖ ἀν[(e) ^(sic) καὶ εἰς μισθὸν χάνηλ χε εἰς οὐτοῦ μνησε
 ἀγέ! ἐτ[ροτ]] μ πωοῖ + ἀνοκ ἰωβ ἰς εἰς μισθὸν χάνηλ
 [] ἀγέ! ἐτ[ροτ] εἰς τὸν κόλθε σου σῶμοι
 [N] ἀνοκ ἰωβ εἰς εἰς ^(sic) μισθὸν χ[α]ν[η]λ χ[ε] εἰς
 5 [] εἰς ἐτ[ροτ] οὐτρημ[]
 (broken)

1 - 2. The lacunae in these two lines present some difficulty:

either: the ἀν[(line 1) is the beginning of the name of the father of πωοῖ, but then the recurrence of πωοῖ in line 2 is difficult to explain.

or: πωοῖ in line 1 was written by mistake and we ought to supply the lacunae from lines 2 and 3, thus: line 1: ἀν[οκ ἰωβ (e)] εἰς μισθὸν ;
 line 2: ἀγέ! ἐτ[ροτ] εἰς τὸν κόλθε σου σῶμοι. It should, however, be pointed out that ἀγέ! ἐτ[ροτ] in line 2 is very uncertain.

1.(e) καὶ εἰς μισθὸν (sic !), cf. chapter VIII par.127F.

τοῦ μνησε an unusual spelling of τριμηνιον .

5. Perhaps supply: εἰς] [οὐτοῦ μνησε ἀγέ! ἐτ[ροτ] μνησε οὐτρημ[ηνιον]

The fragment is too uncertain to permit a translation. The first receipt is for $\frac{1}{2}$ solidus from Chaël through(?) Pshoi; the second is for ... (?) paid by Chaël through Kolthe to Jōb who issued the receipt; the

third is for $1\frac{1}{2}$ solidus(?) paid by Chaël to Jōb who issued the receipt.

138

TAX-RECEIPT

(d 39) 6 by $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches, width complete. Uncials.

(margin)

↑ [+ εμ πραν μπνο]υτε νωορπ̄ ανοκ παοι μ̄ν κολθε ε̄νρεμαν

[ενσζαι νχ]ανλ πρ̄μ̄π̄ν̄τιμε ξε αν̄σι αυω ανμοу

[ε ντοοτк η̄ γ]εαπε^(sic) τεμοσ̄ν ετε να^(sic) νε φομετ νεαλακ

[ουτε ν]νοуγ̄ νατηνε νατνεӯ τιροπε ται окτωс т

5 [εκτιαнос̄ ε̄νω]рк̄ πноуτε παντοуκρατωρ̄ ε̄ραροεις̄ νακ

[ετιαποδειξ̄]!с̄ нтесс̄η̄ μ̄μος̄ + ανοκ παυλε παπα

[τιομμε]τρε + ανοκ ерμ̄ιαс̄ παμονοστηριον

παπα ιερμ̄ιαс̄ αῑξ̄ν[ο]υι ξε саӣ ε̄αρ[οу] ν]ταξιб̄

9 [αυω τιομ]μετ[ρε +]

(gap ?)

10 []τιο μ[μετρε]

[.] α[νοκ]

12 [ανοκ φι[β(αμμων)]

(margin ?)

1. ε̄νρεμαν[; the indefinite plural article ε̄εν is remarkable here; we generally find ηρμ-, but ε̄ενρμ- recurs in two papyri from the Aphroditopolite find: P.Lond.IV 1525⁴ and Grohmann: Arabic Papyri in the Egyptian Library vol.III 164⁴; similarly also here 353 ουρμ-.

3. Lacuna supplied from the context but not certain.

να νε for ναι νε; see chapter VIII par.15.

φομετ for φομντ; see chapter VIII par.82c.

εαλακ[ουτε cf.114⁴.

4. νατηνε νατνεӯ for νατ̄τηνε νατ̄νεεӯ; see note 3 below.

ροπε; the π is written over an earlier μ, for ρομπε.

4. Τ[ΕΚΤΙΑΝΟC, cf. 102¹⁴ note.

5. ΕΡΑΡΟΕΙC for ΕΤΡΑΡΟΕΙC, only here, sic!. We should have expected ΤΑΡΕΙΡΟΕΙC in this context, see chapter VIII par. 159.

6. [ΕΤΙΑΠΟΔΕΙΞ]ΙC for the more usual ΠΡΟC ΤΟC ΜΗΝΤΙΑΠΟΔΕΙΞΙC; similarly 118⁶. ΝΤΕC C2Η a mistake for ΝΘΕ ΕC CΗC ΜΜΟC; cf. chapter VIII par. 157.

8. ΑΙΧΝ[Ο]ΥΙ a mistake for ΑΥΧΝΟΥΙ.

CAI for C2AI; see chapter VIII par. 108.

Χ16 for ΔΙΧ; see chapter VIII paragraphs 124 and 127.

ΑΙΧΝ[Ο]ΥΙ ΧΕ CAI 2ΑΡ[ΟΟΥ Ν]ΤΑΧ16, we should have expected ΑΥΧΝΟΥΙ ΑΥΩ ΑΙC2AI 2ΑΡΟΟΥ ΝΤΑΔΙΧ cf. P.Lond. IV 1553³² and 34. It should be noted that only in these three instances ΧΝΟΥΙ is used in this technical sense for the more usual ΑΙΤΕΙ, ΚΟΡΕΥ, ΠΑΡΑΚΑΔΕΙ etc., see chapter VIII par. 156.

9. ΜΕΤΡΕ for ΜΝΤΡΕ; see chapter VIII par. 82c.

Translation:

[+In the name of] God. Firstly I Pshoi and Kolthe from An[...]⁽¹⁾ we are writing to] Chaēl from our village saying: We have fully received [from you three solidi] for your tax(δημόσιον)⁽²⁾ which are these: three solidi[of] gold without⁽³⁾ dyke(service) and without sailor(service), in this year the eighth[indiction; we(?)] swearing by almighty God that I shall adhere for you[to(the validity of)this receipt] as it is written(?). +I Paule (the son of) Papa[...]⁽⁴⁾ I am]witness. + I Ermias⁽⁵⁾ of the monastery(μοναστήριον) of Apa Jerēmias⁽⁶⁾, I was asked: Write for [them with] my hand⁽⁷⁾, [and I am]witness.[+ (three more lines containing signatures of witnesses.)

(1) Hardly Antinoou as this would almost certainly be called πούλις, not τιμμε(line 2), cf. e.g. 119⁶, 127¹ etc..

(2) δημόσιον here clearly denotes public taxes in general; cf. chapter VI.

(3) "without dyke(service) without sailor(service)" so Crum: Dictionary

p.238b and references there. For personal service(ἐν σώματι) as opposed to money payments(ἐν ἀπαρχυρισμῳ) as part of the demands of the government at this period see P.Lond.IV 1508 introduction.

- (4) This could also be translated: I Paule from Pa[...(place-name)].
- (5) Ermiias is a shortened form of the name Jeremias; cf.in this document Kolthe for Kollouthos, Chael for Michael.
- (6) For this monastery see chapter IV pp.22f..
- (7) Probably a mistake for: I was asked and I wrote for them with my hand. See above note on line 8.

139

TAX-RECEIPT

(e 39; further fragments are d 163e and d 166b) Ligatured. On the Verso 384, later.

(broken ?)

[μν] φιλο^ο κολλ^ο

ΑΝΞΙ ΑΝ]

ΜΟΥΕ ΝΤΟ[ΟΤΚ

ΔΙΑ]

ΚΡΑΦΟΝ ΝΤΙΡΟΜΠΕ ΤΑΙ ΟΥΜΗΝΕ [Δ]ΖΟΚΤΟΝ ΕΤΕ

[Ν]ΑΙ ΝΕ ΟΥΟΜΕΤ ΝΖΟΛΟΚ^Τ ΜΝ ΟΥΤΡΙΜΗCΙΟΝ ΝΝΟΥΥ5 [ϣ^ν ϣ^ν] ϣ^ν ΔΥΩ ΧΝΝΕΝ ΧΝΟΥ ΚΕΛΔ[Α]Υ ΟΑΝΤΟΥΔΚ

(broken)

1. This might be the first line, but as more than one person issued this document it probably is not the first line.
2. For the lacuna see note 1 below.

Translation:

[+In the name of God. We ...] and Philotheos (the son of) Kollouthos [we are writing to ... saying: We have fully] received from [you for your public tax and your] poll-tax (δῶδε^α ϣ^α ϣ^α ϣ^α)⁽¹⁾ of this eighth year - [indic- tion] 8 - which are these: three solidi and a trimesion of gold - [solidi] 3½ - and lest we should ask you⁽²⁾ any more until [.....(broken)].

(1) If this tax-receipt were for poll-tax only, the amount received (3½

2. ΝΕΩΝ for ΝΝΕΩΣ, see chapter VIII par.93.
 4. ΜΗΔ.Ν, obscure.
 6. This line is quite uncertain.
 7. ΟΝΟΤΕ perhaps for ΠΡΟΝΟΗΤΗC but doubtful.
 8. Χ^φ for χρυσός (sic!).

Translation:

(broken)] I am writing to my brother Chaēl of the mount of Apa Mē-
 na⁽¹⁾ saying: as regards the works of hand⁽²⁾ and the tax(δήμῳσιον) of
 the town, a solidus(?)[.....]in this year the fourth(?)[indiction. This
 therefore,] by the will of God I am ready(ἐτόλμος) to [..... (line 7) the]
 administrator(περονογητής?) who has already written, I assent [... (margin).
 Docket: ...]who is writing to my brother Chaēl. Gold, solidi 1½.

(1) For this monastery see chapter IV p.25.

(2) The 'works of hand' here probably refer to the ἐν σῶματι service
 which was demanded by the government in addition to the public ge-
 neral taxes; see P.Lond.IV pp.XXXI f. and 1508 introduction.

141

TAX-RECEIPT ?

(d 108 b) Receipt for ½ solidus.

→

(margin)

1] πεყσεαῖ μ[π

2 ογπαγε Ν]ρολοκ^τ ασει [ετοοτ

(broken)

2. Since ασει is feminine, ρολοκ^τ (masc.) must have been preceded by παγε
 (feminine).

142

TAX-RECEIPT ?

(b 4) Same hand as 103 and 104⁶⁻⁷. On the Verso 223, earlier.

(margin)

- 1 + ΑΝΟΚ ΑΠΑ ΘΩΜΑΣ ΕΙΣΕΔΙ ΝΑΠΑ ΑΜΜΩΝΕ ΧΕ ΕΙΣ ΟΥΤΡΙ^{τ(sic)}
- 2 ΜΗCΙΘ̄ ΑΒΕΙ ΕΤΟΟΤ ΕΑΝΝΟΥΒ ΝΕΥΑΒΠC ι^δ/ie
- 3 ὡ.γ μ̄ επιφ ι ι^δ/α ΑΠΑ ΘΩΜΑ[ε] + ΓΕΩΡΓ ΔΙΚ⁶⁴/ο ΕΓΡΑΨΑ
- (margin)

2. ΝΕΥΑΒΠC (sic!) cited Crum: Dictionary p.513b 'meaning unknown'. Perhaps the phrase was used to denote the $\chi\rho\nu\sigma\iota\kappa\acute{\alpha}$ δημόσια.

3. επιφ ι, the last ι is written on a α - or the α on the ι - .

Θωμα[ε]†, it is just possible to read Θωμα[ε στ η]χ here.

Translation:

+ I Apa Thōmas I am writing to Apa Ammōne⁽¹⁾ saying: Behold a trimesion has come into my possession for the ... gold, indiction 15. Solidi $\frac{1}{3}$, month Epiph 10 (or: 1), indiction 1. Apa Thomas [assents(?)] George the deacon (δῶκονος)⁽²⁾, I have written (it).

(1) Probably the Apa Ammōne who occurs elsewhere as superior, see index.

(2) George the deacon recurs in many documents of this collection, see index.

TAX-RECEIPT

(e 59; d 131b) 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ by 8 inches, width complete. Few ligatures, perhaps the same hand as 121.

(margin)

- 1 + ΑΝΟΚ ΓΕΩΡΓΕ ΠΙΕΛΑΧ ΝΔΙΑΚ^ο ΕΙΣΕΔΙ ΝΑΘΑ[ΝΑ]
- 2 CΙOC ΧΕ ΕΙC ΟΥΤΡΙΜΥ ΑΥΕΙ ΕΤΟΟΤ ΕΑΠΕΚΔΙΑΚΡ^ο/]
- (gap)
- 4 [ΕΝ ΤΙΡΟΜ]ΠΕ ΤΑΙ ΔΩΔΕΚΑΤΗΣ ΕΦΕ Μ[]
- 5 ΑΝ]ΟΚ ΓΕΩΡΓΕ ΤΙCΤΗ^χ []
- (margin)

Verso: Same hand, but no apparent connection with the recto; writing-exercise ?

6↑ + εαπβε[κ]ε μοονε νεσοου δ, φ[ο]ιβαμμων παδιακ^ω

Translation:

+ I George⁽¹⁾ this least(ἐλάχιστος) deacon(διάκονος) I am writing to Athanasios saying: Behold a trimesion has come into my possession for your poll-tax(δράκηνον) [.....(gap) in] this twelfth year. Written month[.....] I George I assent(στοιχεῖν).

Verso:⁽²⁾ + For the wage of feeding the sheep through Phoibammon the deacon(διάκονος).

(1) George the deacon recurs frequently in this collection, cf. index.

Perhaps there were more than one 'George the deacon', for, if he was the scribe of this document, he must have been a different person from the scribe of 103 etc. which is written in an entirely different hand. It is possible, however, that the present document is a copy from the original as part of a writing exercise, cf. the verso.

(2) For this line cf. 303⁹ and 14.

144

TAX-RECEIPT

(d 111a-d) Receipt for one trimesion.

(margin)

[] ο πεყσαῖ νηαον φι
[βαμμων] χε εις πτερμησῆ αῦ
[] α]οεις εατη
[] εταῖςωκ
5 [] σογ α νευ
[αῖρ] εατιρομη[ε]
7 [] υ]δ, γ, γ' Ν[
(margin)

Verso: (docket)

↑ 8 ΠΕΝΤΑΓ[Ν] ΝΤΟΥ[

145

TAX-RECEIPT ?

(g 30) Perhaps the same hand as 133. Uncials. $1\frac{1}{2}$ by $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches, complete.

(margin)

↑
1 + ΜΗΝΑ ΠΒΟΙΘΟΣ ΠΕΤΣΕΑΙ
2 ΝΑΠΑ ΦΩΚΑ ΠΡΕ ΧΕ ΕΙC
3 ΚΑC CΝΑΥ ΔΥΕΙ ΤΟΟΤ

(margin)

3. ΔΥΕΙ ΤΟΟΤ for ΔΥΕΙ ΕΤΟΟΤ, see chapter VIII par.20.

Translation:

+ Mēna⁽¹⁾ the βoηθός⁽²⁾ it is who is writing to Apa Phōka the priest (πρεσβύτερος) saying: Behold two carats⁽³⁾ have come into my possession.

(1) Mēna the βoηθός recurs on a small fragment d 62c: ΜΗΝΑ ΠΒΟΙΘΟΣ; he is probably the same person as Mēna the priest of 133¹, cf. 136 where Jōhannēs is both priest (lines 1 and 4) and βoηθός (line 7).

(2) On this title see chapter V p.35.

(3) For this coin see Crum: Dictionary p.120a.

146

TAX-RECEIPT

(f 7) Parchment. $4\frac{1}{2}$ by 3 inches. Few ligatures. Written on a page from a codex of the Pauline Epistles in Semi-Bohairic, number 19. A photo was published in Le Muséon vol.LXIII (1950) Plate 1.

For the special interest and significance of this document see above chapter VIII p.232 note 1 and elsewhere.

(margin)

+ ΖΗΛΙΑΣ ΠΕΤΣ[ΖΑΙ]

ΜΠΑΧΟΝ ΤΑΥΡΙ[ΝΕ]

ΧΕ ΕΙΣ ΟΥΠΑΩΤΡ[ΙΜ]

[ΑΕ]! ΕΤΟΟΤ Ε[ΤΟΟ]

5 [ΤΚ ΕΝ]ΤΙΡΟΜΠΕ[]

6 [ΖΗΛΙΑΣ ΣΤΟ]Χ + []

(margin)

Translation:

+Hēlias⁽¹⁾ it is who writes to my brother⁽²⁾ Taurine saying: Behold half a trimesion has come into my possession [from you] in this [...] year. [Hēlias(?)] assents(στοιχεῖν).+

(1) Perhaps the same person as Hēlias the βοηθός of 135¹⁴, 291²⁷, 304⁶.

(2) 'my brother' here as elsewhere merely signifies that Taurine is a monk.

147

TAX-RECEIPT ?

(d 161b) Ligatured. Receipt for $\frac{1}{2}$ solidus from Apa Ammōne.

(margin)

↑

1 8]ϥΗ ΠΕΤΣΖΑΙ

2]Ε ΑΠΑ ΑΜΜΩΝ^ε

3 ΟΥΤΡΙΜΗ]CΙΟΝ ΑΒΕΙ ΕΤΟΟΤ

4]..[

(broken)

148

GREEK AND COPTIC TAX-RECEIPTS

(d S2a,b) These two fragments do not actually join, but they are certainly parts of the same papyrus, as on the Verso of both there are

2. ἀπαπακyre , either for ἀπα ἀακyre , Apa Kyre having by this time become a fixed name to which the title Apa could be prefixed as in the case of any other name, or it is Apa Pakyre; in support of this one might cite Hall pp.18 and 19 where Pakyre occurs on its own twice as a proper name(πακιρε κασε περσικη , and πακιρε νελεσαιοc in a list of names). ἀπαπακyre recurs in 373 below.

Translation:

[?]Apa Ammōne⁽¹⁾, poll-tax(ἀνδρεσμός)⁽²⁾, 7th indiction, Epiph 1, solidus $\frac{1}{3}$. [?]Apa Apa-Kyre(or: Apa Pakyre) the βοηθός⁽³⁾ assents(στωχέιν).

- (1) Probably the Apa Ammōne who recurs elsewhere as superior, see index.
 (2) For the meaning of ἀνδρεσμός = poll-tax see 130 Appendix note 6.
 (3) For this title see chapter V p.35.

150

TAX-RECEIPT ?

(d 136a) Uncials. Receipt issued by Jōhannēs to Apa Solaiman. Verso, letter, earlier.

(margin)

- 1 +[α]NOK ΙΩΑΝΝ[ΗC
 2 ΔΥΕΙ ΕΤΟΟΤ Ν[
 3 ΝΑΠΑ ΣΟΛΑΪΜ[ΑΝ
 4 ΝΤΑΥΕΙ ΝΑΪ ΖΜ[Π

(broken)

1. ΙΩΑΝΝ[ΗC probably the same as 136^{1,4,7}.

3. ΣΟΛΑΪΜ[ΑΝ is the Arabic version of the name Solomon - سليمان, it recurs as σουλαϊμαν in 288¹⁵. As this tax-receipt was found at Ba-la'izah, Apa Soulainman was probably a member of the community there; the name is certainly unusual for a Christian at this period, cf. 102 note 4.

fragments of the same Coptic letter. The Greek text is written in a cursive-minuscle, the Coptic in a cursive hand. They were probably written by the same scribe, Petros, who also wrote 225 (and note). On the other hand it is of course possible that the scribe made use of the verso of an earlier letter to write two different tax-receipts without relation to each other.

→

(margin)

- 1 + δεδωκε^ε 5 πλ^η απο μον^ο[
2 μον^ο & δ' τεταρτ μ^υγγ +

(margin)

2nd.fragment:

(broken)

- 3] τοοτ & 5 δωδ & &
4] στοι^χ + πετε^ε εφε^ε +

(margin)

2. μ^υγγ for μόνον.

Lines 1 - 2: "Fully received from the monastery [of ... through ...] the monk solidus $\frac{1}{4}$ - one quarter only."

Lines 3 - 4: Probably a receipt for 6(?) solidi for general taxes, consisting of the poll-tax (δωδεκαφον) $\frac{1}{4}$ solidus and [...] Petros is the scribe.

TAX-RECEIPT

(e 58) 2 by 7 inches, height complete. Uncials.

↑

(margin)

- 1 ?] απο αμμουε αν^α, 3 ιν^α, επηφ: α: & &
2 ?] απο πακιρε πγοιθος στοι^χ +

(margin)

1 - 2. The lines are probably complete; perhaps a cross preceded both lines.

2. ἀπαπακyre , either for ἀπα ἀπακyre , Apa Kyre having by this time become a fixed name to which the title Apa could be prefixed as in the case of any other name, or it is Apa Pakyre; in support of this one might cite Hall pp.18 and 19 where Pakyre occurs on its own twice as a proper name (πακιρε κασε περσωνρε , and πακιρε νελεσαϊος in a list of names). ἀπαπακyre recurs in 373 below.

Translation:

[?]Apa Ammōne⁽¹⁾, poll-tax (ἀνδρεισμός)⁽²⁾, 7th indiction, Epiph 1, solidus $\frac{1}{3}$. [?]Apa Apa-Kyre (or: Apa Pakyre) the βοηθός⁽³⁾ assents (στοιχεῖν).

(1) Probably the Apa Ammōne who recurs elsewhere as superior, see index.

(2) For the meaning of ἀνδρεισμός = poll-tax see 130 Appendix note 6.

(3) For this title see chapter V p.35.

150

TAX-RECEIPT ?

(d 136a) Uncials. Receipt issued by Jōhannēs to Apa Solaiman. Verso, letter, earlier. (margin)

- 1 +[α]ΝΟΚ ΙΩΑΝΝ[ΗC
- 2 αγει ετοοτ Ν[
- 3 ΝΑΠΑ ΣΟΛΑΪΜ[ΑΝ
- 4 ΝΤΑΓΕΙ ΝΑΪ ΕΜ[Π

(broken)

1. ΙΩΑΝΝ[ΗC probably the same as 136^{1,4,7}.

3. ΣΟΛΑΪΜ[ΑΝ is the Arabic version of the name Solomon - سليمان, it recurs as σουλαϊμαν in 288¹⁵. As this tax-receipt was found at Ba-la'izah, Apa Soulainman was probably a member of the community there; the name is certainly unusual for a Christian at this period, cf. 102 note 4.

TAX-RECEIPT ?

(d 34) 6 by 8 inches, complete ? The script is of unusual interest, see Plate IV, 5. On the Verso there are traces of a document written by a different hand, but probably it is merely a short note added by a later hand; as the fibres are vertical on the recto, there is some proof that this was the first text on the papyrus.

The main interest of this fragment lies in the fact that it is written in Bohairic. Unfortunately much of the text has remained obscure but the fragment is clearly Bohairic without any Fayyumic tendencies. We find a similar state of affairs in number 19 above, but whether the present document was written in the dialect of number 19 it is impossible to ascertain. Crum in his Coptic Documents in Greek Script mentioned and discussed other Bohairic and Semi-Bohairic non-literary documents known. From lines 6f. it seems probable that the present document is a tax-receipt - 'the tax (δῆμοσιον) has come into our possession without any ambiguity (ἀμφιβολία)'. For the significance of this document and in particular the occurrence of the nome of Busiris in line 6 see above chapter VI, also chapter VIII p.232 and elsewhere.

(margin)

↑

[Ν]ωρρ α[ΝΟΚ]

[...]μΟΝΑ[ϸ]Τ[ΗΡΙΟΝ]

πας πωρρ[]π[ι]μΟ[Ν]ΑΣΤΙΡΙΟΝ ΕΙΤΟΤ ΑΝ^(sic)

[ΟΚ ΑΝ]ΟΥΠ ΠΙΤ[Ι]ΟΙΚΗΤΗΣ ΝΠ[Ι]ΜΟΝΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ Ν[ΟΥ]ΩΤ

5 [...]ΧΙΤΟ[]ΚΟΧΙ ΤΕ[... ΠΙ]ΚΑΡΡΟΣ ΤΕ

[...]ΙΔ ΧΠΙΕ ΤΕ ΠΘΩ ΠΟΥΣ[Ι]ΡΙ ΑΠΙΤΙΜΟΣΙ Ι ΕΤΟΤΕΝ

[ΑΧΕΝ ΕΛΙ ΝΑΜ]ΦΙΒΑΛΙ^(II) ρ ΑΝΟΚ ΠΑΠΑ ΗΛΙΑ

[... ϸ]ΤΟΥΧ[Ι]... ΜΕ^(sic)ΘΡΕ Χ^(I) + ΑΝΟΚ ΠΑΠΑ ΑΒΡΑΑΜ

[]ΦΗΝ[]ΜΤΕΛΕΩ (blank)

10 []ΑΕΥ.Λ ΑΠΑ Ε[]Ζ]ΑΧΑΡΙΑ

[]ΧΠΙΕ ΠΕΡΜΕΘΡΕ +

(margin)

verso: (different hand, not part of the text on the recto.)

(margin ?)

12]Α πλαος τ

13]ΝΤΛΠΑ [....] (blank)

(broken ?)

3 - 4. "the monastery, through me Anoup, the administrator(δικοκητῆς) of this same monastery...", cf. similar passages in 100, 102, 103 etc.

5. Perhaps οὐφάωιν λου[κοχ] (J.W.B. Barns).

6. Χπ̄ῑε, perhaps again in line 11. In view of the context, it seems probable that this is an example of the Bohairic Χπ̄ here meaning 'year' instead of the only meaning given by Crum: Dictionary pp. 777b f. of 'hour'; I may compare the Fayyumic cεπ meaning both 'year' and 'hour' which is clearly the equivalent of the Bohairic Χπ̄. We could thus translate Χπ̄ῑε as "in this 15th year". A further example of Χπ̄ meaning 'year' may perhaps be found in the very interesting inscription from Berlin which was last published by M. Cramer: Koptische Inschriften im Kaiser-Friedrich Museum zu Berlin, number 9694 p.30. The dialect of that inscription is a remarkable mixture of Bohairic and non-literary Sahidic forms. Lines 11 - 14 read as follows: αὐω ταϣι βολ 2 Ν σωμ ε σοϣ σοϣ παϣοτ παωνι ταβμντι ρομνι πκικλος. The strange ταβμντι in line 13 have puzzled the various editors from Stern (Koptische Grammatik p. 438) onwards. I would propose to read the passage as follows: αὐω (Ν)ταϣ(ε)ι (ε)βολ 2 Ν σωμα (Ν)σοϣ σοϣ (ω)πεβοτ παωνι (Ν)τα(ι)Χπ-μντι (Ν) ρομπε (ω)πκυκλος. For the omission of the Ν in six instances see chapter VIII par. 80; for βολ = εβολ see chapter VIII par.20; for ταβμντι = (Ν)ται βμντι see chapter VIII par.15; for βπ-μντι = Χπ-μντι see chapter VIII par 124; it may be noted that αϣοτ is the Bohairic form(αβοτ) for εβοτ, the Fayyumic form would be εβατ or αβατ. The ρομνι is clearly superfluous after βπ-μντι,

but parallels for such superfluous additions could easily be found.

We can thus translate: 'and he came out of the sixth day of the month Paoni in this tenth year(δεκάμητι) of the cycle.'

6. Perhaps τε in this line, also in line 5, stand for ντε, Bohairic genitive.

7. ἀμφιβαδὶ for ἀμφιβολία, cf. line 6 τιμοσι for δημόσιον.

8. It seems that Papa Elias both 'assented' and 'was witness'.

9. Obscure.

11. περμεθε difficult, for περερμεθε ?

12 - 13. Obscure.

152

MARRIAGE-CONTRACT

(b 3; d 145b,c,d) 5 by 15 inches, complete. For the script see Plate IV,6.

This is one of the most interesting documents found at Bala'izah. A full translation was published by Crum in W.M.Fl.Petrie: Gizeh and Rifeh, the double volume, p.42 par.104. Coptic marriage documents are extraordinarily rare and only four other documents have so far been published. For a full discussion of these see in particular W.Till, Die Koptischen Eheverträge in Die Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Festschrift ... Joseph Bick, Wien 1948, pp.627 - 638, and references there. The present document was fully discussed by G.Möller in Ä.Z. vol.IV(1918) pp.67 - 74. Möller pointed out the remarkably close relation of this document with late Egyptian and Demotic marriage contracts and assumed that the Bala'izah document must be very old. The script, however, would seem to point to the seventh or eighth century as the date of the document, the same date as the rest of the non-literary manuscripts found at Bala'izah. When looking through unpublished Coptic papyri in the British Museum recently, I found two further documents relating to marriage: one a marriage contract in many ways resembling Ryl.139, the

other a deed of divorce, which is the only document of this kind which has so far become known in Coptic. I am publishing both these documents jointly with Professor E. Balogh in Miscellanea Gerolamo Vitelli IV (1953).

The dialect of the document shows some interesting features, especially the use of γ for η in both Greek and Coptic words: μοναστυριον, επιδυ, τριμυσιον, πλυν, χαρτυς and μννενερυου, νεγυτη, cf. κυρηςαι for κυρης = κυρης. On this and other dialectical variations see the relevant paragraphs in chapter VIII.



(margin)

- 1 ρ̅ EN ONOMATI ΔΟΥ. ΘΥΟΥ ΠΑΤΡΟΣ. ΓΕ ΤΩ ΝΙΩ. ΓΕ ΤΩ ΑΓΙΩ ΠΝΑΤΟΣ.
Η ΑΓΙΑ ΤΡΙΔΑΣ ΑΝΟΚ ΒΙΚΤΩΡ
- 2 πωε ἡμακαρε πρεσβυτερος. μν τεμμααυ τεβροομπε. μν
εἰωανηης. πεμνοβ νcon. εἰμ
- 3 πμοναστυριο[N]. μφαγιοs. [απα] απολλω. εἰμ πη[o]μοs. νcβεεt
Δπολις. εἰςαι ητςουφια τωε
- 4 ^(sic) τωε ηανθυρια. ^(sic) ηρωμ[...] εη. πηομοs. ηωω[τ]η ηπολις. χε επιδυ
εηπτρe πηουτε ουωω εt
- 5 ρ̅ηεωτρ μννενερυου. ε[η ου]καμμοs. εt ηανου[u]. ἡθe ηρωμε
ηιμ ηελευθεροs. αυω ἡθe ηcημε
- 6 ηιμ ηcααβυ. ^(sic) ηtβe παi αἰτi ηe. ηουπαωε ηεολ[o]k^o μη ου
τριμυςιον ηουυ. ηωαπ. εt ρερeι εεοη ε
εεουη επαηι εως ελευθεροs. ανοκ εωτ οη. χ[e η]ακαταφροηι
μμο. μπαραθε ἡπαςωμα μηη εμοι
- 8 ουδε χe ηηαεωηοχε [e]β[o]λ. αχη εtια ερε ηομοs ηεγυτη. πλυν
τe ειωανουωω ^(sic) εχοχε εβολ. ειηατi
- 9 ηcοου ηεολοκ^t εαπιεωυ. ηtο εωτεο ειηαι. ερωανουωω εβωκ ηe
εαριεαρο. εραtι μπιπροσtιμοη
- 10 επουωρχ ουη. αιcμη πιχαρτυς χ εκ μ αθις κη δι ια. ανοκ
Βικτωρ μη πεγιωt μητεμααυ μηπεγcon
- 11 ηετκυρηςαι. τηςτο[u]^x ε[πη]χαρτυς χ (blank)

(margin)

Verso: (blank).

1. ΔΟΥ for ΤΟΥ; similarly line 3 ΔΗΘΛΙC for ΤΗΘΛΙC see chapter VIII par.

111.

ΓΕΤΩΝΙΩ for ΚΑΙ ΤΩ ΥΙΟΥ (sic!)

3 - 4. τγε τγε dittography for τγε.

4. ΝΡΩΛ[; we should have expected ΤΡΩΛ[, I cannot parallel this.

ΕΠΙΔΥ ΖΗΠΤΡΕ ; ΕΠΕΙΔΗ is generally followed by the 1st. or 2nd. Per-

fect, I do not know of another example where it is followed as here by ΖΗΠΤΡΕ. Clearly a Greek-Coptic tautology like ΖΗΔΑΧΕ , ΠΑΔΙΝΟΝ, etc..

5. CΙΜΕ for CΙΜΕ; see chapter VIII par.108.

6. CΑCΑΒΥ dittography for CΑΒΥ = CΑΒΕ , for Υ = Ε; see chapter VIII par.25.

ΝΤΒΕ for ΕΤΒΕ is of some significance; see chapter VIII par.27.

6 - 7. ΕΤΡΕΡΕΙ ΕΖΟΝ Ε|ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΠΑΗ ; Crum in Petrie: Gizeh and Rifeh, the double volume, p.42 notes: " either read ΕΤΡΕΡΕΙ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΠΑΗ or translate: ' come as being related, to my house' cf. ΖΩΝ ΕΖΟΥΝ in the Jeme deeds". But ΖΩΝ ΕΖΟΥΝ only occurs three times in the Jeme deeds: J.88¹⁷ 'come near to the holy place'; 106⁵⁹ 'I have come near unto my end(death)'; and J. Sch. 5⁵⁵ 'holy fathers who are near unto God(i.e.departed)'. ΖΩΝ by itself without ΕΖΟΥΝ occurs frequently in the Jeme deeds but only in the meaning of 'comply with'. Crum in his Dictionary too does not cite any example for the meaning he here suggested of 'to be related'. Hence it seems almost certain that ΕΖΟΝ Ε|ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΠΑΗ is a dittography for ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΠΑΗ, cf. above lines 3 - 4 τγε|τγε for τγε and line 6 CΑCΑΒΥ for CΑΒΥ. For ΕΖΟΝ = ΕΖΟΥΝ see chapter VIII par.56.

7. ΜΝΑΡΑ; this is frequently found for ΠΑΡΑ both at Thebes and very commonly in the Fayyum and the surrounding districts, but it occurs rarely in the region from Aphrodito to Ashmunein. For Theban examples see Ep. vol.I pp.251f., adding C.O.315¹⁴ and V.C.31¹. For

the Fayyum and its neighbourhood I have found the following: B.M. 530²³, 583¹⁹, 586⁸, V.C.100⁵. It is also particularly common in literary manuscripts from that region especially in the Morgan Collection, cf. J.Drescher: Apa Mena p.18a lines 6 and 14, p.19b line 2, p.20a line 8 etc.. Compare also $\mu\pi\rho\omicron\varsigma$ here in 102¹⁸ and note there; see above chapter VIII par.79A.

7. $\mu\iota\eta\epsilon\mu\omicron\iota$ for $\mu\mu\iota\eta\ \mu\mu\omicron\iota$ or $\mu\mu\iota\eta\epsilon\ \mu\mu\omicron\iota$; see chapter VIII par.78 (and 82)

8. $\epsilon\chi\omicron\chi\epsilon$ mistake for $\epsilon\eta\omicron\chi\epsilon$.

9. $\epsilon\rho\alpha\tau\iota$ for $\epsilon\rho\epsilon\eta\alpha\tau\iota$; see chapter VIII par.129.

10 and 11. X stands for the more usual +, see above 116 note 4.

10. $\epsilon\kappa$ for $\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\phi\eta$, $\delta\mu$ for $\iota\delta\iota\kappa\tau\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$.

11. $\eta\epsilon\tau\omega\gamma\rho\eta\varsigma\epsilon\alpha\iota$ for $\eta\epsilon\tau\omega\gamma\rho\eta\varsigma\epsilon\alpha\iota$; see chapter VIII par.5b.

Translation:

† In the name of God the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit;
the Holy Trinity.

I Victōr the son of Makare the priest ($\pi\rho\epsilon\sigma\beta\acute{\upsilon}\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma$)⁽¹⁾ and his mother Teğroompe⁽²⁾ and Jōhannēs his elder brother in the monastery ($\mu\omicron\eta\alpha\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\rho\iota\omicron\nu$) of the holy ($\acute{\alpha}\gamma\iota\omicron\varsigma$) [Apa] Apollō in the nome ($\nu\omicron\mu\omicron\varsigma$) of the town ($\pi\acute{o}\lambda\iota\varsigma$) Sbeht⁽³⁾, I am writing to Tsophia⁽⁴⁾ the daughter of Anthyria⁽⁵⁾ from [...] in the nome ($\nu\omicron\mu\omicron\varsigma$) of the town ($\pi\acute{o}\lambda\iota\varsigma$) Shōtep⁽⁶⁾, saying:

Since God desired that we should be joined together in a good wedding ($\gamma\acute{\alpha}\mu\omicron\varsigma$) like every free ($\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\theta\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma$)⁽⁷⁾ man and every wise woman, because of this I have given you half a solidus and a trimesion of gold as wedding-gift ($\omega\lambda\alpha\pi$)⁽⁸⁾ so that you may come into my house as a free ($\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\theta\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma$)⁽⁷⁾ person. I for my part (undertake) that I shall not despise ($\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\phi\rho\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$) you more than as it were my own body ($\sigma\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha$), nor shall I be able to throw you out without lawful ($\nu\acute{o}\mu\omicron\varsigma$) cause ($\alpha\acute{\iota}\tau\acute{\iota}\alpha$). But ($\pi\lambda\acute{\eta}\nu\ \tau\epsilon$) if I wish to throw you out, I shall pay six solidi⁽⁹⁾ for this matter. And you for your part are situated likewise⁽¹⁰⁾: If you desire to go your way alone, you shall pay this penalty ($\pi\rho\acute{o}\sigma\tau\iota\mu\omicron\nu$).

For your security, therefore, I have drawn up this document (χ^αε^τη^ς).
 X Written month Athyr 23, indiction 11. I Victōr and his father and
 his mother and his brother who have already written, we assent (σ^τοι^χε^ιν)
 to this document (χ^αε^τη^ς). X

- (1) 'the priest' here clearly refers to the father Makare and not to the son Victor, since in Eastern churches, down to the present day, priests may marry before but not after ordination; the Coptic text, however, could be interpreted in both ways.

The question may well be raised what status Victor and his relatives had in the community of Apa Apollo. That Victor himself was not a member of that community seems certain from the fact that he marries, and his mother, perhaps also his brother, too did not belong to it community. The connecting link with the monastery was most probably the father Makare the priest. To forsake wife and children in the world for the sake of religion was quite a normal and accepted practice in those times- see Ep.vol.I p.132 esp. note 5 there. On the other hand we have evidence that such monks did not break all contact with their near relatives, but continued to take a very real interest in the well-being of these. A clear example of this we have in the testament of the monk Paham (J.67) where the father, the monk Paham, plays a very important part in the life of his son Papnoute, who had contracted an unfortunate marriage against his father's will. Nevertheless, Paham out of his own means continued to provide for his son until the son's death. Thus in the present document the father Makare had probably left his wife and two sons in the world and had become a monk in the monastery of Apa Apollo, but had continued to maintain contact with them. When the important occasion of the younger son's wedding arose it was natural for the family to assemble in the monastery of Apa Apollo, in particular to obtain the father's

blessing. The father assents to the document(line 10) and the document is deposited for greater safety in the monastery.

- (2) For this name cf. Crum: Dictionary p.829a.
- (3) Sbeht was the Greek Apollonopolis Parva, see chapter III p.15.
- (4) Tsophia is the name Sophia with the Coptic article τ added, cf.in this collection names like Trashe, Tsomanites etc..
- (5) Anthyria recurs as ἀνθηρία in Hall p.68 and Ep.163¹⁸; also once in Preisigke: Namenbuch as ἀνθηρία .
- (6) Shotep was the Greek Hypsele.
- (7) For ἐλευθερος cf.B.M.446⁹ and Ep.268 note 4. Crum in his notebook 20(in the Griffith Institute, Oxford) notes also Z.269 οὐνοηρος περὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐνοχληθερος ἀν περὶ οὐνοχως , and Borgia 268(ⲙⲡ) ⲙⲛ ⲙⲉⲗⲁⲗ οὐⲛⲉ ⲛⲱⲥ ⲙⲱⲥ ⲥⲉⲙⲉ ⲛⲉⲗⲉⲩⲩⲉⲣⲁ ; see now Till in Le Muséon LXIV,251ff.
- (8) For the word ϣⲁⲛ see Crum: Dictionary p.574b and references there. Cf. also Till in the article cited above pp. 636f..
- (9) It is interesting to note that the same penalty of six solidi is also found in the Coptic deed of Divorce which is mentioned in the introduction above, as also in the majority of the Greek late Byzantine deeds of divorce.
- (10) For εἰνάι meaning 'likewise' cf.Matth.XX,5 and Luke X,37. Crum: Dictionary p.645a translates this passage: 'whilst thou(bridge) hast like(rights)'.

153

PROTECTIVE PROMISE ?

- (f 50) For this kind of document see Till: Koptische Schutzbriefe.

(broken)

↑

- | | |
|---|-----------------------------|
| 1 | ⲁⲧⲛⲉⲥⲙⲛ ⲡⲗⲟⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓ ⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲱⲧⲛⲓ |
| 2 | ⲉⲩⲱⲡⲉ ⲙⲛⲧⲁⲩⲗⲁⲁⲩ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ |
| 3 | ⲡⲁⲣⲁ ⲧⲉⲩⲃⲟⲙ + (margin) |

Verso: (docket) —→

4

]ΠΕΝΔΟΣΟΤ[

1. ατνε for ατετν see chapter VIII par.140a.

Translation:

(broken)....]you drew up the promise(λόγος) for him concerning you[....]
if he has not anything[.....]beyond its validity⁽¹⁾ . (margin)

(1) or: 'beyond his power'.

154

CONTRACT.

(d 21) 9½ by 10¼ inches, incomplete. Uncials, see Plate IV,7. Originally this must have been a very large document. The subject-matter is uncertain. It was drawn up by the community of a village. On the Verso 245, later.

(broken ?)

↑

α]νον ιαννε πωενμμακ; πλακητας μν βικ^τ πωεν!
σε]υηρος μν πεγνυ πωενμνηνα νε βοηθος μν χανλ
μ]ακ; απολλω μν θεοδωρος παιακ; πωενμμακ; ανουπ
]. μν απα κυρε πωε νμνηνα μν αιρε πωε νμμακ;
5]λ μν caraπαμμων πεyson μν παυλε εαλη μν ανουπ
φ]αυστα μν πετρος εαλη μν μοι σευηρος μν μακαρε
]κ μν γεωργε παιακ μν βηc ψαμαψουλε μν φιλοθε
π]ωενμμακ; θεοφιλε μν παυλος ππρεcβυτερος
]βικ^τ μν φοιβαμμων παυλε μν zaharias παιακ;
10]ουποϊ μν [πε]cνηπε ννεοyοοϊε νπεντιμε τηρυ

]κοyιenc2[αι νμ]ηνα πcυμα^χ πωε νμμακ; ενωχ πρωμ πεϊτιμε
]τοy (sic) νουτ δε τηραγε τηcομολογει ανοντηρν zιoycοπ ανπιθε zνoy
]ια νμον αν οyδε νταyαπατη νμον αν οyδε νταyαναγκaze νμον αν
]ε νμον οyδε (sic) ννοyμνητατνοει ante οyδε ενλαay νεωy εναφορμη

15 Ν]ΤΑΝΠΙΘΕ ΝΕΜΑΚ Ε[Ν ΠΕ]ΝΟΥΩΩ ΕΞΟΥΝ ΕΡΟΚ ΕΝΟΥΕΝΤ ΕΥΣΟΥΤΩΝ ΜΝ

(broken)

1. Perhaps the first line.

12. ΟΥΤ for ΟΥΩΤ, see chapter VIII par.57A.

13. ΝΤΑΥΑΠΑΤΗ, ΝΤΑΥΑΝΑΓΚΑΞΕ, the use of the second perfect seems unusual.

14. ΝΝΟΥΜΗΤΑΤΝΟΕΙ for ΝΟΥΜΑΤΑΤΝΟΕΙ, see chapter VIII paragraphs 83 and

90.

Translation:

(broken ?).....]we Ianne⁽¹⁾ the son of the late Plakētas⁽²⁾ and Victōr the son of [.....]Sevēros and Pehēu⁽³⁾ the son of Mēna the βουθού⁽⁴⁾ and Chael[..... the son of the]late Apollō and Theodōros the deacon(δῆκονος) the steward(δικοκητής)⁽⁵⁾ the son of the late Anoup [....]and Apa Kyre the son of Mēna and Aire⁽⁶⁾ the son of the late [..... - 5 -]and Sarapammōn his brother and Paule (the son of) Halē⁽⁷⁾ and Anoup [.....]Phausta and Petros (the son of) Halē⁽⁷⁾ and Moui⁽⁸⁾ (the son of) Sevēros and Makare [.....]and Geōrge the deacon(δῆκονος) and Bēs⁽⁹⁾ (the son of) Shamashoule⁽¹⁰⁾ and Philothe [..... the]son of the late Theophile and Paulos the priest[.....]Victor and Phoibammōn (the son of)Paule and Zacharias the deacon(δῆκ.)[..... - 10 -]...(? and [also] the rest of the husbandmen⁽¹¹⁾ of our whole village [.....]kouī, we are writing to Mēna the σύμμαχος⁽¹²⁾ the son of the late Enōch from this [same] village [... in this] same nome (τοῦ), saying: we gladly acknowledge(ὁμολογεῖν)⁽¹³⁾ all of us together and we were persuaded(πείθεσθαι) with a [.....]not being [...]nor being deceived(ἀπατᾶν) nor being compelled(ἀναγκάζειν) [nor]nor is it ignorance nor in any matter of pretext(ᾠσεμή)[....]we have agreed(πέθεσθαι) with you, with our intention towards you with a straight-forward heart and [.....

(1) This name recurs in this collection 244² and in a small fragment d 128b([ΠροϚ + ΕΙΤΝ ΠΑΛΟΝ ΙΑΝΝΕ). It is also found in B.M.1131²³, 1142⁷, Ryl.384 and Krall 77¹²; it occurs as ΙΑΝΝΗ P.Lond.IV 1432⁴³, and B.M.1145¹¹ and as ΙΑΝΕ B.M.1180²; cf. Krall: Mitth. P.E.R.V,p.

27. It is probably a shortened form of the name Johannēs, cf. Serne for Serēnos, Kolthe for Kollouthos, etc..
- (2) This name is known from the Martyrdom of Plakētas the general who on being baptised assumed the name Eustathios, see B.Mar.pp.102ff.. The name is very rare in Coptic texts, cf. $\pi\lambda\kappa\upsilon\delta\omicron\varsigma$, $\pi\lambda\kappa\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$, $\pi\lambda\kappa\iota\delta\omicron\varsigma$ in P.Lond.IV (see index) and $\pi\lambda\kappa\omicron\tau\alpha\varsigma$ S.B. I 243³; cf. $\eta\lambda\delta\alpha\kappa\upsilon\tau\iota\alpha$ Jern.8. The name is clearly derived from the Latin word 'placidus'.
- (3) This name again Krall 145^{2,12} and elsewhere; cf. also $\mu\epsilon\tau\eta\omicron\upsilon$, $\mu\alpha\iota\eta\omicron\upsilon$, $\mu\iota\eta\omicron\upsilon$, $\mu\iota\zeta\eta\upsilon$, and the Greek $\mu\alpha\kappa\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$.
- (4) On this title see chapter V p.35.
- (5) 'the steward' is added above the line.
- (6) I am unable to find this name elsewhere; Atre cannot be read here.
- (7) On this name see Crum: Wadi Sarga 56 note and references there. As Crum points out it is scarcely the Muslim علي in this context.
- (8) Moui, lit. 'the lion', recurs in a small fragment d 82d as $\kappa\omicron\lambda\lambda\iota\omicron\gamma\mu\omicron\upsilon\iota$. Preisigke: Namenbuch cites only two examples, both from P.Lond.IV. It recurs Grohmann: Arabic Papyri in the Egyptian Library vol.III 167⁵⁶; B.M.1027, 1227, also 1102(fourth century); Ryl.122; Hall p. 113; Maspero: Bawit 390, 391, 454. Cf. also $\mu\epsilon\omicron\mu\omicron\upsilon\iota$ here 276¹¹.
- (9) On this name cf. Preisigke: Namenbuch; in Coptic again B.M.Or.6201 A 31a line 2.
- (10) Perhaps again in a small fragment g 39(legal) $\alpha\eta\lambda\alpha\gamma\alpha\mu\alpha\gamma\omicron\upsilon\lambda\epsilon$. I am unable to find this name elsewhere; cf. $\sigma\alpha\mu\alpha\chi\eta\lambda$ in P.Lond.IV 1419 line 123 al..
- (11) On 'husbandmen' ($\omicron\upsilon\omicron\omicron\epsilon\iota\epsilon$) see Steinwenter, Studien p.47 note 4.
- (12) On this official see Bell: P.Lond IV 1416⁶⁴ note; the main function of this official was that of carrying letters. The title recurs in this collection in 179⁶ and a small fragment Ms.Greek Class d 89d $\text{[e}^{\text{συμμ}^{\text{X}}\text{αβ}^{\text{α}}\text{]}}$.
- (13) The phrase 'we gladly acknowledge' recurs B.M.1073, Ryl.134 and elsewhere. Cf. also J.59⁶ and 66⁶⁶ (Crum).

CONTRACT

(g 24) Perhaps same hand as 102. From a legal document.

(broken)

↑
N] 'ΠΤΟ[ΟΥ] N' CIIIOO[ΥΤ

]ΤΚΑΖ ΣΒΕΖΤ Χ[Ε

]ΡΗΥ ΕΤΕ ΠΑΙ ΟΥ[

]ΕΚΝΒΩΚ [

5]ΩΡΚ ΕΜΗΝΟ[ΥΤΕ

6]ΝΕΤ[ΑΡΧΕΙ] ΕΒΩ[Ν

(three more lines, illegible, then broken)

1. ΠΤΟΟΥ ΝCΙΟΟΥΤ, see chapter IV p.24.

2. ΤΚΑΖ ΣΒΕΖΤ, cf. WS 154, 157. On the meaning of ΚΑΖ 'district, nome' see Sir Alan Gardiner, Ancient Egyptian Onomastica II, 58ff. and C. Schmidt in ÄZ LXVIII, 67f., adding Peremans-Vergote, Papyr. Handboek pl. X ^(see) ΖΝΚΑΖ CIOΟΥΤ ^(see) ΠΟΛΙC ΝΠΝΟΜΟC and MIF LIX, 442 ΠΚΑΖ CIOΟΥΤ.

6. ΕΒΩΝ for ΕΧΩΝ, see chapter VIII par. 124.

156

CONTRACT

(e 61; d 114b, c, d) On the Verso 157, later ?

Document issued by the κοινότης of an ἐποίκιον.

(margin)

↑
ⲡ ΤΚΑΙΝΩΤΗΣ ΤΗΡΗΣ ΜΠΟΙΠΚΥ[

[.] ΜΝ [C] ΑΜΟΥΗΛ ΜΝ ΜΗΝΑ ΜΝ Ι[

[ΑΠΑ ΚΥΡΕ ΠΡΜΤΗΡΒΕ ΧΕ ΕΤ[ΒΕ

[Ν] ΑΧΩ ΜΟC ΖΑΡΩΝ ΖΙ[

5 [...] ΖΑΡΟΥ ΜΠΟΥ ΝΖΟΟΥ[

[] ΝΕ[

] ΑΧΟΥΩΤ[

ΠΝΑΚ.[

] ΕΡΟΝ ΧΕΝΕΚ[

ΕΛΑΔΥ ΖΑΡ[

Ν] CΑ ΠΕΙΞΟΛΟΚΥ.[

ΠΕΝΨΩΞΕ Ν[

] . ⲥ ΤΙΝ[

10 [] ΙΕΝ[

(broken)

(margin)

↑
 ελ]^x ναδιακ^ο μν βικτωρ ἡε[^ηνηυ]
 ετο]γ^ααβ ναπα αη[ολ]λω εηπ[τοϋ]
].επρ^ε αγω πμ^ονοχο^ς ηπειμον^ο
 ε]ωβε να οyon ημωβε ἡων ανωκ
 5]η ἡτερεκ^υινε[]νεκοι^ε[]

(broken)

Verso: (docket) →

7 +ομολογια [χ]εγαμ^ε [

Translation:

..... the least] deacon(δ^ιάκονος) and Victōr, the brethren^ο [...] holy [mo-
 nastery] of Apa Apollō in the [nome of the town Sbeht⁽¹⁾] we are writing to
 ...] the priest and monk(μόναχος) of this monastery(μοναστήριον) [saying:
 Since some who⁽²⁾] mock every one mocked us, we went[.....] when you had
 sought[after(?)] the fields(?) [.....(broken)].

Docket: +Agreement(ὁμολογία) executed [.....

(1) For the lacuna cf. 100¹ - 2 etc..

(2) The restoration is very doubtful.

159

CONTRACT

(f 43; f 51) Uncials. Same hand as 310, 335, 336, 365.

(broken)

↑
 ειτοοτ] ανοκ απα αμμωνε περ^ε αγω [ηρο
]μν ιουταθε ξεεπιδη νταν[
 λ]ααυ εαμζωη ημμονα^ς
]τααυ να ηηποου ηεο[ου
 5]ογ[.]η[]εγ^ι[
 (gap)
 7]τακ[.]ε αγ[ω

8

]ΤΑΔΑΚ ΑΚΤΑΔΑΚ[

10

]ΧΕ ΑΝΟΝ ΑΝΠΙΘΕ ΔΥΩ[
 ΔΥΩ ΤΑΙΡΕ ΝΟΟΥΔ[^(με)
]ΝΑΚ ΕΑΠΙΕΩΥ ΠΑΙ ΨΑΕΝΕΖΗ[
]ΑΝΟΝ ΑΝΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΕΙ ΜΜΟΚ[

(broken)

10. (between the lines) ΤΑΙΡΕ, the ΔΙ is corrected; perhaps read ΔΥΩ ΓΑΡ
 ΝΟΟΥΔ[... .

Translation:

(broken) through me⁽¹⁾]Apa Ammōne the priest and [prior⁽²⁾]
 and Ioutathe⁽³⁾ saying: Since we⁽⁴⁾[.....]anything for the work of the
 monastery(μοναστήριον)[.....]gave them to us this day[.....(lines 5 and
 7 obscure, between them a gap)]give it and you gave it[.....]for
 we agreed(πέθειν) and [.....]you for this very matter for ever⁽⁵⁾[.....]
 we besought you[.....(broken)].

(1) For the context cf. 100¹ - 2, 102¹ - 5, 103¹ - 4 etc..

(2) Apa Ammōne as superior occurs elsewhere, see index.

(3) I cannot find this name elsewhere, but cf. 107 B.M.624³.

(4) The general sense of these lines is probably as follows: Since we
 required and did not find any for the work of the monastery,
 we came and besought you and you gave them to us this day
 cf. 102, 103 etc..

(5) There is an obscure note added above this line.

160

CONTRACT

(f 60; d 76g; d 84e; d 151c) Few ligatures. On the Verso 218, ear-
 lier.

→

(broken)

1

Δ]ΝΟΥΠ ΕΙC2ΑΙ ΝΠΔ.[

2

]ΗΤΕ ΧΕ ΜΝΝ.[

(gap)

4

ωατεϋτερμ νεατ απα^χ Ν[

5

πесмоу еϋαρ πνοϋτε[

6

νοϋντπαϋε[

(gap)

8

]ρενσολ τκου! [

]τεκ^τ ιν^α τερνμ[

]εν[.]

10

]ναπα απολλω ετε ναϊ νε σαϋϋ νεολοκ^{ετ}]ντερμнсн нанεαλωμα αυωϋουτ νεολοκ^τ]απα απολλω τοϋτ еστιν саϋϋ νεολοκ^τ

саϋϋ еρον тπαϋε еροι ανοκ παсон πα

14

]πα^{αι}сон βικτωρ ενωρ^{αι}χ ουν ανсμнн

(broken)

4.τερμ for τριμнсion, cf. line 11 τερμнсн.

5.εϋαρ for εϋаре, see chapter VIII par.20.

9.τερнм[difficult; hardly for тарнм[.

11.ϋουτ for ϋουμт, see chapter VIII par.80b.

14.ενωρ^{αι}χ, we should have expected еϋωρ^{αι}χ; cf. ειωρεχ in a similar context in 114⁹ and note there.

сμнн for сμн, see chapter VIII par.2e.

Translation:

(lines 1 - 8 are too fragmentary to permit a translation) lines 9 - 14:

.....]tenth(?) indiction ...(?)[...]in [the monastery(?)] of Apa Apollō which are these: seven solidi [.....] trimesion as expenses (ἀνάλωμα) and three solidi for the monastery of(?) Apa Apollō; that is (τοῦτ' ἐστίν) seven solidi [.....] seven(?) for us, the half for me - I 'my brother' ⁽¹⁾ Pa[...]'my brother' Victōr. We, therefore, securing, we have drawn up [... .. (broken).

(1) The title 'my brother' here as elsewhere merely signifies that the

person in question is in monastic orders, cf. Index.

161

CONTRACT ?

(g 29; d 94a) Semi-crude Hand.

→

(margin)

+ 2 EN ΠΟΥΩΨ ΕΝΗ[ΝΟΥΤΕ

ΑΝΟΚΕΝΩΧ ΕΙΣΘΑΙ[

ΜΕΡΙΤ ΕΝΙΩΤ ΑΠ[]ΕΝ[

ΜΕΝ ΠΑΜΕΡΙΤ ΕΝΣΟ[Ν ΠΑΠΟ]ΣΤΟΛ[ΟC

5 [.]C (blank) [] [

[Χ]Ε ΕΠΙΤΗ ΑΠΑΙΩΤ[]ΔΕΙΕ[

[.]ΚΕΙC ΕΜΟΙ ΕΤΡΑ[]ΟΝ ΚΕ[

[...].ΝΝΕΡΩΜΕ[

9 []ΔΕΝΕΝΕ[

(margin ?)

Verso: (address)

↑ 10

[+]ΤΑΔC ΕΝΠΑCΟΝ Π.^{c(μ)}

4. Papostolos rather uncertain here; this name again 192⁸ and 300¹⁰.

It also recurs B.M.487, Ryl. 383, Till: Orientalia vol.XVI (1947) pp.525 ff., number 1. Preisigke: Namenbuch cites this name only for the eighth century.

162

CONTRACT ?

(g 46) Ligatured.

→

(broken)

1].....[

2]πρ^ε ηρωμ η[

3]τῆολιc χε[

4]αμαζε νμο[

5

]ΕΥΟΥΜΕΣ ΕΝ ΠΕΚΗ[

(broken)

163

CONTRACT

(d 78a; another fragment is d 65d)

The only interest of this scrap is that it preserves the formula
 ΝΑΤΕΑΠ ΝΑΤΝΟΜΟΣ ΝΑΤΛΑΔΥ ΝΑΜΦΙΒΟΛΙΑ which does not occur elsewhere
 in this region, but is very common further north. On this formula see
 the Appendix to Spiegelberg: Ein Koptischer Vertrag in Abhandl. d. kgl.
 Gesellschaft d. Wissenschaften zu Göttingen vol.XVI 3 (1917) pp.83 f.;
 cf. also here 117⁷ - 8.

—→

(broken)

- | | | |
|---|-----------------------------|------|
| 1 | ΠΕΝΤΕΚΕΔ[ΕΚΑΤΗΣ | ΝΑΙ] |
| 2 | ΟΥΝ + ΨΟΟ[ΝΕΤΟΙΜΟΣ | |
| 3 | ΝΑΤΕΑΠ ΝΑΤΝ[ΟΜΟΣ ΝΑΤΛΑΔΥ Ν] | |
| 4 | ΑΜΦΟΙΒΟΛΙΑ Ε[| |

(broken)

164

CONTRACT

(g 48) Uncials.

(margin)

↑

- | | |
|---|---------------------|
| |]Ν+ΑΚΩΝΙΑ[|
| |]Α ΕΛΠΤΟΥ[|
| |]ΠΙΤΟΠΟΣ ΝΟΥΥΩΤ (?) |
| |]ΒΕΖΑΠΕΥ[|
| 5 |]ΣΗ· ΝΓΤΑΥ[|
| |]ΧΕ ΕΙΩΡΚ Μ[|
| 7 | Ν]ΕΝ [ΧΙ]ΣΟΥΕ[|

(broken)

1. On ΔΙΑΚΟΝΙΑ see chapter V Appendix.

7. Not [Δ]COOYE.

165 - 170

The unusual oath-formulae in these documents is discussed in chapter VII.

165

SETTLEMENT ?

(f 98; d 63a; d 150b) Few ligatures; same hand as 268.

(broken)

↑

5

[.]ΤΕΝΟΥ ΤΙΖΟ[ΜΟΛΟΓΕΙ]
 ΜΠΑΝΩΠΕ ΕΙΔΕΞΑ[]
 [Μ]ΝΤΑΙ ΚΕΛΑΔΥ ΝΕΩΒ ΝΕΜΑΚ Χ!
 [Ν]ΕΠΟΟΥ ΕΘΗ ΕΤ[Ε]ΟΥΣΑΟΥ [ΠΕ]
 [Μ]ΠΑΡΜΟΥΤΕ ΠΕΒΟΤ ΝΤΙΡ[ΟΜΠΕΤΑΙ]
 [ΔΩ]ΔΕΚΑΤΗΣ Ι^Δ ΑΥΩ Κ[ΑΤΑ] ΛΑΔΥ
 ΝΟΥΟΕΙΩ ΕΙΩΔΝΟΥ[Ω]Υ [ΝΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ]
 ΕΡΟΚ ΤΑΤΙ ΒΤΟΟΥ ΝΕΟΛ[ΟΚ] ΝΑΚ
 ΑΥΩ ΝΤΕ ΠΕΧΑΡΤΗΣ ΒΩ[ΕΥΒΜΒΟΜ]
 ΝΤΥΖΕ

10

(margin, continued on the verso)

→

11

ΕΥΩΡΧ ΝΑΚ ΔΙΣΜΝ ΠΙΧ[ΑΡΤΗΣ]
 ΝΑΚ ΕΙΩΡΚ ΜΝΠΝΟΥΤ[Ε ΠΠΑΝ]
 ΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ ΜΝ ΝΕΩΛΗ[Λ ΝΑΠΑ]
 ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ Π[ΕΠΙΣΚ]° []
 15 [ΝΑΚ] ΠΡΟΣ ΤΥΒΟΜ + ΕΧΕ[Μ[†] ΠΑΕ[†] Μ[†]]
 ω^δ iβ + + + ΔΝΟΚ[]
 ΤΕΤΩΗΡΠΣΖΑΙ Τ[Ι]ΣΤΗΧΕ [ΖΙ]
 [Τ]Ν ΝΑΣΥΜΙΟΝ ΝΣΤΑΥΡΟΣ
 19 [+Δ]ΝΟΚ ΖΟΥΡΩΝ Τ.[]

(broken)

2. Not εαπμλνγωγε.

6. [Δω]δεκατης supplied from line 16.

9. For the lacuna cf. J.46³⁶; perhaps read δω[εμμη] cf. Ry1.295.

12. λη; the η is not certain, but there was some letter between λ and πνουτ[ε], perhaps corrected.

14. The]^c[makes it probable that we ought to supply π[επισκ]^c here, cf. 111⁷, 166⁵, 167², 168¹; see chapter VII.

15. The second lacuna supplied from lines 4 - 5.

17. Definitely not μεταγνρπσα; the person was therefore a woman. On γνρπσα for γρπσα see chapter VIII par.2g.

Translation:

(broken).....]Now I agree(ὁμολογεῖν)[.....] the dwelling-place⁽¹⁾ or concerning[.....] I have no more dealings with you from this day onwards which is the seventh day of the month Parmoute in [this] year the twelfth indiction. And [at any] time, if I wish [to prosecute] you I shall pay four solidi [to you] and this document(χρετης) shall remain valid as it stands⁽²⁾ (Verso) As a security for you I have drawn up this [document] for you and I swear by almighty God and the prayers [of Apa] Theodōros the [bishop]⁽³⁾ [that I shall adhere for you] to its validity. + Written [month Parmoute 7], indiction 12.+ +++ I [..]⁽⁴⁾ who has already written, I assent(στοιχεῖν) through my cross-signs(σημεῖον, σταυρός)⁽⁵⁾. I Hourōn⁽⁶⁾ [.....] (broken)

(1) Or: 'cell'; see Crum: Dictionary p. 580a.

(2) Lit. 'in its manner'.

(3) Theodōros the bishop is probably the same person as the Theodōros of 232⁶ and 235¹¹.

(4) A woman, see above note on line 17.

(5) For this phrase see 111¹² note.

(6) The name Hourōn is uncertain; I cannot find it elsewhere.

FRAGMENT

(f 68) Much ligatured. A good deal missing on either side.

(broken)

]ΝΑΙ ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ[

]ΜΜΝΑΩ ΝΑΚ[

]ΞΑΕΤΗΙ ΕΚΞΑΕΤΗΙ[

]ΝΑΤΛΑΑΥ ΝΑΜΦΙΒ[ΟΛΙΑ

5 ΕΠ[ΣΚ" ΑΥΩ ΠΟΥΞΑ[Ι

] + ῥ̃ μεσωρ" κα ῥ̃/ε + [

φοι]ΒΑΜΩΝ ΜΝ ΦΙΛΟΘΕ[

τ]ΑΜΑΞΚ ΕΝΠΑΞΩΥ[

9]ΝΑΝ ΩΩΠΕ + ...[

(margin ?)

167

AGREEMENT

(g 67; d 157a) Ligatured.

(broken)

[ΕΙΩΡΚ ΜΠΝΟΥ]ΤΕ ΠΠΑΝΤΟΚΡΑ[Τ]ΩΡ ΜΝ Ν[Ε]

[ΩΛΗΛ Ν ΠΕ]ΠΙΣΚΥ ΕΤ̃ΠΛΑΝΕ ῥ̃ΜΟΚ

[ΕΥΩΡΞ ΝΑΚ ΑΙΣΜΝ]ΤΙΑΣΦΑΛΙΑ ΝΑΚ ΕΙΣΤΟΪΧΕ

[ΕΡΟΣ + ^(II) + ΑΝΟ]Κ ΙΣΑΚ + ΣΤΗΧΕΙ ^(I) ΑΙΣΖΑΙ

5 [ΝΤΑ] ΑΠΑ ΙΣΑΚ ΕΠΙΤΡΟΠΗ ΝΑΪ ΤΟΜ
(margin) ΜΝΤΡ (sic)

Verso: (docket) —→

6 ῥ̃Γῥ ΜΗΝΙ ΠΑΧΩΝ ...[

5. ΕΠΙΤΡΟΠΗ for ΕΠΙΤΡΕΠΕΙ, see chapter VIII par.157B.

6. ῥ̃Γῥ for ΕΓΓΡΑΦΟΝ.

Translation:

(broken) and I swear by]almighty God and the[prayers of ... the]

bishop(ἐπίσκοπος) not to lead you astray(πλανῶν). [As a security for you
I have drawn up] this agreement(ἄσφαλεια) for you and I assent[to it. +
(second hand) I] Isac I assent. (first hand) I wrote[this agreement as]
Apa Isac urged(ἐπιτρέπειν) me (and) I am witness.

Docket: Deed(ἔγγραφο) month Pachōn[.....]

168

DEED OF SALE

(e 53; d 171b, c) Ligatured. Very fragmentary.

(broken)

↑
1 [] ΠΕΠΣΚ^(sic)
2 [] ΚΑΤΑ Κ[ΑΙΡΟ]C Ν[ΙΜ] ΤΑΡΝΡΟΕΙC
(gap ?)
4 [] ΠΡΑΣΙC +
5 ΙΒ Ι^Δ ΙCΑΔΚ[] +
6 ΑΝΟΚ ΓΕΩΡΓΕ ΠΕΤΩΗ[ΡΠCΑ]ΔΙ ΤΙCΤΗ[ΧΕ
7 [] Ν[ΔΙΑΚ^ο] ΤΙΟ ΝΜΕΤΡΕ[+]

(margin)

5. ΙΒ Ι^Δ for ΙΒ Ι^Δ 'twelfth indiction'?

169

FRAGMENT

(g 50) Another fragment g 51 is written by the same hand, but is probably not part of this document.

(broken)

↑
ΟΥΛΗ[Λ Μ] ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ[
ΕΠΕΚΩΡΧ ΟΥΝ ΔΙ[ΕΜΝ
ΕΡΟC ΝΤΑΒΙΧ. [
ΑΝΟΚ ΜΑΚΑΡΕ + Ο[
5 ΨΔΕ ΒΟΟΥΝΕ ΝΤΑ ΠΔΕ[ΙΩΤ

(margin)

5. φαε 600YNE; see Crum: Dictionary p.836a "sack-weaver".

170

FRAGMENT

(d 81a) Very small script.

→

(broken)

- 1 [.ΧΙCΘΟΥ]Ε ΕΤΑΡ^χ ΕΧΩΝ ΝΚ[ΑΙΡΟC ΝΙΛ
- 2 ΤΑΡΝΡΟΕΙC ΝΑΚ ΠΡΟC ΤΘΟΜ[
- 3 μ φαε[†] ιδ ιδ ενδεκατης + [

(margin ?)

171

FRAGMENT

(f 57) Much ligatured.

↑

(broken)

- 1 ΕΥΩΡΧ ΟΥΝ ΑΝCΜΝ
- 2 Ε]ΧΩΝ ΕΤΡΝΡΟΕΙC ΠΡΟCΤΕ[.]
- 3 (II) ΠΡΜ]CΙΘΟΥΤ ΤΙCΤΗΧΕ
- 4]ΤΙCΤΗΧΕ +

(margin)

2. ΕΤΡΝΡΟΕΙC; we should have expected ΤΑΡΝΡΟΕΙC, see chapter VIII par. 159.

172

FRAGMENT

(d 166c)

→

(broken)

[.] Π[.]CΟΥ[
 ΕΥΩΡΧ ΟΥ[Ν
 [b]ΥΩ ΕΝΩΡ[Κ
 ΕΧΩΝ Μ[

5

ΤΑΡΝΕΑΡΕΕ^(sic) Δ[

(broken)

5. τὰρνεαρεε; we should have expected ετρνεαρεε, see chapter VIII par.

159.

173

FRAGMENT

(g 56) On the Verso 298, later.

↑ (two lines illegible)
 3 [...]ω προς θε̃ε̃ ἤται'παρ[ἀκαλει
 4 [ἀη]α̃ παυλε̃ πνο̃ τὰρψμ[ινε
 (broken)

174

FRAGMENT

(g 54; d 104a) Palimpsest, the earlier text now illegible.

This fragment is of some interest as it was almost certainly written in Babylon: line 3: 'I being in Babylon I am[witness as I]heard it through those who [drew it up].'

↑ (broken)
 πιγρᾱμματιο[N
 + ἀνοκ βικ', [
 εἰς ν βαβυλων τιο μ[μετρε̃νε̃ νται]
 σωτμ̃ ερος̃ εἰτν̃ νετ[σμινε̃ μμο̃]
 5 + ἀνοκ πω̃νρε̃ πμακ[
 II ρ̃ ἀνοκ̃ μ̃ηνα̃ πω̃ε̃ νπμακ', κολλ[οϝ̃
 (margin)

5. πω̃νρε̃; a name commonly found at Thebes, e.g. S.T.412¹⁹, 318¹⁵.

175

FRAGMENT

(d 146b; d 71i)

—→

(broken)

- 1 παρακα]λει νε̄ν και πιστος αυε[
 2 αν]οκ ευλιας[τιστη]χη επιζωολογιᾱ νε̄θε[
 3 II [πα[.] αμ[]διο μετρε +^(III) δαμιανος[
 4 (III)]μετρε ανοκ πε[

(margin)

1. νε̄ν και πιστος for zeneπιστος; see chapter VIII par.26. For πιστος in this context cf. J.6⁷, 24¹⁶¹, 67¹⁴⁰, etc.. Perhaps again on a small fragment d 115b].πιστος και εταζε[.

176

FRAGMENT

(e 69) This is one of the rare cases where in addition to the father's name, that of his mother is also given. Krall p.3 cites three instances known to him (Krall 40¹, 129², 223¹).

—→

(broken)

† ανοκ φιλοθε̄ ισακ θη̄ν τιο̄ νμητρε̄ χ

(broken)

θη̄ν evidently stands for τε̄θυ, so 248⁹. I cannot find this name elsewhere, but it is probably the feminine form of the name πε̄θυ. The χ stands for the more usual +, see 116 note 4.

177

FRAGMENT

(d 132b; d 134a) Uncials.

—→

(broken)

- 1 ανοκ ισακ πιελαχιστο[ε]
 2 κνομος̄ τιστη̄χε̄ [+]

(broken)

For this person see 116²¹. κνομος̄ for οικονομος̄.

FRAGMENT

(g 65; d 170b,c) From what remains this appears to be from a legal document which was written round the letters of a protocol.

→

(broken)

] .α πιελαχ νμπρ^ε τι

] α νο κ μα θεος

] θα πσα ανου π

]

5] πχοεις πνουτε

(margin)

3. θα πσα ; cf. θα ψαυ in Preisigke: Namenbuch.

5. 'the Lord God' seems strange here.

179

FRAGMENT

(g 23) Ligatured.

→

(broken)

1 προς τβου ντεγνωσις[

2 βωκ εαετν πσεεπε[

3 προς τβου ντεγνωσις ες[

4 ουωαυ ετνοου εσωκ εαπ[

(broken)

Verso: Remains of a protocol and a note (docket ?) in minuscule hand.

↑

6 συμ^χ επε^ε κοσ^μα νοτ^α +

7 π^ια (αι)

8 π^ι (αι)

4. εσωκ probably for κσωκ, cf. chapter VIII par.82.

6. συμμ(α)χ(ος); see 154 note 12.

επε^ε probably for βερεμ; cf. Krall 248⁵ επραμ which is the Arabic form (ابراهيم) of the name Abraham.

7 - 8. Obscure.

Three letters from the Arab governor Qurrah b. Sharîk, governor from A.D.709 to 714. A large number of letters from this governor were found at Aphrodito, written in both Greek and Arabic(see especially P. Lond.IV; P.Ross.Georg.IV; Becker: Papyri Schott-Reinhardt and Becker in Zeitschrift für Assyriologie vols.XX and XXII), and one letter in Arabic was found at the neighbouring Wadi Sarga(W.S.p.9). While 181 and 182 are very similar to the documents in other collections, 180 presents very considerable difficulties, see 180 introduction. 181 was re-used to write a Coptic letter which explains its presence in this collection, and only 182 seems to have been addressed to the monastery at Bala'izah, though this document too was apparently re-used. 181, 182 and the first two lines of 180 are written in a minuscule hand, very similar to that in other letters from this governor.

180

(d 48) $3\frac{1}{2}$ by $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches, complete. The first two lines are written in Greek in a minuscule, the rest in Coptic in a cursive hand.

Although the first two lines expressly state that this is a letter from the governor Qurrah b.Sharîk, there are several reasons against this: Firstly we find on the verso traces of an earlier Greek liturgical text in a hand very similar to - but not the same as - the famous liturgical fragment found at Bala'izah (see above chapter II p.7). The lines of that text are not complete, and thus the papyrus was broken before the present document was written, as it is complete. It seems very strange that the notary writing on behalf of the governor should have made use of papyrus which had already been inscribed on one side. Secondly all other letters known from this governor are written in either Greek or Arabic or both, but no letter is known which is written as the present one in Coptic; but this is not in itself a decisive objection. Thirdly it seems very unlikely that the notary writing on behalf of the governor would have written(line 3): 'I have received the

letter from you the god-loving dear honoured brother'. On the other hand, no attempt has been made to erase the first two lines and there is no apparent reason to suppose that the present document was a writing exercise. Unfortunately the Coptic text is too obscure to permit us to draw any definite conclusions.

→ (margin)

- 1 +εν ονοματι του θεου κορεα χ σζεριχ συμβουλος υμιν τοις απο ^(sic) ερποικου
 2 αχιου κολλου παρχ^χ αντινοου παρα ο μνπου ο αν... (blank)
 3 +αιχι νεικειαι ητεκθεοφειλ^ε ημεριτ ησον ετταινη ετβεφωη ητακσει ναϊ ετβητη^(sic)
 4 ου[[...] ερανπετνααβ[.] εμπουω[ω] μνη]ουτε [...] νεμνηω[]
 5 εγεοσε εγωπη πνουτε ουωω ραιτ[με]κρω[.]η]ακ ησοου[]

(margin)

1. X for υος , unparalleled. ερποικου mistake for εποικίου.
2. ο μνπουοαν... , or ο λωπουοαν... , obscure.
3. On the use of θεοφειλ^ε here see 191 note 2 below.
 ετβητη for ετβητη, see chapter VIII par.38.

Translation:

(Greek) + In the name of God. Kurrāh son of(?) Sharīk, governor, to you from the εποικιον Hagios Kollouthos⁽¹⁾ (in the) pagarchy of Antinoou⁽²⁾(?).

(Coptic) + I have received the letter from you the god-loving(θεο-φιλής) dear honoured brother. As regards the matter concerning which you wrote to me [...](rest obscure).

(1) On this εποικιον of Saint Kollouthos see Grohmann: Arabic Papyri in the Egyptian Library vol.III, 167²² note and references there.

(2) On the nome of Antinoou see 114 note 3.

order for sailors: καρέβιον and ἀκάτιον. For similar orders see P. Lond. IV 1408, 1410 which are nearly identical.

↑

(margin)

- 1 κορεα νῆ[σζερεχ σ[υμβου]λος υμιν τοις απο εποικῆ
 2]ου παρε[α]σχ[λο]γω ναυτικῃ καρε^xς ακ^k
 (space)
 3].ελ^δμ.[] .τροφ^{μδ} []

(broken)

Verso: Beginning of a Coptic letter, different hand, later: →

- 5 + τικινε αγω [τιαςπα]ζε ντεκ[

(broken)

182

(d 126a; d 142a) Letter from Kurrak b. Sharīk probably addressed to the monastery of Apa Apollo (see line 2).

↑

(margin)

- 1]κορεα νῆ^δ σζερεχ συμβου[ος
 2]παρε^x μ^τ, απολτων παρα[

(broken)

Verso: A few letters visible, different hand, later.

183

(d 170a; d 75a; another fragment is d 165c) Uncials. Letter mentioning the Emir (امير). The Arabic title emir corresponded to the Greek pagarch, see Steinwenter: Studien pp. 8f..

↑

(broken)

- 1]εωβ ν[
 2 η]ρ^ε βηλ εβολ εγι αναφορεα νεουν εα[
 3 ενδο]ζο^τ ναμια νη+τω[

(broken)

The fragment is too uncertain to be translated.

(Ms. Arab. d 94 p) Uncials. Written on the verso of a Greek-Arabic protocol. It is presumably the address of a text written on the other side below the protocol.

↑ παλου παυν παυλος ειςμι (space) μος $\overline{\eta\pi\eta}$ $\overline{\lambda}$ ναμιρα +
 "Palou⁽¹⁾ the son of Paulos ...⁽²⁾ of the most illustrious (ἐνδοξότατος) emir. +

(1) This is an unusual name, cited once in Preisigke: Namenbuch (P.Lond. IV, 1420¹⁷³); cf. παλαυ 252 note 2 and references there.

(2) Perhaps some title, but I am unable to identify it.

(d 149a, b) Ligatured.

Letter from Ḳasem - the Arabic name قاسم - mentioning Babylon. It is interesting to note that Ḳasem as muslim makes use of // instead of the + at the beginning and the end of the letter and the address. On this practice on the part of Muslims see Ryl. p. IX and P.Lond. IV p. XLII; cf. also 130 above where the sign € is used.

	(margin)		(continued)
↑	1 //εμπραν[	7	ερ[...]α[
	επαμερι[τ		(gap)
	εβολ εν[	9	τχακμεγ[
	ταμω[	10	ερογ νεμα[
5	αγω την[	11	ει επαβυλω[ν
6	ενταπνε[		(margin)

Verso: (address) —→

12]ειτην κασεμ//

(b 5; d 123a; d 143a, b) 16 by 3½ inches, complete. The script is much ligatured and extremely difficult to read, see Plate IV, 8. I have

been unable to understand, or read satisfactorily lines 19 - 23, although the additional fragments have supplied much of the missing text here. As Crum did not know the additional fragments, his copy was of no use to me here.

The background to this and the following letter 187 is evidently the ἐν σώματι service. Apart from the usual taxes paid in money and in kind, the Arabs also demanded various kinds of personal (ἐν σώματι) service. In P.Lond.IV we hear of several demands for persons to serve in the Arab navy, cf. here 181 which is such a demand. Other demands were for persons to build the Caliph's palace at Aleppo, see P.Lond.IV 1517, etc.. For this personal service in general see P.Lond.IV 1508 introduction and references there.

The person to whom the present letter is addressed is apparently on government service with a local pagarch and the letter among others relates to a request to be made to the pagarch that that person is to be released from this service. The following letter 187 is written by a person on government service under the governor direct, and the writer relates how after an application to the governor he had been released from this service.

—→

(margin)

+ τῶν ἀνὰ τῆς

παζε νεεζλοβ νεκμντ

μεριτ νεοεic νεον αἶρα

νε νματε νταῖον παcon

5

πδιακῶ ἰωαννης εϋνη

ααρωντῆ αἰεαἰ εἰς τῶν

ετεκμντμεριτ νεον

ααντιναυ εροκ ντε παρα

αε ζωκ εβολ επει τιοκ

10

ζε νταει εβολ ειτοοτκ

ει ζω μ[ρς] ζε μν ωκ νε

- 12 ΕΡΗΣ ΤΗΣΝΟΥ ΠΠΑΓΓ^χ ΕΤΒΗΗΤΚ
 ΝΥΚΑΔΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΛΟΙΠΟΝ
 ΝΤΕΡ^ηΕΙ ΕΖΗΤ ΑΠΑΡ^χ
- 15 ΕΙ ΕΖΗΤ ΕΘΑΠΟΘΥΚΗ ΝΠΝ
 ΟΝ ΘΕ ΝΕΙ ΕΡΗΣ ΝΚΕCΟΠ
 ΔΥΩ ΧΕΝΕΚΧΟΟC ΕΝ ΠΕΚ
 ΕΖΗΤ ΧΕ ΔΙΕΡΠΩΒΩ Ν[...]
 ΠΟΕΙΚ ΤΑΝΟΥΟCΤΥ ΝΜ
- 20 ΜΝΕΝΕΡΗΥ Δ... ΕΤΡΕ
 ΠΕΠ[]ΧΙ ΕΛΕΠΛΟ^η
 ΝΜΟΙ[]ΩΔ^η Δ...
 ΝΝΤΑΥ[.]ΤΝ. ΕΙΝΕΙΗΛ
 ΕΒΟΥΝ ΝΕΜΑΚ ΕΙΕΗΚ
- 25 ΝΩΕ ΕΙC ΠΝΟΒ ΝΡΩΜΕ
 ΧΩ ΜΟC ΧΕ ΩΔΕΙ^(sic) ΕΡΗΣ
 ΩΑΠΜΑ ΝΑΠΑ ΑΘΑΜ ΕΤΒΕ
 ΟΥΚΟΥΙ ΝΕΤΙΔ ΩΑΝΠΑ
 ΡΑΚΑΛΕΙ ΜΜΟΥ ΝΧΝΟΥ ΠΑΡ^χ
- 30 ΕΤΒΗΗΤΚ^(sic) ΝΕΠΕΙ ΕΥΩΑΝ
 ΧΝΟΥΥ ΕΤΒΗΗΤΚ ΩΑΥΚΑ
- 32 ΔΑΤ^(sic) ΕΒΟΛ^(sic)

(margin, continued on the verso)

Verso: midway down.

(margin)

- ↑ 33 ΤΙΠΑΡΑΚΑΛ[ΕΙ] ΟΥΝ ΝΤΕΚ
 ΜΝΤCΟΝ ΧΕΝΕΚΩ
- 35 ΕΚΩΤΡΤΩΡ ΕΠΕΙ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ
 CΟΟΥΝ ΧΕ ΠΕΚΕΡΝΟΒΕ
 ΕΝ ΠΛΑ ΝΤΑΥΝΟΧΥ
 ΝCΩΚ ΝΠΥΚΑ ΠΕΙΕΦΟΥ
 ΕΩΩΠΕ ΝΜΟΚ ΑΛΛΑ
- 40 Ε[ΩΩΠ]^(?)Ε ΑΚΕΕΩΥ ΩΩΠΕ

41

ΜΜΟΝ ΕΝΤΝΜΝΤΚΟΥΙ
 ΝΤΝCΟΟΥΝ ΜΟΥ ΦΝ
 ΑΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΟΥΩΩ ΕΤΡΥΤΙ
 ΤΙΚΟΥΙ[]ΤΑΡΥ

45

ΑΝΡΕΙΜ.[]ΤΜΔΥ
 ΝΑΙ ΕΙCΕΔΙ ΜΜΟΥ ΤΙΑC
 ΠΑΞΕ [N]ΠΕΕΛΟΒ ΝΤΕΚΜ
 ΝΤCΟ + ΕΝΔΟΥΔΑΙ ΕΜ
 ΠΧΟΕΙC + ΕΙC ΜΝ

50

ΤΗ ΝCΟΕΙC ΝΟΕΙΚ
 ΔΙΧΟΥCΟΥ ΝΑΚ +
 (margin)

At the top of this page there are traces of an address, illegible.

10. ΝΤΑΕΙ for ΝΤΑΙΕΙ, cf. line 26 υΔΑΕΙ for υΔΑΙΕΙ .

11. μ[οc], not room for μ[μοc], again in lines 26 and 42; see chapter VIII par 78.

17. ΧΕΝΕΚΧΟΟC for ΧΕΝΝΕΚΧΟΟC, again line 34 ΧΕΝΕΚΩ; see chapter VIII par. 152.

18. Perhaps Ν[υη]ΠΟΕΙΚ, Crum; cf. lines 49 - 51.

19. ΤΑΝΟΥΟCΤΥΝΜ or ΤΑΝΟΥΟΕΤΥΝΜ, obscure.

20 - 23. Uncertain and obscure.

26. υΔΑΕΙ for υΔΑΙΕΙ , cf. line 10 ΝΤΑΕΙ for ΝΤΑΙΕΙ .

30. ΝΕΝΕΙ ; the ΝΕ is very difficult to explain. I can only suggest that ΝΕ here stands for ΕΝΕ and is used to express an unreal conditional clause, but I am unable to parallel this construction; cf. Stern par. 630.

36. ΠΕΚΕΡΝΟΒΕ for ΜΠΕΚΕΡΝΟΒΕ , see chapter VIII par. 133.

48. CΟ for CΟΝ (sic!)

50. CΟΕΙC for CΟΕΙCΥ , see Crum: Dictionary p. 374b.

Translation:

+ I greet and salute(ἀσπαύειν) the sweetness of you the dear lord and brother. I rejoiced greatly when I found my brother - 5 - the deacon Johannēs coming to you, and I wrote greeting you the dear brother until I see you and my joy be complete, since(ἐπεὶ) I am delayed. - 10 - For I came away from you saying: There is no delay to come south, we are asking the pagarch concerning you, that he should release you. Then (λαίπον) when we had come north, the ἄρχων⁽¹⁾ - 15 - came north to Apothēkē⁽²⁾ and we did not find the means to come south another time. And so that you do not say in your heart, I have forgotten to [buy(?)] the bread ... (?) - 20 - together⁽³⁾ I being in custody with you, I being smitten with sticks⁽⁴⁾. - 25 - Behold the superior(νοῦ ἡγούμενος)⁽⁵⁾ is saying: I shall come south to the place of Apa Atham⁽⁶⁾ for some small occasion(κλίμακα) and we will beseech(παράκλησεν) him to ask the ἄρχων - 30 - concerning you. This one, if he were to ask him concerning you, he would release me⁽⁷⁾.

Verso: (continued from the recto).

I therefore beseech(παράκλησεν) your fraternity, that you do not continue - 35 - being troubled, since(ἐπεὶ) God knows that you have not sinned in the slander which has been cast upon you, and he has not permitted this evil to happen to you. But(ἀλλὰ) - 40 - if(?) some other matter has happened to us in our littleness⁽⁸⁾ we do not know it. God has desired that he should give this small [...] that he should - 45 - ... (?) [...] These I am writing, I greet(ἀσπαύειν) the sweetness of your fraternity. + We shall fare well in the Lord⁽⁹⁾. + Behold fifteen - 50 - double loaves I have sent to you. +

(1) The ἄρχων at this period was a civil official, often a magistrate; cf. the use of this title in the Jeme deeds and cf. Preisigke: Wörterbuch.

(2) Apothēkē recurs as τανθεκη in 303^{4,10}; it is probably the modern

Aboutig on the west bank of the Nile, twenty miles south of Assiout and about five miles from the settlement at Bala'izah; cf. Sir Alan H. Gardiner: Ancient Egyptian Onomastica vol. II pp. 66ff.

- (3) The text is obscure and broken here.
- (4) For the passage cf. Ryl. 272 and note 4 there. Unfortunately the context is not clear here and perhaps this related to some previous occasion. It is also uncertain whether *we* can be translated as I have suggested, and it is certainly unusual in this sense, but I am unable to suggest an alternative translation. Cf. also note 7 below.
- (5) On this title see chapter V p. 33; perhaps a civil official rather than the monastic superior is meant here.
- (6) In view of what follows it seems probable that Apa Atham is a person here, and not a place-name. Atham presumably stands for the name Adam.
- (7) 'he would release me' seems very strange here, we would have expected 'he would release you'; but perhaps 'me' is right in view of the passage above 'I being in custody with you ...'. Yet on the other hand from the whole tone of the letter it does not seem likely that the present writer is in custody. That the person to whom this letter was addressed was in some difficulty is obvious from lines 33 to 39, but exactly what had happened is not made clear, perhaps intentionally.
- (8) The real sense of this passage is obscure to me.
- (9) The regular phrase we find at the end of letters in Coptic is $\text{ou}\chi\alpha\iota$ $\text{zou}\chi\text{oic}$ 'farewell in the Lord', and this phrase is common throughout Egypt and occurs in the present collection 13 times. In this letter, 188²¹, 198² and 223¹¹ we find the unusual phrase $\text{en}(\eta)\alpha\text{o}\gamma\chi\alpha\iota$ $\text{zou}\chi\text{oic}$ 'we shall fare well in the Lord'; and in 224² and 225⁵ we find a similar phrase $\text{en}\alpha\text{o}\gamma\chi\alpha\iota$ $\text{z}\epsilon\tau\beta\text{o}\mu$ $[\text{nte}]\tau\text{p}\iota\alpha\varsigma$ $\epsilon\tau\text{o}\gamma\alpha\alpha\beta$

νημοοογ[ον] 'we shall fare well by the power of the holy consubstantial Trinity'. The only parallel I can find in texts outside the present collection is Ryl.291 εναογχαλ εννετηγληλ ετογδαδ 'we shall fare well by your holy prayers'. Crum there notes: 'not from the Ashmunain collection' and it seems probable that that letter originally came from the region round Bala'izah.

187

(c 13; d 63b) 8½ by 11½ inches, width complete. The script is very unusual and in places certain letters are difficult to distinguish, especially ϣ and γ, also π and μ; see Plate V, 1. On the Verso (↑) large Arabic Protocol, earlier, and fragment of an account, different hand, later, containing πλιναρε αλ[.

For the general background of this letter compare 186 introduction.

(broken)

-
- [μν[]μνν[ϣωη]ρε μν απα αϣραεαμ μν[τϣ]ειμε
 μννϣωηρε μν μακαρε μντϣειμε μννϣωηρε μνφιβαμου μντϣε[]με μν
 πϣωηρε μνσιβλε μν πουκας μντε[ϣε]ιμε μν νϣωηρε μν παμεριτ νσον ιωεανης
 μν ανε μν πανσε μν εοριμν πσεπ[ε]μ[?]ετερογ κατ[α]ραν αληλ εχωι τηρτην
 5 νασνην εννετοπος νπεντιμε τογε[] . λος ντα πνουτε ογ[ω]ω αβοκ
 επαβιλων ειναεμ ενπουωμ νπνουτε αιτ[νοου]ντε [πικ]τολην ε[ρο]υν νπσενβουλας
 απνουτε ογωμ αγκαατ^(sic) βολ νπεγαμαεε νμ[οι]εταπα[.]ε αλ[...]μανι^(sic)
 εης απαλχαλνυ βοπϣ []α[ϣ]ωινε[]
 τον ντοοτ νπιε ογοντατι ναϣ ουτε νπιον ρωμε[]? αϣχν[
 10 ου νπσενβουλας τεϣκαατ^(sic) βολ λεπον π. . .]γλε νπα[]ει εητ ν[π]
 μα νπαμερδ τϣχι τεπιστογλην τεϣταας νπετρος τϣ[]
 τϣωαξε[.] . τουκαατ^(sic) βολ . μρϣ [ο]νε νβι[π]νουτε χ[ε]
 νουωτ εεν παβilon παρακε νμοι^(sic) τουη[]
 ουτε εαε νκετιμε λεπον εοκτηγτ[ν] ουν επετ[ναωωπε αγω μπρ[?] τρε πετ[?]ν[?]]
 15. εητ εισε εαροι αα[.]ε[.]π[.] . . νη[α]λκαλη[γ] ογχαλ ε[ν] νχοεις +]

(margin)

1 - 2. $\zeta\iota\mu\epsilon$ for $\zeta\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon$, see chapter VIII par.109.

4. $\kappa\alpha\tau[\alpha]\rho\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha$, again Ryl.291 etc., cf. $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\ \sigma\iota\sigma\iota\mu\alpha$ 255⁷.

5. $\alpha\beta\phi\kappa$ probably for $\alpha\beta\omega\kappa$, see chapter VIII par.15.

6. If $\epsilon[\zeta\phi]\gamma\eta$ is right as it appears to be, we should have expected $\epsilon\zeta\phi\gamma\eta$
 $\epsilon\pi\sigma\epsilon\eta\sigma\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\alpha\varsigma$; η for ϵ is very rare but see chapter VIII par.27.

$\sigma\epsilon\eta\sigma\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\alpha\varsigma$, again in line 10, a strange spelling for $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\mu\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$.

7. $\alpha\gamma\kappa\alpha\alpha\tau$, $\alpha\gamma\kappa\alpha\alpha\tau$ could also be read.

$\kappa\alpha\alpha\tau\ \beta\omicron\lambda$ for $\kappa\alpha\alpha\tau\ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$, so again in lines 10 and 12; cf. $\epsilon\iota\zeta\eta\tau$ for $\epsilon\iota\epsilon\zeta\eta\tau$ in line 10; see chapter VIII par.20.

$\mu\alpha\lambda\iota\zeta\eta\varsigma$, Crum read $\mu\alpha\lambda\iota\epsilon\eta\varsigma$ here, evidently taking ι to be the verb $\epsilon\iota$ 'to come', hence "we came south"; I do not however consider that $\zeta\eta\varsigma$ (line 8) can be read as $\epsilon\eta\varsigma$, although the letter ζ is not quite certain here. Cf. also note 10 below.

8. $\alpha\lambda\chi\alpha\lambda\eta\gamma$, see note 11 below.

10. $\epsilon\iota\zeta\eta\tau$ for $\epsilon\iota\epsilon\zeta\eta\tau$, see chapter VIII par.20.

$\tau\epsilon\gamma$ -for $\eta\gamma$ -, again in lines 11 and 12; see chapter VIII par.138.

It may be noted that the scribe sometimes writes $\tau\epsilon\gamma$ -, sometimes $\tau\gamma$ -.

12. $\tau\omicron\gamma$ -, definitely not $\eta\tau\omicron\gamma$ -, for $\eta\sigma\epsilon$ -, perhaps again in line 13; see chapter VIII par.138.

14. Lacuna supplied from the context, but by no means certain.

Translation:

(broken)....]and [his] children and Apa Abraham and [his] wife and his children and Makare and his wife and his children and Phibamou⁽¹⁾ and his wife and his son and Sible⁽²⁾ and Poukas⁽³⁾ and his wife and his children and my dear brother Johannēs and Ane⁽⁴⁾ and Paēse⁽⁵⁾ and Hor and the rest [...](?) according to name; pray for me all of you - 5 - my brethren in the places($\tau\acute{o}\rho\omicron\varsigma$)⁽⁶⁾ of our village Toue[...⁽⁷⁾....] God desired and I (?) went to Babylon⁽⁸⁾ being safe by the will of God and I[$\sigma\epsilon\iota\lambda\alpha$] the letter($\epsilon\pi\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\lambda\eta$) in to the governor($\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\mu\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$); and God desired and he released me⁽⁹⁾ and he did not keep me back [...](?)⁽¹⁰⁾. Behold

Al-Chalēu⁽¹¹⁾ took him [.....] he sought after [...] from me and I did not find one that I ought to give (it) to him, nor did I find a man⁽¹²⁾ [..... he asked] - 10 - the governor (σούμβουλος) that he should release me. Then (λοιπόν) (?) [.....] come north to the place of the emir⁽¹³⁾ and that he should receive the letter (ἐπιστολή) and should give it to Petros and should [.....] and that he should speak [...] and I be released⁽¹⁴⁾. ...? ⁽¹⁵⁾ As God liveth⁽¹⁶⁾ not a single [.....] passed me by (παράγειν) in Babylon that they should [.....] nor many other villages. Now (λοιπόν) brace yourselves up concerning that which [shall happen (?) and do not let (?) your] - 15 - heart suffer for me until [.....]⁽¹⁷⁾ Al-Chalēu. Farewell in [the Lord.]

- (1) This spelling of the name Phbibammon recurs Ryl.165 and elsewhere.
- (2) The name Sible is not listed in Preisigke: Namenbuch and I can only find it once again in Worrell, Coptic Texts III, 16⁶. Worrell is probably right in comparing Sibylla; cf. Kolthe for Kollouthos, Serne for Serēne etc..
- (3) Poukas is probably a variant of the name Phoka(s), cf. Phoukas Ep.vol. I p.11 and B.P.6139, see Ep.vol.I p.241.
- (4) Ane recurs as ANH in Krall 149⁴, probable for Anna.
- (5) For Paēse see Preisigke: Namenbuch, also B.M.(index), Ryl.(index), etc..
- (6) An interesting use of τόπος, here evidently referring to various churches and monasteries in the village; cf. Ep.vol.I pp.108f., also p.169 where this passage is cited (not quite correctly).
- (7) This village apparently not elsewhere.
- (8) Babylon is, of course, the wellknown Fustat near Cairo. In Coptic the name is frequently spelt as here παβίλον; thus 185¹¹ παβυλα[ν], B.M.593 παβίλον, and Ryl.380 παβελον, etc..
- (9) Cf. 186 introduction; could also be translated: 'and I was released'.
- (10) Perhaps supply the lacuna ημεγαλαζε να[οι] ετβε τκ]εταπα[ν]ε αν[μοι]μανι

"and he did not keep me back for even the *δαπάνη* (of) al-moumenin" which is suggested by 290³, etc.; for this tax see chapter VI.

(11) Al-Chaleu here and in the last line presents serious difficulties.

I presume that it must be some Arabic name like *الحليل*; Professor Kahle informs me that he does not know such a name, but does not consider it impossible. On the other hand it might be an Arabic word which I am unable to recognise.

(12) Unfortunately the lacuna leaves the exact sense of this passage in doubt; perhaps a substitute is required before the writer of this letter can be released.

(13) The emir (امير) was the pagarch, see Steinwenter: *Studien* pp.8ff..

(14) The passage from *λοῦπον* in line 10 to here probably describes in detail what has already been stated briefly in lines 7 - 10.

(15) Perhaps read *μὴ γ[ο]ν2 ν6[η]νογτε* 'Surely God liveth' for *μὴ γ[ο]ν2* etc., but doubtful.

(16) 'As God liveth', we should have expected 'as the Lord liveth' which is the biblical expression from the Hebrew *יְהוָה חַי* and the Greek *ζῆν κύριος*, e.g. Ruth III,13. That phrase is sometimes used in Coptic letters, e.g. Jern.11⁵, B.M.1197, Sphinx vol.X, papyri from Alexandria, Ms.Copt.XIII. It may be noted that we find 'God' for 'the Lord' only here and B.M.1158⁵.

(17) If, indeed, Al-Chalēu is a personal name, we might supply the lacuna *ὡς[ντ]ε[ι]π[ωτ] ε[ν]τ[α]λλ[α]λ[η]* 'until I go away from Al-Chalēu'. For *πωτ* 2N in this sense see Crum: *Dictionary* p.275a, especially Ryl.289 *]]κοι νοηρε πωτ εμνημονακτηριον* 'youths fled (or: went away) from the monastery'.

(c 11; d 65a,b; d 67a,b; d 69a; d 76a; d 89a,b; d 169a) 12 by 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches, width complete. Few ligatures, same hand as 189, 190, 191, second

hand; see Plate V,2. Another three fragments of letters by the same scribe are d 124d, d 150h and d 154b,c; see the Appendix to this document. It may be noted that the present document, being an official application to the monastery is written on good papyrus in a very large hand, while the other letters by this scribe are written in a much smaller hand.

This letter is the only non-literary text in the present collection of which the Coptic text has been published, being printed in W.Till: Koptische Schutzbriefe number 84 (Mitteilungen des Deutschen Instituts für Ägyptische Altertumskunde in Kairo vol.VIII, Berlin 1938). Till published the text of the papyrus from a copy which Crum had sent him, but I was fortunate in being able to find eight further fragments and with the help of the two separate fragments which were known to Crum and were published by Till, I could add another five lines to the main fragment. These additional five lines have not only added to the sense, but have revealed some very interesting dialectical forms, for which see chapter VIII par.143. I have also been able to make a few minor corrections to the text printed by Till.

This and the following three letters, written by the same person, are among the most interesting in the whole collection. We know the writer's name as Shenoute from 189¹ and 191⁷. He had evidently been expelled from the monastery for some disobedience (188^{2-5,10-11}), and with some others had suffered great tribulations (190³); and it is clear from all the letters that he was very eager to return. A definite time had probably been fixed when he would be able to return, cf.note 1 below, and when Shenoute wrote 188 this time had passed. He had been warned, however, by the people with whom he was staying, that on his return he would not be treated like the other members of the community, but would be compelled to do some work for the monastery (188⁸⁻¹⁰). In 188 he makes an official application to the monastery that they should give him a promise by God not to treat him differently from the rest of the community.

Without such a promise he would not be able to return, but nevertheless he is willing to do all he can for the monastery and will send anything required. Especially he asks not to be excluded from their prayers. The request for prayers is also found in the other letters and combined with the evidence of other letters in the collection we hear of an interesting custom prevalent in the monastery, see note 2 below. The mention of Apa Ammōne in 188¹⁰ is of some interest. There is little doubt that this is the same Ammōne who appears elsewhere as superior of the monastery, see index. As the present letter was most likely addressed to the superior of the monastery, Apa Ammōne is clearly not superior at the time when the letter was written. On the other hand, another letter from Shenoute, 190, is definitely addressed to Apa Ammōne as superior since he holds the title θεόφορος. We may conclude, therefore, that Shenoute's request for a 'promise by God' was not granted and that he did not return to the monastery, but makes a further application in the later letter 190.

(broken)

↑ []εαμ . .

1... ΝCΑ ΠΕΤΡΕ ΤΙC[ΟΟ]ΥΝ ΑΝΟΚ ΠΙΡ[ΕΥ]ΕΡΝΟΒΕ
 ΑΥΩ ΝΑΤΙCΩΤΜΙ ΧΕΔΙ[ΡΜ]ΠΒΟΛ ΝΕΝ[ΤΟ]ΛΗ ΤΗΡ[ΟΥ Ν]
 ΤΑΤΕΟΝΟΥ ΕΤ[Ο]ΤΤΙ ΑΥΩ Ψ[Ω]ΠΕ ΕΙΒΗΠ ΕΝΝΟΒΕ
 5 ΝΙΜ Α[ΙCΕΑ]! ΟΥΝ ΧΕ ΑΤ'Π[ΑΡ]ΑΝΚΕΛΕ ΝΑΙ ΕΙΝΗΥ
 ΕΒΟΛ ΕΙΤΟΟΤ[Η]ΥΤΝ ΧΕ ΑΜΟΥ ΕΡΗΣ ΚΑΤΑ Ο[Υ]Ο
 ΕΙCΥ ΝΚΜΑΕΤΚ ΕΙΧΩ ΝΕΝΙΟΤΕ ΝΠΕ ΝΡΟΥCΥ ΝΤΟΥ
 CΙΑ ΚΑΑΤ ΝΙ ΑΥΩ ΧΕ ΝΕΟΥΟ ΧΕ ΕΙCΥΑΝΕΙ ΟΝ CΥΑΥΑ
 ΜΑΕΤΕ ΜΜΟΙ ΕΠΚΕΡΟC[Υ]CΥ ΕΠΜΟΝ ΠΡΟC ΘΗ ΕΥΧΝΟΥ
 10 ΜΜΟΙ ΕΑΤΗΙ ΑΥΩ ΕCΥΩΠΕ CΥΑΤΤΙ ΠΛΟCΟC ΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ
 ΝΑΙ ΝCΟΥΚΑΑΤ ΕΞΟΥΝ Ε[ΠΑ]ΜΑΝCΥΩΠΕ ΝΘΗ ΝΠΛΑC
 ΤΗΡ[Η] ΕCΥΑΙΕΙ ΕΡΗΣ ΕCΥΩΠΕ ΜΜΟΝ ΜΕΒΟΜ ΜΜΟΙ
 ΝΟΥCΕΜΝΤΟCΥ ΜΟΝΑCΤ[Η]ΡΙ[ΟΝ] Ε[Λ]ΟΠΟΝ ΚΑΝ CΑΕΝΤ
 14 ΚΑΝ CΑΡΗΣ ΤΙΤΑΡΚΟ ΜΜΟΤΝ ΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΧΕ ΝΝΕΤ'

15. ΝΟΒΤ̄ ΣΑΒΟΧ̄ ΜΜΟΤΝ̄ ΖΝΝΕΤΝΟΥΛΗΛ̄ ΑΥΩ ΕΥΩΠΕ
 ΤΕΤΧΡΙΑ ΝΛΑΔΥ ΝΕΟΛΟC ΕΝΤΕΧΡΙΑ ΝΠCΩΜΑΤΑ
 ΜΟΝ ΑΥΩ ΕΡΩΑΝΠΜΟΝ̄ ΧΡΙΑ ΝΟΥΕΩΥ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΕΝ
 ΒΟΜ ΤΑΜΟΝ ΕΡΟΥ ΜΕΝΕΡΑΤCΩΤ̄Μ̄ ΑΥΩ ΕΙΤΟΟΤ
 ΤΗΥΤΝ ΤΝΟΥΙΝΕ ΕΠΑΠΑ ΚΩCΤΑΝΤΙΝΕ ΜΝ ΠΠΑ
 20 ΘΕΥΤΟCΕ ΜΝ ΑΠΑ ΑΜΜΟΝΕ ΝΑΙ ΕΙCΖΑΙ ΜΜΟΟΥ
 ΕΝΝΑΟΥΧΑΙ ΖΝ ΝΕΤΝΟΥΛΗΛ̄ ΕΤΟΥΔΑΒ +
 (margin)

- 2 - 3. πῖρ[εγ]ερνοβε αὐω νατ̄ωτ̄μ̄, confused; either πῖρεγερνοβε αὐω πιατ-
 ωτ̄μ̄ or πῖρεγερνοβε νατ̄ωτ̄μ̄.
3. ΝΕΝ[το]ΛΗ for ΝΝΕΝΤΟΛΗ, see chapter VIII par.80m.
4. Ν[τατ]- for ΝΤΑΤΕΤΝ, see chapter VIII par.143.
 ετ[ο]οτ̄τ̄ for ΕΤΟΟΤ, see chapter VIII par.114.
5. α[icεα]i, probable, but not certain.
 ατ- for ΑΤΕΤΝ, see chapter VIII par.143.
7. εἰχω for εἰχΝ, see chapter VIII par.87.
9. ροο[γ]ω, practically certain; there is no sign of the i' printed by
 Till (ρo-[.]i').
 ροο[γ]ω επμοῖ for ροογω επμοῖ see chapter VIII par.82d.
 πρoс θη for πρoс-θε, cf. ΝΘΗ line 11; see chapter VIII par.22.
 Χνοу, not Χοοу as printed by Till.
10. αῡατ̄τ̄ι for αῡατ̄ετ̄ντ̄ι, see chapter VIII par.143.
 λογoс επנוуτε for λογoс επноуτε, see chapter VIII par.82d.
11. ΝCΟΥΚΑΔΤ for ΝCΕΚΑΔΤ, see chapter VIII par.138.
 ΝΘΗ for ΝΘΕ, cf. πρoс θη line 9; see chapter VIII par.22.
12. εῡαἰεἰ for αἰαἰεἰ; I am unable to explain the ε in front of the
 αἰ, but cf. Stern, Koptische Grammatik par.426.
 με- for (ω)μΝ-, see chapter VIII par.82k.
13. νοуωzμ нтоу see note 10 below.
 нтоу μοναcτ[η]p[ι]oν for нтоу μμoнaсτ[η]p[ι]oн, see chapter VIII paragraphs

80 and 96A.

13. ε]λοπον for λοιπον, see 189¹⁴ note.

14. μμοτν for μμωτν, again line 15; see chapter VIII par.61.

ταρκο μμοτν ε πνουτε for ταρκο μμωτν μπνουτε, see chapter VIII par. 82h.

ννετ- for ννετν, see chapter VIII par.141.

15. νο6τ for νοχτ, see chapter VIII par 124.

μμοτν for μμωτν, again line 14; see chapter VIII par.61.

16. τετχρια for τετνχρια, see chapter VIII par.141. On the use of the Greek noun χρεία as a verb here see chapter VIII par.157B.

νηολος, cf. νκα[λωε]254²; cf. Ep.vol.I pp.251f. and Stern: Koptische Grammatik par.513, also above chapter VIII par.79A.

19. ππα (sic) for παπα; this spelling of παπα recurs frequently on Coptic inscriptions, e.g.Quibbell: Saggara 266; B.I.F.vol.III (1903) p.203 line 12; Wulff: Altchristliche Bildwerke etc., zweiter Nachtrag p.8 number 2255; it is also sometimes found in literary manuscripts, e.g.Morgan vol.XXXI p.κ̅α col.1 line 12.

Translation:

(broken)]... (?) Petre. I know - I, this sinner and disobedient (one) - that I transgressed all the commandments (ἐντολῇ) which you commanded me and I am guilty in every sin. - 5 - I [wrote(?)], therefore, because you told (παρεγγέλλειν) me as I was going away from you, saying: Come south at (the fixed ?) time⁽¹⁾ and prostrate yourself upon our (deceased) fathers⁽²⁾. The cares of the οὐσία⁽³⁾ did not let me come; and, what is more, if I come again, I shall be seized for even some care⁽⁴⁾ of the monastery (μοναστήριον) as they are advising me - 10 - here⁽⁵⁾. And if you will give me a promise (λόγος) by God⁽⁶⁾, and I am permitted (to come)⁽⁷⁾ into [my] dwelling-place⁽⁸⁾ like all the people (λαός)⁽⁹⁾, I shall come south; if not, it is not possible for me to dwell (?) within the boundaries⁽¹⁰⁾ of the monastery (μοναστήριον). Now (λοιπόν), whether north

or south⁽¹¹⁾, I adjure you by God, that you do not - 15 - cast me out from you in your prayers. And if you need(χρεία) anything at all(ὅλως) in the need(χρεία) of the body(σῶμα), tell us; and if the monastery(μοναστήριον) needs(χρεία) anything within(κατά) our power, tell us concerning it; we will not be disobedient⁽¹²⁾. And through you⁽¹³⁾ we greet Papa Kōstantine⁽¹⁴⁾ and Papa - 20 - Theutose⁽¹⁵⁾ and Apa Ammōne⁽¹⁶⁾. These (things) I am writing; we shall farewell⁽¹⁷⁾ by your holy prayers. +

(1) 'at the fixed time' (κατὰ οὐροειά); the passage presents serious difficulties. Crum: Dictionary p.500a cites two passages for κατὰ οὐροειά and suggests the translation 'from time to time'; yet, on the other hand, while I am unable to adduce further examples for κατὰ οὐροειά, I have found a number of examples for its equivalent κατὰ καιρὸς and parallels show that it had the same meaning as κατὰ καιρὸς νῦν. Thus compare J.82⁴³ ἐνωρκ εἰωγ νηνοῦτε ππαντοκρατωρ μντωτηρια νnenχικοοογε εταρχει εχων κατὰ καιρὸς ετρνοεις, similarly Krall 113⁸ and 116¹⁷, with B.M.Or.6202(unpublished) ἐνωρκ νηνοῦτε ππαντωκρατωρ μνπουχαι νεταρχει εχων tenoy ayw κατὰ καιρὸς νῦν ταρνοεις, similarly B.M.Or.6203,6204, Krall 7 and here 103¹², 114¹² al.. A number of other passages also point to this same meaning: Ryl.145; J.78^{12,74}, 81¹⁴, 86¹⁶, 89⁴⁵, 96⁸⁴, 100⁶², 106⁴⁹, 106^{107,148,211}, al.. It may be noted that in nearly all these cases the translation 'from time to time' is not possible. The two passages cited by Crum for κατὰ οὐροειά give good sense if translated like κατὰ καιρὸς 'at any time' and under the circumstances this translation seems preferable.

Turning to the passage under discussion we are faced with further difficulties: The translation 'at any time' seems unlikely in view of the context, and Till's translation, following Crum, 'come south from time to time' is clearly impossible, if only,

because from the whole letter it is obvious, that the writer is not thinking of occasional visits 'from time to time', but of a return once and for all. The question really is, whether the writer had actually been expelled from the monastery, or whether he had merely left the monastery because he had been disobedient and was afraid of the consequences. Only in the second instance the translation 'come south at any time' (i.e. 'come south whenever you desire') would be admissible. It seems to me, however, that the whole context of the letter speaks against such a conclusion: Firstly, the danger, that the writer on returning would not be treated as everyone else, was suggested not by the superior, or superiors, of the monastery, but by persons with whom the writer was living; secondly, the writer had clearly been disobedient which had led to his leaving the monastery; and thirdly, he had not left secretly, but had seen the superior, or superiors, before he left, and was told that he should return, clearly not at any time, but at some definite date in the future. Under the circumstances we are probably justified in reading $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\ \langle\eta\rangle\sigma\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\iota\varsigma$, just as in line 14 we have to read $\nu\tau\omicron\upsilon\gamma\ \langle\eta\ \eta\rangle\mu\omicron\nu\alpha\sigma\tau\eta\rho\iota\omicron\nu$. The omission of the definite article in cases like this is by no means unparalleled and in chapter VIII par.94 I have collected all examples known to me. In this case we may translate 'come south at (the fixed) time' and we find a close parallel to this in another letter from the collection, 202, where two persons who had been expelled from the monastery ask for permission to return, and they specifically mention 'the fixed time ($\pi\rho\omicron\theta\epsilon\sigma\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha$) has been completed'. For such periods of penance after which the offenders might return, cf. Riedel and Crum: Canons of Athanasius of Alexandria par.27.

- (2) 'prostrate yourself upon our fathers' ($\nu\kappa\eta\lambda\epsilon\tau\kappa\ \epsilon\iota\chi\omega\ \nu\epsilon\mu\iota\omicron\tau\epsilon$). Till translates this: 'und dich unseren Vätern (zu Füßen) wirfst' (and throw yourself (at the feet of) our fathers). If the writer had

But Till's translation becomes extremely unlikely in view of three passages in the other letters of our writer:

ӨТӨТНЕРПЕНМҮҖЕҮҮЭ ЭН МЭДНИМ ЕҮАТ(ЕТН)ПОРЕАУ

[ET2HN E2OYN ENNOYTE

189³⁰ [BOK EXW PENIWT NTETNERP[ENMEEYE

$$190^2 - 3$$

ΓΑΥΩ ΕΚΤΙ ΝΠΕΝΕΡΠΜΕΕΥΕ ΝΝΕΤΟΥΔΔΒ ΕΤΝΕΜΑΚ

'...]and you giving our remembrance to the saints which are with you
[and to(?) our]holy[fathers]when you go to them...'

192¹³ - 14

αΥω απ' ΠΕ(Ν)ΜΕΕΥΕ ^(sic) ΖΣΝ ΝΕΙΩΤΕ ΕΤΟΥΔΔΒ

'and make our remembrance upon our(?) holy fathers'.

193⁷ [αΡΙΠΕΝΜΕΕ]ΥΕ ΕΙΧΝ ΝΕΛΙΨΑΝΟΝ ΝΕΝ[ΟΤΕ
 'make our] remembrance upon the remains (λείψανον) of our [holy fa-
 thers].

194⁴ αΡΙ ΠΑΜΕΕ]ΥΕ ΕΙΧΝ ΝΕΝ[ΟΤΕ[
 'make my] remembrance upon our [holy] fathers[.]

195³ ΟΥΩ]ΨΤ ΕΣΕΝΕΝΕΙΟ[ΤΕ
 '...[pay devotion to our fathers[.]

196⁶ ΠΑΡΑΓΕ ^{ΝΕΛΙΨΑΝΟΝ (σκ)} ΝΠΕΤΟΥΑΔΒ ΑΠΑ[
 'pass by (παράγειν) the remains (λείψανον) of the saint Apa[...].

197¹²]ΝΕΛΙΨΑΝΟΝ ΝΝΕΝΕΙΟΤΕΤΟΥΑΔΒ[
 '...[the remains of our holy fathers[...].

References to this custom which is known to have been wide-
 spread are extraordinarily rare in Coptic non-literary sources.
 A very close parallel is S.T.186^{17 - 18}

ΕΡ ΠΕΝΜΕΕΥΕ ΕΙΧΕΜΠΩΜΑ ΜΠΕΝΙΩΤ
 ΕΤΟΥΑΔΒ ΟΥΧΑΙ ΕΜΠΡΑΝ ΝΤΕΤΡΙΑΣ ΕΤΟΥΑΔΒ †

'Make our remembrance upon the body of our holy father; farewell
 in the name of the Holy Trinity'.†

In J.75^{70ff.} we hear of Apa Psan and Apa Epiphanius ^{ΝΑΙ ΤΕΝΟΥ ΕΤΕΡΕ}
 ΠΕΥΛΙΨΑΝΟΝ ΕΤΟΥΑΔΒ ΚΗ ΕΜΠΤΟΝΟΣ 'those whose holy remains (λείψανον)
 now lie in the monastery (τόπος)'; and the excavation of that mo-
 nastery has actually revealed some graves within the monastery and
 two of these contained almost certainly the bodies of the founder
 Apa Epiphanius and his successor Apa Psan, and a temple-like struc-
 ture had been erected over the graves, see Ep.vol.I pp.45ff.. Un-
 fortunately, as pointed out in the introduction above, we have no
 plan or any record whatsoever of the buildings at Bala'izah which
 might have shown us the position in the monastery of the graves of
 'our holy fathers'. A similar reference we have from the monas-
 tery of Apa Apollo at Bawit (Maspero: Bawit p.47) ΝΤΕΡΕΥΒΩΚ ΕΧΝ
 ΠΜΑ ΕΤΜΜΑΥ ΑΠΕΥΖΟ ΕΡΟΥΘΕΙΝ ΜΜΑΤΕ

'when he had gone to (or: upon) that place, his face shone exceedingly'.

Cf. R.O.C. vol.V p.67 line 16, where Apa Daniel of Scete on a visit to the monastery of Apa Apollo at Bawit went εἰς τὴν μνήμην τοῦ ἁββᾶ Ἀπολλῶ

Literary sources have yielded an abundance of evidence for this custom, especially those texts which deal with the miracles of a saint, generally a martyr, in his shrine. One of the most interesting parallels was supplied to me by Professor Drescher from his book Apa Mena p.33b lines 4ff.:

ΠΕΧΑΥ ΝΝΕΜΗΗΥΕ ΧΕ ΠΩΤ ΕΠΕCΗΤ ΕΧΜ ΠCΩΜΑ ΜΠΕΤΟΥΑΔΒ ΝΤΕΤΝ-
ΠΕCΤΤΗΥΤΝ̄ ΝΤΕΤΝ̄ΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΕΙ ΜΜΟΥ ΝΥCΟΠC ΜΠΕΧC̄ ΝΥΧΑΡΙCΕ
ΝΗΤΝ ΜΠΕΤΕΤΝ̄ΕΡΧΡΙΔ ΜΜΟΥ

'and they said to the multitudes: Go down to (or: upon) the body (σῶμα) of the saint and prostrate yourselves and beseech him to pray to Christ and to grant you that which you need'.

Cf. also pp. 4²⁰, 4²⁶, 13²⁰, 61²¹, etc.. This reference is of particular interest as we know from Kaufmann's excavation of the site that the body of Apa Mena rested in a crypt below the ground.

Another close parallel is from the miracles of Apa Merkourios the general, B.Misc. 278:

ΝΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΑΠΩΗΡΕCΥΗ ΧΩΡ̄Μ ΕΝ̄ ΟΥΝΟΒ̄ ΝΒΟΜ CΥΑΝΤ̄ΥΕΙ ΕΠΜΑΡ-
ΤΥΡΙΟΝ ΜΠΕΤΟΥΑΔΒ ΕΝ̄ΟΥΝΟΒ̄ ΝΒΟΤΕ ΑCΟΥCΩΥΤ ΕΧΜ ΠCΩΜΑ
ΜΠΕΤΟΥΑΔΒ ΑΥΝΑΥ ΕΤCΥΕΕΡΕCΥΗ ΕCΠΑΔΤ ΕΩC ΕΧΜ ΠCΩΜΑ ΜΠΕ-
ΟΥΑΔΒ ΜΝΠΕCΕΙΩΤ ΜΝΤΕCΜΑΔΥ ΕΥΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΕΙ ΜΜΟΥ ΕΥΒΟΗΘΕΙ ΝΑC

'Immediately the young boy ran with all his might until he came to the shrine(μαρτύριον) of the saint with great fear and he worshipped the body(σῶμα) of the saint. And he saw the young daughter prostrated, as it were, upon the body(σῶμα) of the saint with her father and her mother, they beseeching him and helping her'.

Cf. also B.Misc.221; B.S.M.130; C.43, pp. 21^{17,29}, 134⁶, 153, 222;

C.86, pp.53¹⁵, 260¹⁰; A.M.112, 172; Miss.IV,204; B.S.M.130; E. W. p.138(Ode 4), p.86(fragment 7); N.& E. 39³³⁶, al.pl.. Compare also Leipoldt, Schenoute von Atripe pp.30f..

- (3) For the meaning of οὐσία see Preisigke: Wörterbuch. The word originally meant 'land', 'property' etc., but in the seventh and eighth centuries came to denote the land belonging to some village and administered by it. That is evidently the meaning here: Shenoute was working for some village and probably had contracted to work for it for a definite period of time. οὐσία in this meaning recurs elsewhere in Coptic texts, e.g. Ryl.124, B.M.629, and Clédat: Bawit (Memoirs XII) p.47 (XXXII,2).
- (4) 'care of the monastery' was evidently some duty or employment in the monastery which was beneath the dignity of the normal monks, or just extra work; cf. also above 'cares of the οὐσία'.
- (5) 'as they are advising me here' (προς τὴν ἐχθροῦ μμοὶ εἰρη). The use of εἰρη is interesting here and occurs in a meaning which is not cited in Crum: Dictionary. It evidently corresponds to the French 'chez'. The word occurs in the same meaning in 259¹¹: 'Further search after a few lentils and the small saltfish and bring them when you come; for we shall not (be able to) find (them) with us' (εἰρη, i.e. 'here'). Similarly B.M.1116^{Verso 5}: 'search after him at your place' (εἰρη) and B.M.545 number 2⁷: 'he desires some money from a man at your place' (εἰρη).
- (6) For the 'promise (λόγος) by God' see the full discussion in Till: Koptische Schutzbriefe; cf. also his further discussion in Ä.Z. vol.LXXVI (1940) pp.74 - 76.
- (7) I suggest we supply ΝΙ after καατ (understood), cf. line 8, but it is not necessary.
- (8) 'dwelling-place' (μανασione) in this context probably refers to the monk's cell, see Crum: Dictionary 580a.
- (9) 'all the people' (λαος τηρυ) probably refers, as elsewhere, to the

monastic community, see chapter V p.34.

- (10) 'it is not possible for me to dwell(?) within the boundaries of the monastery' (μεβου μοι νογωεμ ντου μονακ[η]ρι[ον]). Till translates this by: '..ist es mir nicht möglich den Aufträgen des Klosters zu entsprechen'. He proposes to interpret ογωεμ as 'obey' and notes that Crum thought this meaning unlikely, but not impossible. My translation is based partly on this difficulty that ογωεμ does not occur elsewhere in that meaning, and partly on a different interpretation of τω; but, admittedly, my suggestion too is little more than a guess, and is put forward really as an alternative to Till's translation. In line 2 the writer mentions 'I have transgressed all the commandments which you commanded me' and the word for 'commandments' there is not τω, but the Greek ἐντολή. Furthermore, it seems that the writer intended to express here much the same as 'come into my cell' in line 11. The Coptic word τω apart from its meaning 'commandment' (read τωω) can also mean 'boundary', cf. Crum: Dictionary p.452a esp. J.65⁵⁵ εἰεογν εἰβολ ἐνεγτοογ ντου κητοποσ 'within and without the four boundaries of the monastery'. I would suggest, therefore, that for νογωεμ ντου we either read (1) νογωε <ε>ν ντου 'it is not possible for me to dwell within the boundaries of the monastery'; or (2) νογωεμ <εἰογωε εἰ>ν ντου 'it is not possible for me to dwell within the boundaries of the monastery again'; or (3) νογωε <ε>μ(η)μονακτηριον 'dwell in the monastery' with τω added as an afterthought.
- (11) 'whether north or south' καν καεητ καν καρηс, this probably recurs in 115⁵ '[These therefore] I am prepared [to repay to you] without any [ambiguity whether north] or south of Teshnē'; and a close parallel is G. Brunton: Matmar par.172 p.95, a Coptic ostrakon found at Matmar on the east bank of the Nile almost exactly opposite Bala'izah, lines 13 - 14 'I have not heard north or south that a woman left her children and went (away)' κηκωτμ εαεηт ογ[ε] εαρηс (collated);

]οπε...ωινε[

·κο[STANTINE[

(broken)

Verso: (continued)

(broken)

→

]αν. ετβε πζω[β

βνα]ρικε ερο! [

(broken)

189

(d 56) 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ by 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches, height complete. For this letter and other letters by the same scribe see 188 introduction. A facsimile of part of the present papyrus is given on plate V, 2.

(margin)

[+εμπραν μπνουτε ν]ωορη μν νζωγ νιμ ανοκ ωενουτε

[]εϋςζαι ερατγ νεϋχοεις νιοτε

[τι]ασηαζε τιπρο[ε]κηνε νου[μη]

[ηγε νσον μπζυπο]ποτιον νεϋε[ρη]ντε ναχοεις

5 [νιοτε εττγ ωαντε πνογυτε αατ νεμπωα νκεσον

[ν(ερ)παι κατα προσωπ]ον ντε πανοβ νραϋε χωκ εβολ

[]χοεις]νιοτε εττγ ετρεтетημοун ε

[βολ ετ(ετν)ερπενμ]εϋε ζνμα^(αε) νιμ εϋατπορεϋ

[εζραι νετνβix νζητη αυ]ω ζixω νενχοεις νιοτε ον

10 []ετζην εζοун επноуτε епi

[]οс снр εβολ ζατην νсоутнет

[]νтенωенкотк αν τεϋαη τη

[ρс]υт пенсωма νсоуωол енн

[]ογων ελοπον τιπακαλε

15 []ετμηне εβολ εтнipe нпe^{N(αε)}

[μееε χεευνα(?) ν]αζμεν ενευβiб εβολ χε ν

[]μπεν]εϋζεβομ εροου ελοπον νта^{N(αε)}

18 []тбω εтнipe нпенμееε

(margin, continued on the Verso)

Verso: —————→

(margin)

- 19 +αυω ετβε πρωή νπουα[εκ]
- 20 κλεcia νπενίκοуι тале[]
 ελοπον знс оупαψε νзо[λοκ⁷ αιχιτη ντο]
- отү нпамоуи мн γεωρ[ге]
 τεκκλεcia ετεπροςφ[ора]
 ψατιρομπε πεσοуо еω[]
- 25 пещρη ψαντενοусоу ν[ηтн]
 αυω εтβε παсон κωсма о[]
 зωή παι · ελοπον χνουή[]
 зωч нiм еψαχχοоу на[ι]
 знс оутермсион он аитн[ооуч нηтн]
- 30 βωκ εχω пеніωт' нтетнерп[енмееуе]
 μοоу тiπρoскнне нпωοείω[ν(н)εβαλαубн]
- 32 нiоте етт̄з оуχαι εμηχοεic +[]

(margin)

Address: (written above the text on the Verso) —————→

- 33 +νμαιноуτε νχοεic етт̄ []
 34 [μ]н апа петрос мнпа []

2. ερατү νεχχοεic for ερατү нνεχχοεic, similarly line 4 зупа̄ποτιон (н̄)νεуернте
 (н̄)наχοεic, see chapter VIII par.80,m; we should have expected ερατοу.
3. проскнне for проскыне, again in line 31, see chapter VIII par 59.
8. еψαтпореω for еψαтетнпореω, see chapter VIII par. 143.
 маа for ма, see chapter VIII par.11.
9. зiXω-for зiXн-, see chapter VIII par.87.
13. нсоу- for нсе-, perhaps also in line 11, see chapter VIII par.138.
14. ελοπον for λοιπον, again lines 17,21,27,188¹³; cf.ελεπων Ryl.409; ελιπον
 ВКУ 262¹¹, ерепон ВМ 1103²¹, ειλιπον ВМ 1116^{7,14},vo.3,5.
15. етнiре for ететнiре, again in line 18, see chapter VIII par.143.

16.616 for 61X, see chapter VIII par.124.

21.2HC, again in line 29; cf. 134¹ note.

30. eXw-for eXN-, cf. line 9; see chapter VIII par.87.

Translation:

[+In the name of God.] First of all I Shenoute⁽¹⁾[.....] he is writing to his lords the fathers[.....] I salute(ἀσπάζειν) and worship(προσκυνεῖν)[many times the] footstool(ὑποπόδιον) of the feet of my lords - 5 - [the honoured fathers⁽²⁾ until] God deems me worthy again[to do this face to face⁽³⁾] and my great joy is complete⁽⁴⁾. [... my lords] the honoured fathers that you should continue[to] remember[us] in every place[in] which you spread[upwards your hands⁽⁵⁾ and] also upon our lords the fathers⁽⁶⁾ - 10 - [.....⁽⁷⁾] who are near to God. Since(ἐπεὶ ?)[.....] is prepared at our place⁽⁸⁾ ...(?)[.....] and we are not able to sleep the whole night⁽⁹⁾ [... our body(σῶμα) (and) that they may despoil[.....] Now(λαοπρόν)⁽¹⁰⁾ I beseech(παρεκκλεῖν) - 15 - [.....] who continue(?) to [remember] us [that] we [may be] saved⁽¹¹⁾ from their hands, because [..... we have not] been able to prevail against them. Further(λαοπρόν) we have[.....] continue⁽¹²⁾ to remember us. (margin, continued on the Verso)

Verso: +And as regards the matter of the one[.....] - 20 - church(ἐκκλησίᾳ) these young ones have not offered⁽¹³⁾ [.....] Further(λαοπρόν), behold half a solidus [I have received] from Pamoun and George[.....] church(ἐκκλησίᾳ) for the offering(προσφορᾷ)⁽¹⁴⁾ [of ...] until this year; its wheat [.....] - 25 - its wine⁽¹⁵⁾ we will send to[you] and as regards my brother Kosma [..... this] very matter. Further(λαοπρόν) ask him[.....] everything which he will send to[me] Behold I have sent[to you] also a trimesion [that you may(?)] go to our father⁽¹⁶⁾ and [remember(?) us⁽¹⁷⁾] them. I worship(προσκυνεῖν) the dust[of the feet of] the(?) honoured fathers⁽¹⁸⁾. Farewell in the Lord.+

Address: +The God-loving honoured lords [.....] and Apa Petros⁽¹⁹⁾ and [.....]

- (1) The name of the scribe of the present letter, 188, 190, and 191(second hand) is also found in 191⁷; see 188 introduction.
- (2) For this salutation formula and the lacunae cf. C.O.90,93,94,97,etc., S.T.189,242,300, V.C.50,86 etc., (all from Thebes), also V.C.114, (Payyum), Krall 238(north of Shmun ?) Ryl.296 al.pl.; cf. also here 395⁷. The formula is also found in Greek documents, e.g. P. Fouad I 89²⁻³ προσκύνων καὶ ἀσπαζόμενος τὰ εὐλογήμενα ἔχνη τῶν εὐλογημένων ποδῶν τῷ ἐμῷ ἀγαθῷ δεσπότη .
- (3) For this phrase and the lacuna cf.191⁸ and note, 206², 275¹, 223¹; see also Jern.11³ and references there.
- (4) A common phrase, cf. 186⁸, 223¹, al..
- (5) Lacuna supplied from the context, but doubtful; cf. 216¹⁶, 217⁹, 218⁶, 219³.
- (6) See 188 note 2 and references there.
- (7) Perhaps [ΝΤΑΥΡΜΑΚΑΡΙΟC] 'who have become blessed'; for ΕΤΕΗΝ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ 'who are near unto God' cf. J.Sch.5⁵⁵ where this phrase also refers, as here, to deceased saints.
- (8) For the use of ΕΑΤΗ here see 188 note 5.
- (9) Or: 'that we are not able to sleep the whole night'. For this and the next sentence cf.190³ and below note 11.
- (10) ΛΟΙΠΟΝ in this letter is interesting; it is used four times, each time to introduce another request or paragraph.
- (11) This and the next line would seem to imply more than ordinary troubles with which Shenoute and his companions were afflicted; cf. 188 introduction and 190³.
- (12) Perhaps 'that you might continue to remember us', but doubtful.
- (13) Unfortunately the lacuna leaves this interesting sentence in doubt; The Coptic ΤΑΛΟ (εερα) is a word commonly used in the Old Testament for 'offering up' sacrifice. Perhaps the young ones were to offer up the προσφορᾶ, cf. below. The 'young ones' here may merely refer to junior monks, cf. ΝΟΒ ΝΥΗΡΕ chapter V p.35.

- (14) Perhaps supply the lacuna in line 22 -[ΓΕ ΝΤΑΤΑΔΥ ΕΙΟΥΝΕ] and translate: 'behold half a solidus I have received from Pamoun and George that I might give it to the church for the offering of ... until this year'. The προσφορά here probably refers to some definite offering for the soul of some person, as was common at this period; see below 306 introduction and references there.
- (15) The wheat (read πε<φ>κογο ?, cf. πε<μ>ρηη) and the wine were probably part of the προσφορά, since the feminine possessive adjective is used; alternatively the church's wheat and wine are referred to.
- (16) Cf. 188 note 2 and references there. The mention of a trimesion which was sent, in close connection with what follows, would seem to suggest that Shenoute paid this trimesion to be remembered in the prayers over the saint, but the passage is somewhat doubtful.
- (17) Not: 'and remember us over them'. I am unable to suggest anything for the latter part of the lacuna.
- (18) For this phrase and the lacuna cf. C.O.93 al.; we might have expected: 'I worship the feet of your honoured paternity', but there seems hardly enough room for this in the lacuna.
- (19) Perhaps the same person who appears elsewhere as superior of the monastery, cf. index.

190

(d 158) 2½ by 8¼ inches, incomplete. For this letter and other letters by the same scribe see 188 introduction.

(margin)

- 1 [ΝΤΕΚΘΕΟΦΙΛΙΣΤΑΤΟΣ [ΝΘΕΟ]ΦΟΡΟΣ Ν[Χ]ΘΕΙΣ [Ν]ΙΩΤ ΕΤΤ^[-]/
- 2 [ΔΥΩ ΕΚΤΙ ΝΠΕΝΕΡΠΜΕΕΥΕ ΝΝΕΤΟΥΑΔΒ ΕΤΝΕΜΑΚ
- 3 Ε[ΤΟΥΑΔΒ ΕΤΒΗΚ ΕΧΩΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ ΑΖΕΝΝΟΒ ΝΖΙΕ
- 4 [ΜΝΤΝ ΖΟΛΟΚ^Τ ΖΩΣ [.]Μ.ΔΥ[.] []

(broken)

Verso: (Address) —————→

6 +ΠΘΕΟΤΙΜΑΤΟΣ ΝΘΕΟΦΟΡΟΣ ΝΧΘΕΙΣ ΝΙΩΤ ΕΤΤΥ ΑΠΑ ΑΜΜΩΝΕ

1. For the restorations and the lacunae in this line see the address on the Verso.

3. ΕΤΒΗΚ probably for ΕΤΕΤΝΒΗΚ, see chapter VIII par.143.

Translation:

[+First of all I greet] you the most God-loving(θεοφιλέστατος), God-bearing(θεοφόρος)⁽¹⁾ lord (and) honoured father[.....]and you remembering us to the saints⁽²⁾ who are with you[and to our] holy [fathers] when you go to them⁽³⁾, because some great tribulations[.....]⁽⁴⁾ we have not a solidus ... (?) [.....(broken)].

Address: +To the God-honoured(θεοτίμητος), God-bearing(θεοφόρος) lord (and) honoured father Apa Ammōne⁽⁵⁾ [.....].

(1) The title θεοφόρος was applicable only to bishops, archimandrites and superiors of monasteries, cf. Ep.263 note 3.

(2) If 'saints' here refer to the monastic community, the writer is probably thinking of the use of this word by St.Paul, e.g. Rom.I,7; 2 Cor.I,1; Eph.I,1; al..

(3) Supplying [αὐτὸν νενειότε ἐ]τοῦ αὐτοῦ, but doubtful; see 188 note 2 and the discussion there.

(4) Perhaps supply [ἔπεσον ἐφ' ἡμᾶς αὐτῶν] and translate: 'because some great tribulations [have fallen upon us and] we have not a solidus'; for the tribulations cf. 188 introduction and 189 notes 9 and 11.

(5) On the mention of Apa Ammōne as superior here see 188 introduction.

(c 15 and d 153b) 5 by 15 inches, width complete. Two hands, the first hand wrote lines 1 to 7, first half, and the second hand wrote lines 7, second half, to 9. For the writer of the second half of this

letter and other letters by the same scribe see 188 introduction.

(broken)

- 1 [.....]. ΝΓΕΙΝΤ[.ΝΓ]ΑΞΕΡΑΤΚ C[.....]
[.....]
- 2 [.....]. ΑΝ ΠΕ ΕΡΩΑΝ ΠΧΟΕΙC[.....]
[.....]... ΠΕΤΡΕ
- 3 ΝΤΝΧΙ[.....]ΑCΟΥΜ ΨΑ[Ν]ΕΙ ΝΤΝΤΙ ΝΕΤΝCΟ ΕΠΜΑ ΝΤΝ[.....]
[.....]ΝΤΑΚΤΝΟΟΥC
- 4 ΕΤΕΤΝΕ[.....]ΝΙΜ [ΕΙC]ΝΤΕ ΘΑΛΛΙC ΝΟΕΙΚ ΑΝΧΙ[ΤΟΥ.....]
[.....]ΝΑΙ ΑΝ ΝΠΕΤΝ
- 5 ΤΙΞΙCΕ ΝΗΤΝ ΕΡΕ Π[Χ]ΕΙC ΟΥΩΞ ΠΕΥCΜΟΥ ΕΡΩΤΝ ΑΥΩ[.....]Τ
[.....]ΕΞΟΥΝ[.....]ΝΕΡΑΝΑC
- 6 ΤΙΑCΠΑΞΕ ΝΤΕΤΝΦ[ΙΧ]Χ ΝΜΕΡΙΤ Ν[C]ΟΝ ΖΙΤΝ ΝΕΙCΖΑΙ ΑΥΩ ΖΙΤ[ΟΟΤ-
ΤΗ]ΥΤΝ ΤΙΑCΠΑΞΕ ΝΟ[Υ]ΜΗΝΟΥΕ Ν[C]ΟΝ
- 7 ΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ ΜΝ ΠΑΡ^Χ ΑΠΑ ΜΑΚΑΡΕ ΜΝΝΕCΝΗΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ + (second hand) + ΨΕΝΟΥΤΕ
ΠΕΤΝΕΨΗΡΕ ΝΕΛΑ^Χ + [.....]
- 8 ΝΤΕΤΝ ΠΑΝΑΓΙΟΝ ΝΕΙΩΤ ΑΥΩ ΝCΟΝ ΑΥΩ ΝΧΟΕΙC ΨΑΝΤΙΜΠΨΑ ΝΠΑΙ ΚΑΤΑ
ΠΡΟCΨΟΝ ΑΥΩ ΤΙΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΕΙ ΝΤΕΤΝ[.....]
- 9 ΝΠΑΜΕΕΥΕ ΖΝΝΕΤΝΨΛΗΛ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ +
(margin)

7. παρ^Χ for παρχων.

ΠΕΤΝΕΨΗΡΕ for ΠΕΤΝΨΗΡΕ, see chapter VIII par.140b.

8. ΨΑΝΤΙΜΠΨΑ, cf. d 114e [ψαντε! ἡ π[ψα]κα[τα] προσων, cf. also 189 note 3.

Translation:

(broken)....]and come [... and]stand [.....]if the Lord [.....]Petre, and we receive [...] ... (?) we will come and direct you to the place and will [... ..]which(or: whom) you sent ... (?) [...] ... (?) [Behold]we have received two 'thallion'-measures⁽¹⁾ of bread [.....] ... (?) and you have not - 5 - troubled yourselves. May the Lord increase his blessing upon you and [.....] ... (?) to please him. I salute(ἀσπάσειν) you the Christ-loving(φιλόχρως-

τος)⁽²⁾ dear brother through this letter; and through you⁽³⁾ I salute (ἀσπάζειν) many times Apa Mena and the ἄρχων⁽⁴⁾ Apa Makare and all the brethren. + (Second hand) + Shenoute⁽⁵⁾, your least (ἐλάχιστος) son, I [...] you the all-holy (πανᾶγλος)⁽²⁾ father and brother and lord until I am worthy of this face to face (κατὰ πρόσωπον) and I beseech (παρακαλεῖν) your [...] that you remember me in your holy prayers. + (margin)

(1) On this measure see W.S.p.20.

(2) In both these cases we might have expected μντφίλοχριστος and μντπαν-αριος, but the use of certain Greek words in this sense recurs elsewhere, and Crum drew attention to this phenomenon in Ryl.289 note 3. The following words are found used like this: εγλαβεστατος C.O.243⁵; θεοσεβεστατος C.O.178³; θεοφιλεστατος Bal.190¹, Ryl.339, BM 464¹; θεοφιλης Bal.180³, BM 1151¹², Worrell, Coptic Texts III, 14¹, vo.1; λαμπροτατος CO 400, RE 5; εοσιωτατος Bal.208¹⁰, 238¹, WS 109¹, Ryl.289; παναγιος Bal.191⁸, 214²; περιβλεπτος BMOr.6201 B 44; φιλοχριστος Bal.191⁶.

(3) Cf.188 note 13.

(4) The title ἄρχων in this context is unusual and almost suggests that this was an office in the monastery; cf. 186 note 1.

(5) On this person see 188 introduction.

(d 17; d 95e; d 109c) 10 by 7½ inches, width complete. Few ligatures.

(broken)

[.....αἰρα]γμεατε δε αἰζε ερ[ο]κ

[] ΝΘΕ ΝΤΑΚΒΩΚ

[] ΩΑΤΝ ΟΥΠΑΩΕ

[] ΑΛΛΑ ΕΡΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ

5 [] Α ΕΣΩΝ ΜΕΡΕ ΠΝΟΥ

[ΤΕ] ΑΠΑ ΟΥΕΝΟΒΡ ΩΙ

[ΝΕ(3).] ΜΝ ΚΕΩΡΚΕ ΜΝ ΔΑΥΡΙΝΕ

- 8 [ΜΝ.]ἰας ΜΝ παποστολος ΜΝ ανα α
 ΕΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΝ σοφῖα ΜΝ αναστου
 10 ΜΝ τσομανῖτης ΜΝ τραψε ΜΝ
 Νρωμε τηρου αυω ψεινε επαπ[α]
 φωκα ΜΝ ανα ἰσαακ ΜΝ πενῖωτ
 ΜΝ πλαος τηρυ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ αυω αρ
 ἰ πεμεεεε ^(sic) εχΝ νειωτε ετουαδВ
 15 αυω απ̄α πῖλατης ΜΝ ανα φαυс
 τῖῖνε αυω ψινη επφнβαμμων
 ΜΝ γεωрке ΜΝ αθανασε ΜΝ μαρκос
 ανοκ κρηκοπῖα τῖψῖνε ερωτη
 εμμπαεηт τηρυ αἰχωψт εβολ
 20 нсωτηн μπωα μπα.тτ, χε ψ
 αιτηῖ μπетηῖ ψαντε μηна па
 ψηρε επетноуχαῑ етнaноуВ наῖ
 ανοκ παιακ ἰακωψ τῖψῖνε
 24 ерок εμ[η]α[ε]ηт ου[]χαι
 (margin)

Verso: (Address) —→

- 25 † παμεριτ нсн[ρε

1. αἰρα]ψεματε for αἰραψε εματε, see chapter VIII par.20. For the lacuna cf. 186³ - 4.
11. ΜΝρωμε dittography for Νρωμε, cf. Chapter VIII par.90.
14. πεμεεεε for πενμεεεε, see chapter VIII par.82m.
 εχΝ for εἰχΝ, see chapter VIII par.6D.
 νειωτε probably for νενειοτε, cf. chapter VIII par.80m.
19. εμμπαεηт for εμπαεηт, see chapter VIII par.77.
 χωψт for δωψт, see chapter VIII par.127.
20. па.тτ, I am unable to read this word or name; Crum read пахерт, but noted пахнт?, but this too is obscure.

21. $\omega\alpha\iota\tau\eta\iota$ probably for $\omega\alpha\tau\epsilon\tau\eta\iota$, I cannot parallel this, but cf. chapter VIII par.140.

21 - 22. The verb has accidentally been omitted.

23 - 24. Same hand as the rest.

24. $\omega\gamma$ [...] $\chi\alpha\iota$, the hole in the papyrus between $\omega\gamma$ and $\chi\alpha\iota$ was probably already there when the letter was written, in which case there is nothing missing here.

Translation:

(broken) I]rejoiced greatly because I found you [.....] in the manner in which you went [.....] less a half [.....] but ($\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha$) God [.....] upon us. God is not wont to [.....] Apa Ouenober ... (?) and George and Taurine [and] ...⁽¹⁾ and Papostolos⁽²⁾ and Apa Shenoute and Sophia and Anastou⁽³⁾ - 10 - and Tsomanitēs⁽⁴⁾ and Trashe⁽⁵⁾ and all the people, and greet Papa Phoka and Apa Isaac and our father⁽⁶⁾ and the whole people of God⁽⁷⁾ and remember us over the (our ?) holy fathers⁽⁸⁾ and Apa Pilatēs and Apa Phau-stine and greet Phoibammon and George and Athanase and Markos. I Krē-kopia⁽⁹⁾ greet you with my whole heart. I was looking out - 20 - for you at the feast of ... (?) whether you would come - you did not come⁽¹⁰⁾ - until Mēna my son <told> me of your good welfare. I the deacon Jacob greet you with my heart. Farewell. (margin)

Verso: Address: ‡ My dear son [.....]

(1) Perhaps [He]lias, or [Jerem]ias etc..

(2) On this name see 161⁴ note.

(3) Not elsewhere; probably some form of the name Anastasia.

(4) This name recurs Z.324, MH 53 and, according to Crum's notebook, in MH inv.29,204 (not included in Stephanski-Lichtheim).

(5) Not elsewhere, but cf. Tarshe in C.O.167, 475, and the names Prashe and Rashe, for which see Ep. 667 note.

(6) 'our father' probably refers, as elsewhere, to the superior of the monastic community.

- (7) 'the whole people of God', probably, as elsewhere, the monastic congregation, see chapter V p.34.
- (8) See 188 note 2.
- (9) This name apparently not elsewhere.
- (10) 'you did not come' added as an afterthought.

193

(g 36) Few ligatures.



(broken)

]αρι[

]c n i α [

]ε[τ]ρnnαα[.].τ.[

]Naταζονντηπ.[

5

].Nεictα μμογ ζαζηγυτην τιταν[

]Nαyοντε nημονα^T, αγω απαα[
ε.τ(αω)

αριπαμε]εγε ζιxñ νελιψαñον neni[οτε ετογααβ]

8

[ζn νετηγλ]ηλ ετογααβ ++

(margin)

Translation:

(lines 6 - 8)]the plaited works of the monastery and Apa(?)[.....]
Remember[me]over the remains(λεψανον) of our [holy fathers⁽¹⁾ in your(?)]
holy prayers. (margin)

(1) See 188 note 2.

194

(g 66) The only interest of this fragment is line 4 for which see 188 note 2.



(broken)

1

]Nικη.....

2

c)ζ]ηc ειcζαι ειγινε

3 αβ[αζαμ αγω τικινε
 αριπαμее]γε ριχεν neniotē
 5]i[]τ αγω εκκελε
 N[αβ χορωτμ. επ
]ω πετνωον
 8]λε[.]ε[.]εγ
 (broken)

Verso: (Address) 10 → +τααc N[

195

(d 145e) Ligatured. The only interest of this fragment is line 3 for which see 188 note 2.

↑

(broken)
]coγανΔi[
]ειχνηπου[
 ουω]ωτ εχεν neneio[τε
 ριτοο]τγ ναβ[ραζαμ
 5]τε ναi εν[
]ιερημιαc ει[
 (broken)

196

(f 48) Much ligatured.

↑

(broken)
 ευτνηνοycoy epn[c
 νοyα [N]coπ' cza i[
 μπνει epke aiei aipa[
 αιτιπyτωy ετοοτ[
 5 ταπατε χnenei.[
 (sic) νελιφανον
 παραγε nnetoyaaβ ana[
 (margin)

1. ΤΗΝΟΥΣΟΥ, on the spelling see chapter VIII par.80,1.
3. ἐπκε is extremely difficult to explain.
4. Crum: Dictionary p.451b does not cite any instance of τι πτωγ being followed, as here, by ετοοτ.
6. On this line see 188 note 2.

197

(e 68; d 116a; d 135a) 7 $\frac{1}{8}$ by 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches, incomplete. Uncials, same hand as 325.



(margin ?)

τεκθ]εοφιλια νσον μμ[ερ]τ ...[

ναυ ε]ροκ εη πσωμ[α] αλλα τιζελπιζεεπινουτε χ[ε

[χη ετε τβι[ν ... μ]ενεεπρη οντε [ε]μ ποωω μπ[νουτε

[γ αυω σεεη[υτ] ειχεν νεπλαζ ν[η]αζητ α[

5 ετ]ρενειρε ντ[εν]βου πετεωαρε πνουτε καα[γ]

[α[ρι τ]αγαπη[. .] ντα . . ουτε ταδς ετενμντε μ[

[ρξε αυω [η]ρος θε νταϊσυνταζε νακ νεαε ν[σον

[η] αρι ταγαπη μαε εενκογι νταριχε ναη ειχεν[

[πετεωαν[. . .] ταα[γ] επμον[τ] αυω ωινε νκαουπα[

10 [ωγ[[ταα[[ι[[ηπαπα πιωοτ[ε

[ηκα[[αω νγεppπeтη[αουγ(ε)

[.απα η[[ηελιφανον ηνεεϊοτετογααβ[

[ηωμμο ε[.]ειωωγ ναϊ ειεαϊ μμοου ενα[ουχα]

14 [αυω παϊωτ ωινε εροκ [καλ]ωс μηπαcon .α[

(margin)

Verso: (Address) →

15 φ[λ]ο^χ π[α]ρ^χδιακ^ο απα αχιλλιτηс πχα^δ + αβ[16 [.[.]πωсνεε + πειε^χ νс[он

4. σε<с>ζηγт, this qualitative is sometimes found in Sahidic, see Crum: Dictionary, Additions and Corrections p.XXII (on p.381 b) and add

IV Kings XIV,29; XV,11,21,31, etc.; on $\epsilon\eta\gamma\tau$ for $\epsilon\eta\gamma\tau$ see chapter VIII par.109; cf. also note 1 below.

6. $\dots\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon$, perhaps $\eta\eta\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon$ which is just possible, but the word might be read differently as $\lambda\omicron\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon$, $\pi\omicron\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon$, al..

7. $\varsigma\upsilon\eta\tau\alpha\varsigma\epsilon$ for $\varsigma\upsilon\eta\tau\alpha\varsigma\epsilon$ see chapter VIII par.105.

8. $\mu\alpha\epsilon$, almost certain, $\mu\epsilon\epsilon$ cannot be read here; cf. chapter VIII par. 21.

16. $\dots[\dots]\pi\alpha\gamma\varsigma\eta\epsilon\epsilon\iota$, obscure, perhaps added by a different hand.

Translation:

..... you the] God-loving ($\theta\epsilon\omicron\phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\epsilon\iota\alpha$) dear brother [..... until I am worthy to see] you in the body ($\sigma\omega\mu\alpha$), but I hope ($\epsilon\lambda\pi\acute{\iota}\xi\epsilon\iota\nu$) in God that [.....]... which is the [...] together; by the will of [God] and they are written upon the tablets ($\pi\lambda\acute{\alpha}\xi$)⁽¹⁾ of my heart [.....] that we should do our utmost. That which God is wont to put [into our hearts(?)] Be so kind ($\acute{\alpha}\gamma\acute{\alpha}\pi\eta$) ... (?)⁽²⁾ put it into our midst [.....] ... (?) and according as I told ($\varsigma\upsilon\eta\tau\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\epsilon\iota\nu$)⁽³⁾ you many [times] Be so kind ($\acute{\alpha}\gamma\acute{\alpha}\pi\eta$) and pay us with some few saltfish ($\tau\alpha\epsilon\iota\chi\epsilon\iota\omicron\nu$) upon [.....] ... (?) [...] give (?) it to the monastery ($\mu\omicron\nu\alpha\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\rho\iota\omicron\nu$). And search after a [.....] the papa Pishote [.....] and do that which is [good(?)] Apa? [.....] the remains ($\lambda\epsilon\iota\psi\alpha\nu\omicron\nu$) of our holy fathers⁽⁴⁾ [.....] (?)⁽⁵⁾. These (things) I am writing; we shall [farewell]⁽⁶⁾] And my father⁽⁷⁾ greets you well with my brother ...? [.....](margin)

Verso: (Address). [... the] Christ-loving ($\phi\iota\lambda\acute{o}\chi\epsilon\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$) archdeacon ($\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\chi\iota\delta\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\nu\omicron\varsigma$) Apa Achillites⁽⁸⁾ the $\chi\alpha\epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\iota\omicron\varsigma$ ⁽⁹⁾. [.....] ... (?) This least ($\epsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\chi\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$) brother.

(1) 'Tablets of my heart' is probably a biblical quotation, cf. II Cor.

III,3

(2) Cf. above line 6 note; if $\eta\eta\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon$ is right we might translate: 'Be so kind, [for] God put it into our midst [.....]'

(3) For the meaning of $\varsigma\upsilon\eta\tau\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\epsilon\iota\nu$ see Ryl.p.182 note 13.

- (4) See 188 note 2.
- (5) Perhaps read ε[κ]ε[ι]ω[ω] and translate: '...'] a strange place in which [you] are!.
- (6) For this phrase see 186 note 9.
- (7) Either the writer's father, in which case 'my brother' following is his brother, or, perhaps more probably, the superior of the monastery and 'my brother' is a fellow-monk.
- (8) Achillitēs is a very unusual name and in fact I can find it only once again in non-literary texts outside the present collection in S.T. 443, a list of the 40 martyrs of Sebaste. In this collection the name occurs in no less than 9 documents, mostly as deacon or βoηθoύς, and it seems very likely that it is in each case the same person. Only in the present document he is called archdeacon, cf. index.
- (9) On the functions of this official see P.Lond.IV p.XXI.

198

(d 133a; d 141a) Two fragments.

↑

(broken)

1

πρoς]κΥΝΕΙ ΕΧΩΟΥ ΤΑΕΙΡΕ [μπ. μεεε (?)

(gap)

3

[N]ΕΤΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΕΤΤΑΝΥ + ΕΝΑΟΥΧΑΙ 2μ ^(sic)

4

[πΧοεic +] (margin)

1. See 188 note 2.

2. For ε(Ν)ΝΑΟΥΧΑΙ see 186 note 9.

199

(f 27; a small fragment of this is d 129b) Perhaps same hand as 227.

↑

(broken)

2

]ΔΥΩ ΤΕΤΝΑΝΤΡΕ ΜΝΤ

]ΠΝΟΥΤΕ 2ΔΡΕ2

3

] και con αυω

] ΝΙΜ ΜΝ ΠΜΑ ΕΤΟΥΔΔΒ ΧΕ ΠΕΤΗΡΟΥΩ

5

] ΕΤΑΚΑ ΠΕΤΗΝΟΒ ΝΑ ΖΙΧΩΝΙ ΜΝ ΠΕΤΗ

] ΔΕΡΑΤΗ ΖΔ[] ΠΜΟΝΟ^Τ ΤΗΡΩ

(margin)

3. και con for κε con see chapter VIII par.26.

4. ΠΜΑ ΕΤΟΥΔΔΒ 'the holy place', cf. 188 note 2.

5. ΕΤΑΚΑ probably for ΕΤΗΑΚΑ, see chapter VIII par.130.

ΝΟΒ ΝΑ for ΝΟΒ ΝΝΑ, see chapter VIII par.80m.

200

(d 121a) —→

(margin)

1

] ΜΠΡΟΣ^Τ ΝΧΟΕΙC ΝΕΙΩΤ

2

] ΟΙC ΝΠΩΔ ΝΦΑΓΙΟC ΑΠΑ

3

] ΤΜ ΕΡΠΕΤΗΝΑ ΝΟΥΒ

(broken)

1. ΠΡΟΣ^Τ for προεστώς.2. '... the feast of the holy (ἅγιος) Απα[...]', cf. 201².

201

(f 65; d 85a) Ligatured.

↑

(broken)

] ΟΠΕ .[.]Ω ΝΠΟΥΕΡΤΩΝΚΑΖ.[

] ΤΗΟ[Υ]CΟΥ ΕΠΜΟΝΑ^{ΕΤ} ΔΥΩ ΠΩΔ ΝΦΑΓΙΟC

] .ΟΤ ΤΑΧΟ ΤΩΩΕ ΕΙΝΑΖΜΙ ΨΔΕΙΝ[

] ΝΟΥΤΕ ΖΙΤΗ ΝΕΙCΖΑΙ + ΔΥΩ ΤΙΠΑΡΑΚ[ΔΛΕΙ

5

Ρ] ΠΜΕΕΥΕ ΝΠΑCΟΝ ΚΟCΜΑ ΝΤΑΩΜΕ ΝΕΙΟΤΕ.[

(margin ?)

1.]Ω ΝΠΟΥΕΡΤΩΝΚΑΖ.[, obscure.

2.]τῆς[^υ]cor doubtful.

5. εἰοτε[, apparently not εἰοτε εἰ[ογααβ .

Translation:

(line 2)...]send(?) them to the monastery(μοναστήριον). And (as regards
?) the feast of the holy [...⁽¹⁾] and I sow the field, being safe, I
will[.....]⁽²⁾ through this letter. + And I beseech(παρεκκαλεῖν)[you
...? that you]remember my brother Kosma who loved the fathers [.....] (mar-
gin ?).

(1) Cf. 200² and 312²⁰.

(2) Probably: 'I greet Papnoute through this letter.'

202

(d 18; d 70a) 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ by 9 inches, height complete. Uncials, the script
could be as early as the late sixth century, see Plate V, 3.

Two applications to the monastery by persons asking to be readmit-
ted.

(margin)

↑
[+τῆς]ροσκυνη νοῦμνησε νσον ὑπερλοβ ντεκμῆντιωτ[
[]πεκ[co]ῆ δωρωπ ὑμεριτ ῆιωτ επῖ νεττηκ αννε ετρ[χρεια μπσαειν
[]χνε ετβε νρ̄χε[ρ]ῆβε ταρ[ῆ]τῆ.ο[...].εερχρια ῆπσοχ[ε]λ
[...].ανχοοc εὑπνηζητ ξε μπῆενπω^(αι)τεκcεαι πε[...].πεναμανcο[
5 []α αλλα απνουτε ψ[ε]νηζητηγ zapρωγε εν[nen]ῆοβε on ῆτ[
εx εἰ[τῆ]μῆτακαθο[ε] τῆcοο[ῆ]ν γαρ ξε ουcυαν[ε]τηγ
[.]ε[]τῆ[πα]ρακαλι ντεκμετχοεις ῆιωτ[
[]κω]ναν εβολ ὑπικεcοп ὑπῆρωωτ επαcυαι ῆnennoβε
[]μ[ῆ] λααυ γαρ natnoβε ncaπnoυτε[
10 μπnoυτε x[ῆ]νε πεzooy ῆταντι πῆoυοι epok απῆζητ τα[μον(?]
τεnooy ψapок xooγ oucaxε ῆcολcλ nan τῆλο ενεx[ε]ωx
πεcυine nan ziToOTῆ ξε απποθεcμια xωk εβολ x[ε]
13 xoeic niωτ cyeῆζητηk εapон ξε anεice ayω anxi τῆ[

- 14 τῷ θεῷ ὡς οὐκ ὡς ληλ τῇ νηστευε εὐαγγελιστοὺς ἵνα ἴδωμεν
 15 ἐλευθεροῦ ἡμῶν πνοῦ παλαῖος ἐβελίβοι νακ ἐκ[
 τηροῦ ἵνα ἴδωμεν οὐκ ἔστι ^(sic) εὐαγγελιστοὺς ἀνοκ βασιλεῦς ἡν πνοῦτε[
 ὡς εἰβόλ (blank)
 (margin)

Verso: (same hand, on the lower part only)

- 18 τὰ λ[οιπῶν] εἰς εὐαγγελιστοὺς ἡμῶν τῷ πετρε τὴν παρακαλ[ι]
 εἶροι ὡς παρακαλ[ι] ἔχωι ὡς εἰσαγένηκ εἰς τὴν παρακαλ[ι] ε.
 20]επνοῦτε κω ναὶ ἐβόλ ἡμῶν ἐπνοῦτε ἐπνοῦτε ἡμῶν ἐπνοῦτε
]ρε ἵνα ἴδωμεν ^(sic) ἡμῶν ἡμῶν ἐπνοῦτε ἐπνοῦτε ἐπνοῦτε ἐπνοῦτε ἐπνοῦτε
]τ ἡμῶν ἐπνοῦτε ἡμῶν ἐπνοῦτε +
 (margin)

3. ῥῆ[ε]ρ[η]δ[ε], apparently not ῥῆ[ε]ρ[η]δ[ε], but cf. νοῦ in lines 5, 9, 14, 20.

τὰ ῥ[η]δ[ε]τ[η]δ[ε], it is possible to read τὰ ῥ[η]δ[ε]τ[η]δ[ε] here, but that seems unlikely.

4. and 5. The fragment at the end of these two lines seems to belong here but the position is not certain.

4. ἐπνοῦτε κω ναὶ ἐβόλ ἡμῶν ἐπνοῦτε, see chapter VIII par. 80c.

ἡμῶν ἐπνοῦτε, obscure.

6. Probably εὐαγγελιστοὺς.

14. Perhaps θεῷ ὡς οὐκ ὡς ληλ.

15. νοῦ for νοῦτε, see chapter VIII par. 56.

16. θεῖς for θεοῖς, see chapter VIII par. 47.

18. τὰ λ[οιπῶν], apparently not τὰ λ[οιπῶν].

22. νοῦ ἐπνοῦτε for νοῦ ἐπνοῦτε, see chapter VIII par. 138.

Translation:

[+We⁽¹⁾] worship (προσκυνεῖν) many times the sweetness of your pater-
 nity [..... and] your brother (?) ḡōrōp⁽²⁾ the dear fathers. Since (ἐπεὶ)
 it is not the healthy who [need the doctor⁽³⁾]] ... (?) because of the
 sinners that we should ... (?) [...] need (-χεῖν) consolation [.....] We said

in our heart that we have not been worthy of your letter [...] ... (?) [...] ...]
 - 5 - but (ἀλλὰ) God has been compassionate on the great number of [our]
 sins ... (?) [...] ...] distress in his goodness (-ἀγαθός). For we know that
 there is compassion [...] ... that we might (?)] beseech (παράκλησέν) you the
 lord (and) father [...] ...] forgive us once more, do not look on the multi-
 tude of [our sins] for there is no-one without sin except God [...] ...]
 - 10 - of God. From the day when we approached you, our heart [told (?)
 behold we] sent a [...] to you, send us a word of consolation that we
 might cease being distressed [...] ... send] your greeting to us through him,
 because the fixed time (περοθεσμός) ⁽⁴⁾ has been completed [...] ...] lord (and)
 father have compassion on us because we have suffered and have received
 our [...] ⁽⁵⁾ because we have been] disobedient (?). Since there is
 someone wont to pray and fast (νηστεύειν) for the sinners ... (?) [...] ...]
 - 15 - free (ἐλευθερώσιν) them. May the good (ἀγαθός) God give you power
 ... (?) [...] ...] all [the brethren (?)] like us. Farewell in the Lord. I
 Basil and Pishote [...] ...] cry out. (margin)

Verso:

[+ I ⁽¹⁾] this miserable (τλαλίπωρος) one, I am writing, wor-
 shipping (προσκυνεῖν) my father Petre ⁽⁶⁾; I beseech (παράκλησέν) [...] ...]
 me and beseech (παράκλησέν) for me as though I were with you, I beseeching
 (παράκλησέν) [...] ...] - 20 - by (?) God; forgive me once more the multitude
 of my sins and [...] ...] which I sent to you, and may God guide him, since
 (ἐπεὶ ?) [...] ...] and they are (?) worshipping (προσκυνεῖν) you. + (margin).

(1) It is to be noted that on the Recto it is always 'we', while on the
Verso it is 'I'. The Recto is an application by Basile and Pi-
 shote (and others ?) to be readmitted to the monastery, the Verso
 is a similar application by one person only, probably a short note
 by one of the persons who applied on the Recto. For this letter
 cf. 188 introduction.

(2) I cannot find this name elsewhere, but the passage is uncertain and

the division of words may not be correct.

(3) Clearly a quotation from St. Matth. IX, 12 (Χε νεττηκ αν νετ̄ρχειδ ᾱ
πκαειν αλλα νετμοκ̄ε νε).

(4) Cf. 188 note 1.

(5) Probably some word like 'reward', 'due', etc..

(6) This probably refers to the superior of the monastery. Apa Petre
recurs elsewhere as superior of this monastery, see index.

203

(Ms. Greek Class. d 89c)

Recto contains: ↑ 1 Ν]οδ Ν[ρ]ωμ̄ε ει[ε2α1
Verso: (address) → 2]απο μον̄ αβ̄β̄ αποδ̄λ̄ αδα[
 3]σενουθ̄ι[

204

(d 42; further fragments are d 84b,c,d; d 90e,f; d 166e,f; d 169b). On
the Verso account(371), different hand, later.

This letter is the only private letter in Greek in this collection;
but unfortunately the papyrus is badly damaged and the text is for the
most part illegible. It is written in a late cursive hand (VIIth -
VIIIth century) by a well-trained scribe.

Begins: ↑ 1 μοναστηρῑον αδᾱ αβ̄β̄ απολλω
ends: 3]αλωνος αμην
Verso: (address) 4 →]τοις θεοφῑλ̄ς ποθ[

205

(d 32) Other texts on the same papyrus are 291(earlier) and 358(ear-
lier?). The fact that the address is written on the same side as the
rest of the text is somewhat suspicious. It is possible that it was
merely a copy of the actual letter sent, or it was written purely as a
writing exercise, just as the first text on this papyrus, 291, was copied

below the original lines as a writing exercise. Moreover, the writer of this letter is a superior of the monastery at Bala'izah, and this letter, if it was intended as such, was not sent off, as it was found there. On the other hand we have evidence that letters were sometimes exchanged within a monastery, see Ep.vol.I p.179, and this may be a case in point.

—————→ (margin)

- 1 [+τιπρο]κυνει αγω τιασπαζε ντεκ[με]τμεριτ Ν[χο]
 2 [ε]! [ε Ν]CON ΕΤΤ/ αγω νευλογιμενον εις πενωηρ[ε]
 3 ππαπα ιωζαννης αντενοοϋβ νητν μν πκ[...]
 4 ζωβ νβix ταρτετν μετμεριτ νχδεις νcon κ[.]

(broken)

Address: (on the same side) ———→

- 6 [χ]οεις νcon ΕΤ/ απα ιακ[ωβ .]
 7 πεπρ^ε αγω πεηγ^γ αβρα[εαμ πι]εχ^χα εντπετ/ απα απο
 λλω (νι)

3. Probably μν πκ[οϋν] ζωβ (Crum).

4. ταρτετνμετμεριτ for ταρετετνμντμεριτ, see chapter VIII paragraphs 20 and 82a.

7. εντπετ/ απα απολλω for εντπετρα (ν)απα απολλω, cf. 312¹² πετ^γ for πετρα.

Translation:

[+ I]worship(προσκυνειν) and salute(ἀσπάσειν) you the dear lord (and) honoured and blessed(εὐλογίμενος) brother. Behold we have sent our son⁽¹⁾ the Papa Johannes to you with the [little(?)] work of hand⁽²⁾, that you the dear lord (and) brother might[.....](broken)

Address: [+Give it to (?) my dear]lord (and) honoured brother Jacob [from] the priest(πρεσβύτερος) and ἡγούμενος⁽³⁾ Abraham⁽⁴⁾ [this] least(ἐλάχιστος) one in the rock(πέτρα)⁽⁵⁾ of Apa Apollo.

(1) Cf. 103⁴ 'and the rest of all the senior sons of the monastery'.

(2) Some work executed by the monks, probably rope-work, cf. 193⁶ and

Ep.vol.I pp.155f..

(3) On this title see chapter V p.33.

(4) On Apa Abraham as superior see 110 note 1.

(5) For the interesting use of $\pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon\alpha$ here see chapter IV; cf. also 211^{4f}.

206

(d 51; d 64c; d 92b; d 149d) Uncials, the script could be as early as the late sixth century. Four fragments.

- (margin)
- 1 [+ εαθην $\mu\tilde{\eta}\tilde{\nu}$ υπαγαγε + [ω]νε αυω + [α]παζε
- 2 [] ΝΝ υπαγα Ν[ερπα] κατα[προσωπον
- (gap)
- 4 ΝΩΗΡΕ ΕΤΑΙ^(sic)ΝΟΥ ΕΤΒ[Ε Π]ΩΒ ΝΠΑΠΑ[] ΝΩ[
- 5 [.]Υ ΝΣΕΧΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΝΕΩ^(sic)Μ ΝΝ[] Λ ΕΠΕΙΔΗ ΑΤΕΤΝΤΝΟΥΟΥ
- 6] ΜΠΕΛΛΟΥ ΝΡΩΜΕ
- 7 ΩΑΧΕ ΝΕΜΑΙ ΕΝΛΛΟΥ ΝΩΒ ΕΤΒΕΤΗΥΤΝ ΕΙΤΕ[?] ΤΝ ΑΥΩ ΠΕΤΝΕΡΧΡ[α]
- 8 ΜΜΟΥ ΤΗΡΥ .. ΕΙΤΕ ΤΑΡΕΙΧΕ ΕΙΤΕ ΕΥΡΑ ΤΝΟΥ..[?] ΜΠΧΟΕΙC +
- (margin)

Verso: (address) —→

- 9 [+ τα]αC ΝΝε[] ΖΙ[ΤΝ] ΦΟΙΒΑΜΜΩΝ[.]Ω ΠΙΩΤ ΝΕC
- 10 ΝΗΥ +

4. ΕΤΑΙΝΟΥ for ΕΤΤΑΙΝΟΥ, see chapter VIII par. 114.

5. $\omega\mu\omega$ (sic!), probably for $\omega\mu\mu\omega$.

8. After ΤΗΡΥ two letters, Ν^Υ ?, perhaps some particle.

Translation

+ First of all I greet and [salute until I am] worthy to [do this] face to face [..... (gap)] honoured children⁽¹⁾. As regards the matter of Papa [.....] that they might(?) expend them on the strangers ...?[.....] since you sent a [.....] no man spoke with me in any matter concerning you, whether(εἴτε) [.....]⁽²⁾ and anything you require(-χεῖα), ... (?) whether(εἴτε) saltfish(ταρχειον) or seed⁽³⁾, send [..... Farewell

Address: [+Give it to⁽⁴⁾ [.....] from Phoibammon [...] the father of the brethren⁽⁵⁾]. +

- 207

→ 1 ρ τιω[] NE ON TENΟΥ[
2 α πασον φιλοθεος παι[
(gap)
4 [] ΝΤΑ ΠΣΑΧΟ ΜΦΑΡΜΑΓΟΣ[
(broken)

\uparrow 6 $\alpha \mu \alpha \text{ } q_{\gamma \epsilon \nu \sigma \beta} p_{\epsilon} p_{\rho}^{\circ} / s \text{ } p_{\rho}^{\circ} \delta_{\gamma} \chi_{\lambda \lambda}^T [$

- 208

(margin)

1]πρόφασις ... σζαί ναπα ουε[νοβρ
2]ἡσιμ[... εις χουταυτε νερτοу ау[
3]εε[ις[π]ρ^ε ταρεт[

- 4]ΤΕΤΝΤΩΤ[
(gap)
- 6]ΕΕΕΜ̂Ν̂Τ[
- 7]ΝΔ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΕΕΕΜ̂[
8]ΤΝΔ[
(gap)
- 10]ΜΑΖΕΝΤΕΚΖΟCΙΟΤ[ΗC
(gap)
- 12]Υ ΤΝΟΟΥ ΠΒΑΜΟΥΛ
(broken)

Verso: (address) —→

14 ΑΠΑ ΟΥΕΝΟΒ̂Ρ ΠΕΠ̂Ρ̂^Ε ΑΥΩ Π̂(ΕΠ)Ρ̂^Ο

1. προφασίς, see 267¹ note.

The three doubtful letters before ΕΖΑΙ perhaps ΟΥΝ, but this seems hardly right.

14. Απα Οuenober as superior recurs in the last letter.

209

(f 58)

(margin)

- ↑
- 1]ΟΥΩΔ ΑΠΑ CΙΛΒΑΝΕ ΤΑΡ̂Ω[
- 2]ΑΝ ΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΔ ΛΟΙΠΟΝ ΒΙ ΠΡΟΟΥΩ[
- 3]Α ΝΝΠΕΖΟΥ ΕΤ̂ΜΑΥ· Τ̂ΝΑΣΠΑΖΕ[
(margin)

Verso: (address) —→

4]ΑΠΑ ΒΙΚΤΩΡ̂ ΠΕΠ̂Ρ̂^Τ Τ̂Ω[

1. Perhaps ΟΥΩΔ (Ν) ΑΠΑ CΙΛΒΑΝΕ, but doubtful.

4. Απα Βictor as superior only here, but perhaps not from this monastery.

210

(e 50; d 147b; d 151a) Few ligatures, probably same hand as the next

letter(211). 7 by 9 inches, height complete.



(margin)

† ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΑΥΟΡΗ ΝΕΩΥ ΝΗ ΤΙΨΙΝΕ ΑΥΩ ΤΙΑΣΠΑΞΕ ΝΠΕΖΛΟΒ Ν.[
 [ιε]ΡΗΜΙΑΔΣ ΕΒΑΣΜΟΥ ΕΡΩΤΗΝ ΜΗ ΝΕΤΝΨΗΡ.[ε
 []ΕΙΣ ΠΑΨΗΡΕ ΠΑΣΟΝ Κ[
 []ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΝ ΔΕ ΤΑΡΕΤΕ[ΤΗ
 5 []ΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΗ ΝΗΤΨΩ[ΠΕ ?
 []ΠΕΤΝΜΠΟΥΕ ΝΠΕ[
 []ΟСКІ ΕΡΟΥ ΚΑΛΩΣ[
 8 []Ι ΟΝ ΖΕΝΟΥΕΙΡΗΝΕ ΕΝΔ[ΝΟΥΣ

(margin)

Verso: (address) —→

9].....ΠΕΤΡΟΣ ΠΙΕΛ^τ ΑΡ^χΜ ΖΗΠΜΟΝΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ
 10 ΝΦΑΓΙΟΣ ΑΠΑ ΑΠΟΛΛΩ +

2. ΕΒΑΣΜΟΥ for ΕΥΝΑΣΜΟΥ, see chapter VIII par.129.

5. ΝΗΤΨΩ[for ΝΕΤΨΩ[, see chapter VIII par.22.

Translation:

(lines 1 and 2) † God⁽¹⁾. First of all I greet and salute(ἀσπαΐειν) the sweetness of[....]Jerēmias, may he bless you and your children[... .. (rest fragmentary and uncertain).

Address:]Petros⁽²⁾ this least(ἐλάχιστος) archimandrite(ἀρχιμανδρίτης) in the monastery(μοναστήριον) of the holy(ἅγιος) Apa Apollō.†

(1) A very unusual opening of a Coptic letter.

(2) Petros as superior recurs elsewhere; on the title archimandrite see chapter V p.33, it recurs 395⁴, and in a small fragment d 136b as]αρ^χμα^α[.

(d 62a) Probably the same hand as 210.

(broken)

- ↑
- 1 ἀμεριτ ΝΧΟΕΙC Ε[
2 ΕΤΝΕΜΑΝ ΕΤΡΕ ΝΧΟΕΙC Ν[

(broken)

Verso: (address) →

- 4 ἀγω παγαρχ^χ † ΠΕΤΡΟC ΠΕΙΕ^χ ΖΝ
5 ΤΠΕΤΡ^ρ Ν ΑΠΑ ΑΠΟΛΛ[ω

4 - 5. '.....] and the pagarch(παγάρεχος). † Petros this least(ἐλάχιστος) one in the rock(πέτρα) of Apa Apollo.'

The letter was clearly written by Petros, superior of the monastery at Bala'izah - cf. 210⁹, same hand - to a pagarch. The pagarch may thus have lived at Bala'izah for a short time, or alternatively the letter was never sent off, since it was found there. For the use of the word πέτρα see chapter IV.

212

(d 72a; a further fragment is d 162b). The only interest of this scrap is line 2 ('we dwelt in the rock(πέτρα)') for which see chapter IV.

(broken)

- ↑
- 1 ΕΤ]ΒΗΤΟ[Υ
2]ΑΝΟΥΩΣ ΖΝΤΠΕΤΡΑ[
3 ΑΠ]ΝΟΥΤΕ ΤΑΔC ΕΠΑΞΗ[Τ
4]...ΤΕΝΟΥ Ο[

(broken)

213 .

(d 144a,b; d 138d) The only interest of this scrap is line 2 ('of the holy rock(πέτρα)') for which see chapter IV.

(margin)

-
- 1 † ΑΝΟΚ' ΕΝΩΧ ΠΕΙ[

2

ΝΤΠΕΤΡΑ ΕΤΟΥΔΑΒ[

(broken)

214

(e 33 and d 150e) Few ligatures. After line 19 there follows an account in different hand, 323, which has no apparent connection with the present text.

This letter is of great interest as it is addressed to the monks of the two monasteries of Apa Apollo and Apa Jeremias; for this see chapter IV pp.22f.

↑

(broken)

...Ν[Ν]ΡΩΜΕ ^(MC)ΝΝΑΠΑΠΟΛΕ ΜΝ ΙΕΡΕΜΙΑΣ ΤΙΡΗΝΗ
 ΝΗΤῆ ΜΝ ΝΕΝΠΑΝ[ΑΓ]Ι[ΟΝ] ΝΕΙΟΤ[Ε]]ΑΣΤ...
 ΝΗΤῆ ΛΟΙΠΟΝ ΝΠΕΡΤΙΝΟΥΥ ΝΑΥ Ζῆ ὸ Η
 ΕΥΖΑΣΤΗΚ ΑΥΩ ΝΠΝΑ[Υ] ΝΤΑΙΤΑΔΥ ΝΑΚ
 5 [] .ΝΑΚ. []
 ς[.]ΖΙC[. ΜΠΕ]ΚΤΙ ΛΑΔΥ ΝΑΙ[...ΛΟ]ΙΠΟΝ ΕΙ[ς] ΠΔΟΥΡ
 [] ΑΝ ΑΙΤΝΟΟΥΥ Ν[ΗΤΝ Ν]ΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΕΚΑΧΙ
 [ΝΤΕΙΕΠΙ]ΣΤΟΛΗ Ν[...ΕΡ..ΕΝΟΡΤC] ΕΙΜΗΤΕΙ
 [] ΑΠΟΛ]Ε ΜΝ ΙΕΡΕΜΙΑΣ
 10 ΤΟΥΝΑΤΙ ΝΒ[]

(broken)

Verso: (continued from the recto) —→

(broken)

12 ΝΑΙΤΡΕ ΜΟΝΟΧΟC[...Ι] CΩΒ[Ε Μ]ῶΤΝ ΝΠΕ[]
 ΝΑΙ[]] ΑΝΟΚ ΚΟΛΛΟΥΘΑΣ
 [] .ΙΝΕΥ...ΛΟΙΠΟΝ ΑΝΔΥ ΝΝΟΥΥ
 15 [] ΣΤΝΟΟΥCΟΥ.[...] ΝΚΑΙCΟΠ ΟΝ
 [] ΤΗΥΤῆ ΖῆΠΔΗΜΟCΙΟΝ ΝΒΡΡΕ ΑΥΩ
 ΤΙ CΝΔΥ ΝΒΑΜΟΥΛ Ν[] ΝΕΙΤΑ
 [] ΕΥΖΗΥ ΤΟΥΒ[ΙΤ]ΟΥ ΕΝΔΙΕΡΕΜΙΑC ΤΟΥΤΑΔΥ

(margin)

1. There is probably only one line missing before this line.
2.]ΔCΤ....., perhaps ΔΙΤΝΟΟΥ[η], just possible, but doubtful.
7. ΕΚΔΧΙ for ΕΚΝΔΧΙ, see chapter VIII par.129.
8.]ΕΡ..ΕΝΟΟΤC, obscure.
10. ΤΟΥΝΑΤΙ for CΕΝΑΤΙ, see chapter VIII par.139.
15. ΝΚΑΙCΟΠ for ΝΚΕCΟΠ, see chapter VIII par.26.
18. ΤΟΥΒ[ΙΤ]ΟΥ for ΝCΕΒ[ΙΤ]ΟΥ; ΤΟΥΤΑΔΥ for ΝCΕΤΑΔΥ, see chapter VIII par. 138.
19. ΝΝΑΕΙΕ[, certain but obscure; perhaps a name.

Translation:

(broken) I am writing to (?)] the men of (the monasteries of) Apa Apollo and Jeremias; peace(εἰρήνη) to you and your all-holy(πανάγιος) fathers. [Behold (?)] I have sent (?) ... to you; now(λοιπόν) do not give money to him from the eight solidi which are with you; and at the time when I gave them to you [...] to you (?) [.....] ... (?) and you [have not (?)] given anything to me [...] Now(λοιπόν) behold I have sent the ... (?) ⁽¹⁾ [...] to you(?). As soon as you receive [this] letter (?) unless (εἰμήτε) [.....] and Jeremias, they shall give [..... (broken)]

Verso: (continued from the Recto)

(broken)] Aitre ⁽²⁾ (the) monk(μοναχός) [...] mock you ... (?) [.....] I Kollouthas ⁽³⁾ [...] ... (?). Now(λοιπόν) behold the money [which (?)] she sent [...] another time [...] you in (or: from) the new tax(δημόσιον) and give two camels to [.....] ... (?) [...] they being distressed that they might take them to those of (the monastery of) Jeremias and sell them; and send the goat of ... (?) [...] (margin)

(1) Some word beginning with ΔΟΥΡ[, probably Greek.

(2) Probably some form of the name Hatre.

215

1 μο]νο^τ αὐω μαρεῖει ἐρῆς ταβντῆ αὐορῆ
2]οὐν θε μερωτ[.]νταῖκα πετνσο εἰωω
3]μα ε2οῦν ἐπει νταῖει ἐεητ ἐνπ2ωῶνπμμονο^τ
4 ? ἀπα]τηρ μν ἀπα αενουτε + ουχαῖ εμπχοεις +

5 + ἀνοκ ψσαζ ἀπα κύρε εἰς θαῖ εἰωθάννης χει[
6 ἐπει ἠπενεῖ ἐζητ ἐξ ἡ πῶα ἐτιμαυ[?

Verso: +I the master⁽²⁾ Apa Kyre, I am writing to Johannes saying [....]

since we did not arrive north at that place (? margin).

(1) 'with Apa Severos' is added between lines 3 and 4, and probably belongs to line 3, in which case translate as above; alternatively it belongs after Apa Shenoute in line 4.

(2) On the title *caz* 'master' see Crum: Dictionary p.383b.

216

(e 43; d 64a; d 117a; d 139a,b,c; d 166a) Much ligatured. Perhaps lines 1 - 4 belong to a different document written by the same scribe.

↑
(broken)
1 μο]νοχος εyna[
2 τ]α μετελαχεις τ[ος
3].οομε [
4]. σερνη[
(gap ?)
6]χει.αι.[.]αχιτ[]ν[.]πεταρχ[ει]
? π]νουτε νεχνα πληροφορειντ[ε]κμντcon σε ν
]μωης πεβωταιει ταβην πεκωινε
]κοαε επι μενταχυ[.]ανοκ ετ[.]νευ[.....]cion
10]ολε νσωϊ αιτι μμογ νσα ρακηνος ννενταιειμε
]εκ^(sic)ζητω ατω εηπουωω επνουτε βωωτ ζητη α
πνο]υτε κα πτην εηπαεητ καϊ αιταε πευχα ετεκμντ
]ναι εις αι ε[μο]ου τιασ πασε ντεκμντμεριτ εcon
14] + + ναυ..[.].[.]εηπβι εεραι νητηνβix ετουααβ +
(margin)

Verso: Traces of an address; also ανα παυλε written in large letters in different ink.

2. μετελαχεις τ[ος] for μντελαχεις τ[ος], see chapter VIII par.82c.

7. μντcon for μντcon, similarly line 12 ετεκμντ[and line 13 μντμεριτ, see chapter VIII par.83.

8. $\mu\omega\eta\sigma\eta\varsigma\ \pi\epsilon\beta\omega\tau\alpha\iota\epsilon\iota$, very difficult; $\mu\omega\eta\sigma\eta\varsigma$ is clearly the name $\mu\omega\gamma\eta\varsigma$, perhaps read $\mu\omega\eta\sigma\eta\varsigma\ \pi\epsilon\beta\omega$ 'Moyses the dumb person, I came', but the use of the second perfect or the past relative would be difficult to explain here. $\pi\epsilon\beta\omega\tau$ is certain (definitely not $\pi\epsilon\kappa\omega\tau$), but perhaps there was another letter after $\pi\epsilon\beta\omega\tau$ ($\pi\epsilon\beta\omega\tau.\alpha\iota\epsilon\iota$).

$\tau\alpha\beta\eta\eta\eta$ -for $\tau\alpha\beta\eta$ -see chapter VIII par.2e.

9. Obscure.

10. $\eta\varsigma\alpha\rho\alpha\kappa\eta\eta\eta\omicron\varsigma$ probably for $\eta\eta\varsigma\alpha\rho\alpha\kappa\eta\eta\eta\omicron\varsigma$ cf. chapter VIII par.80m; the 'Saracens' are rarely found in Coptic documents, cf. B.M.588⁹, Hall pl.7, and J.70⁵, 91², 106⁹, but they occur commonly in Greek documents from the sixth century (P.Masp.67009 I 22) onwards, esp. P.Lond.IV, index.

11. $\pi\omicron\gamma\omega\gamma\ \epsilon\pi\eta\eta\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$ for $\pi\omicron\gamma\omega\gamma\ \eta\eta\eta\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$, see chapter VIII par.82d; similarly line 12 $\pi\epsilon\gamma\chi\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\tau\epsilon\kappa\mu\eta\tau$ [and line 13 $\mu\eta\tau\mu\epsilon\rho\iota\tau\ \epsilon\varsigma\omicron\eta$].

12. $\epsilon\alpha\iota$, very difficult; perhaps for $\epsilon\zeta\alpha\iota$, cf. chapter VIII par.108, but in the next line the word is spelt correctly.

14. Perhaps read $\eta\lambda\gamma\ \epsilon\tau[\epsilon]\tau[\eta]\zeta\eta\eta\eta\eta$; for $\eta\eta\tau\eta\eta\eta\delta\iota\chi = \eta\eta\epsilon\tau\eta\eta\delta\iota\chi$ see chapter VIII paragraphs 2e, 22 and 80m.

"(The) time when you are(?) in the raising up of your holy hands ", The latter part of this phrase is found in the following six letters; outside Bala'izah it recurs frequently at Thebes, especially in the texts from the monastery of Epiphanius and once (B.M.1149⁵) outside Thebes. The Theban references are: Ep.105¹, 106⁴, 164²⁰, 203¹⁷, 246⁶, 254¹¹, 279¹¹, 285⁵, 296⁶, 328¹⁸, C.O. 274, V.C.54²⁴, 71¹², R.E. 41⁹. In all these references the passage occurs in two phrases, either $\alpha\rho\iota\ \pi\alpha\mu\epsilon\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\ \zeta\eta\eta\eta\eta\ \epsilon\zeta\pi\alpha\iota\ \eta\eta\epsilon\tau\eta\eta\delta\iota\chi\ \epsilon\tau\omicron\gamma\alpha\alpha\beta$ 'remember me in the raising up of your holy hands' or $\psi\lambda\eta\lambda\ \epsilon\chi\omega\iota\ \zeta\eta\eta\eta\eta\ \epsilon\zeta\pi\alpha\iota\ \eta\eta\epsilon\tau\eta\eta\delta\iota\chi\ \epsilon\tau\omicron\gamma\alpha\alpha\beta$ 'pray for me in the raising up of your holy hands'. The phrase is evidently taken from the Bible I.Tim.II,8 $\tau\omicron\gamma\omega\gamma\ \delta\epsilon\ \epsilon\tau\epsilon\ \bar{\eta}\rho\omega\mu\epsilon\ \psi\lambda\eta\lambda\ \zeta\eta\mu\alpha\ \eta\iota\mu\ \epsilon\upsilon\chi\eta\ \epsilon\zeta\pi\alpha\iota\ \bar{\eta}\eta\epsilon\upsilon\ \delta\iota\chi\ \epsilon\tau\omicron\gamma\alpha\alpha\beta$.

The document is too doubtful and fragmentary to permit a reasonable translation.

217

(e 37; f 97; d 151b) This letter was already broken when another letter (229) was written on the Verso. The script is very peculiar; while generally written in uncials, the scribe has sometimes made use of cursive script for some words and phrases. In parts the letter is badly faded and very difficult to read.

↑ (margin ?)

1 [ΝΧΗρε Χε ΝΑΡΟ.]

2 [μῖχου ερωαντε πνουτε ουωω χί^(sic)ραστε εβ]

3 [ΝΗΤῆΝ εῦπχοεic Χε ωαρε πνουτε τοουῆ ἡθε ἡ.]

(gap)

5 [... ΝΙΩΙΝΕ Ν[

[εἰαωωπε μ.ρων ΝΟΥΚΟΥΙ ΔΥΩ ΕΤΒ[Ε

[. μῆγτι λαδυ ἡποδιον ε[

[επειδῆ^(sic) εῦδι ἀναγκη ερον ετβ[Ε] τοχε.[.] ἀρι πα[μεεε]

[ενηπι ε]ραῖ ἡνετῆβix ετουαδ[β] μν[.]ς[.] εἰπρος[κυνει]

10 [ΝΗΤΝ εντε]τριας ετουαδβ δεσπ^οτ^ο...[.] τριη[]

[. ΝΕCННУ тῆωινε επῆχο[Ε]ic νε[ιωτ εττ]

[ἀπα ουενο]βρε + ερε μ π ις ι/ η

(margin)

Verso: (address) —→

13 εἰω]τ ἀπα[

1. Obscure.

2. [μῖχου, obscure.

6. εἰαωωπε perhaps for εἰαωωπε, see chapter VIII par.129.

μ.ρων, obscure.

8. εῦδι for εῦτι, see chapter VIII par. 111.

10. δεσπ^ντ' for δεσπότης.

$[\tau p_{1H}]$, perhaps $[\tau p_{1H}]$, or $[\tau p_{1K}]$.

(line 2).....]...(?) if God desires from tomorrow [.....]you in the Lord,
saying: God will rise up like [...⁽¹⁾(gap, lines 5 - 6 obscure) ..
...]he did not give any socks(ⲡⲟⲩⲉⲓⲟⲩⲱⲧ)[.....]since he is compelling us
concerning ...(?)[...]remember me(?)[in the raising] up of your holy
hands⁽²⁾; afterwards(?) I worship(?)[you in the] holy Trinity, my lords⁽³⁾,
...(?)[.....]the brethren, we greet our lord (and)[honoured father Apa
Quenober⁽⁴⁾. + Written month Paoni 16, indiction 8. (margin)

(2) See 216¹⁴ note.

(3) "my lords", δεσπότες, in this context occurs only here in the present collection, but is found commonly elsewhere, cf. Krall: M.P. E.R.vol.V. pp. 36f., also B.M.473, 1145¹², 1146¹⁰, 1180⁵, Ryl. 280, 305, 308, 334, 340; at Thebes this seems to be rare outside the Pesynthian correspondence: R.E.5,18(ter), 17, 32, C.O.124.

(4) Apa Ouenober is not certain, but probable; as superior he recurs 207⁶ and 208¹⁴.

218

(f 60; d 151c; a further fragment is d 76g) Few ligatures; on the Ver-
so 160, later.



1

2

(broken)

]μπουεβω εβο . πνεβολ

]τι παρακαλ.

(gap)

- 4 [...] τῶν [...] σοῦ τῆν ἐροῦ ἐτκοῦι νμ[
 5 [...] εὐν πεκενων τὰρ εὐ πετενερπμ[εεεε ψωπε(?)]
 6 [20]οὐ μν τευψῆ εὐν πβι εεραῖ νητ[ν βίχ ετοῦ ααβ]
 (broken)

1. Obscure.

5. πεκενων, obscure, the exact word-division is not certain.

Translation:

(lines 5 and 6).....]in ...(?), that your⁽¹⁾ remembrance[might take place] day and night in the raising up of your [holy hands⁽²⁾](broken).

(1) We might have expected 'our remembrance'.

(2) See 216¹⁴ note.

219

(d 146c)

(broken)

- | | | |
|---|---|--------------------------------|
| ↑ | 1 |]τῇ περὶ τῆν πρὸς θε |
| \| | 2 |]τετενεθαρεῖ ὑμῶν |
| | 3 | εμψι εεραῖ νητν βίχ ετοῦ ααβ + |
- (margin)

Translation:

(broken)]give an account of them according as [.....]you relying (θαρεῖν) on⁽¹⁾ God[..... in the raising up]of your holy hands⁽²⁾. +

(1) For θαρεῖν in this sense see Ep. 431⁸ and note 7.

(2) See 216¹⁴ note.

220

(d 124a) —→

(broken)

- | | |
|---|-----------------------------------|
| 1 |]βῆ εεραῖ νητν βίχ ετοῦ ααβ ντε π |
| 2 |]την τῇ χενιεκω μμῶν. [|
- (broken)

1. See 216¹⁴ note.

221

(d 138e) Contains: ·||μν πβι ε2ρ[αι , see 216¹⁴ note.

222

(d 132a)

(broken)

↑ 1 Ν]αῖ εἰς2αἰ εμοου ε[
2]ενετῆβίχ ετο[γααβ

(broken ?)

2. See 216¹⁴ note.

223

(b 4; d 118a; d 154a) Ligatured. 5 by 15 inches, complete. On the Verso 142, later.

↑ (margin)

1 +τιπροσκ[μπε2λοβ ντεκμντμεριτ (?) Ν]χοεῖς νεῖωτ ετουααβ φανταερ
παῖ κατὰ προσωπον ντε πανοβ νραυε

2 χωκ εβολ[]π[εἴωτ χε 2μπτρ.ῆει ενναει ερнс
ανβωκ ε2ραῖ επμα нсаβнс ауговс

3 ε.ε.χ...[]φ[co]ου2[]επн[]...[]επα
сон π2ιακ, ἱερнμιαс τευνου νταῖ

4 τноου[γ...]α42ολ νεχну εβολ[]χ нρωμε
анμouρ εχωγ ανω[.....]βοτι

5 επеснт а4соου2 н4ρωме тнrou а4ентou анχολ4 εβολ λοιπον
маре пкна ω[ωπε нгтi наγ (?) μ]

6 π4τωω επει μн. неε4 нтоот ауω εἰс наkouι н2oιτε μн н[ε]кωε
тнrou ауβωλ нпeиeрп[.....]

7 πλнн εωωπε φакер2ωγ еrou τноou оуеноβr наῖ μнκαioυα ῥсооун
неp2ωγ т[ан]т4 ернс

another person, he knows (how) to work⁽⁹⁾, that[I] bring him south and you make terms with him⁽¹⁰⁾. And as you command(κελεύειν), we will be (your) servants; but whatever the command which you will give, do not restrict(?)(κατέχειν) me, because all that was ours has perished and we are destitute. Behold, I am remaining with[him(?)] - 10 - until your letter(s) come(s) to us and we act accordingly⁽¹¹⁾, since the man has not remained with me that I should bring him south. These (things) I am writing. + We shall farewell⁽¹²⁾ by your prayers. +

Address: + The most holy(δσιώτατος) dear lord (and) holy father Apa[... ..].

- (1) Cf. 189 notes 3 and 4.
- (2) For the meaning of the word εἰ in this context see Crum: Dictionary p.70a,b; cf. also here 245².
- (3) This place recurs P.Lond.IV 1619^{6,7,8}; Crum suggests the modern Mansafis about 5 miles south of Minia.
- (4) The Coptic verbal auxiliary ΝΤΑ- is sometimes found in non-literary texts with this meaning, cf.186⁴ αἰραγε ΝΜΑΤΕ ΝΤΑΙΩΝ ΠΑΟΝ ΠΑΙΔΑΚ ΙΩΓΑΝΝΗC ΕΥΝΗΥ ΩΡΑΩΤΝ 'I rejoiced greatly when I found my brother the deacon Johannes coming to you'. This usage is common in Bohairic.
- (5) This translation of ἀνωγρ ἐχωγ seems likely, but the passage might be translated differently; cf. Crum: Dictionary p.181a.
- (6) Perhaps: 'give us command of him'(Barns).
- (7) One is tempted to translate γε here like the Greek ὅλη as 'articles' but Crum does not support this in his Dictionary.
- (8) Perhaps: 'if you are exercised about it(?)'(Barns).
- (9) 'he knows (how) to work' added as an afterthought, cf.192 note 10.
- (10) This meaning of τετνεμοτνεγ seems probable, but is not certain; cf. Crum: Dictionary pp.195b and 196a where all references are cited. Perhaps translate: 'and you agree with it' i.e.with my action, but

(e 32)

(broken)

- ↑ 1 [κ... πλ[...] σαζητ σαρηс [...] οτ[]
 2 [η σαζητην̄ с[η]μανε μμοу nān τnχoky εβολ
 3]. πσαε απα меркоуpиос nтe π̄ζηт емтoн запейωу
 4]те етoуααβ nгoμoоyсiоn зит̄n неπpесβia nнeνχicoоyε
 5]с + (blank)

(margin)

2. τnχoky for nтnχoky, see chapter VIII par.138.

4.]те, (sic !), τp̄]ac cannot be read here.

Translation:

(broken)]... (?) northwards, southwards⁽¹⁾ [.....] he being with us pointed it out (σημαίνειν) to us that we should complete it [.....] the teacher⁽²⁾ Apa Merkourios, that his heart be at rest concerning this matter [.....] holy consubstantial (ὁμοούσιος) [...] ⁽³⁾ through the intercessions (πρεσβεία) of our lords [.....] (margin).

(1) Cf. 188 note 11.

(2) On this title see Crum: Dictionary p.383b.

(3) Not 'Trinity' which we should have expected here; 'consubstantial God' would paleographically be possible, but can hardly be right.

227

(e 40) Two fragments; script very like 154 and 199, same ?

(margin)

- ↑
 †[ευν̄ τ]nπp[oc]κ[γ]nεi oн тeнoу нoуμн[η]ω[ε] nсoп ?
 [] nφiλo^x εсoтoн[ε] εβο[λ] nααp]
 n нoутe пaи μн aγтnооyγ n[
 знoуμe нeтnααгωн нeμaн e[.] nн[
 5 eтpεncμoу aγω тnεyχαpиcт[α
 знпχoк aε nαι тnπαpακαλι n[

- 7 [....] 1Δ[...]. . . ζωγ ^(sic) εϋογκοϋ̃[
 8 [] 1ΝΤΕΤΝΕ[...]. ΤΕ[
 (gap)
 10]ΤΕ ΔΥΩ ΝΥΤΙ ΘΟΜ Ν.[
 11]οοϋ ΤΝωλ̃λ 2ΝΝ[.]μοϋ[
 (broken)

1. Perhaps merely ϣ [Τ]ΝΠΡ[οc]Κ[Υ]ΝΕΙ .
 5. ΤΝΕΥΧΑΡΙCΤ[α for ΝΤΝΕΥΧΑΡΙCΤΑ, see chapter VIII par.138.
 7. ΕΥΟΓΚΟϋ̃ (sic!) for ΕΘΥΚΟϋ̃.
 11. ωλ̃λ for ωΛΗλ, see chapter VIII par.6C.

Translation:

ϣ [With God (?).] We worship (προσκυνέειν) now again many [times your] Christloving (φιλόχριστος) [...] ⁽¹⁾ which is manifest [before] God. This one we sent to [.....] in truth those who shall contend (ἀγωνίῃ) ⁽²⁾ with us ... (?) [.....] that we should bless and give thanks (εὐχαριστέειν) [.....] Finally, however, (as regards) these we beseech [..... (rest fragmentary and broken)].

(1) Probably 'paternity' or 'fraternity'.

(2) ἀγωνίῃ a noun used as a verb, see chapter VIII par.157b.

(e 47 and d 123b) Uncials. Very badly faded and extremely difficult to read. On the Verso 259, also traces of an earlier account.

→

(broken)

.....[]
 ΠΑΙΔΕΩΝ ΑΒΡΑΕ[αμ]
 ΜΗ ΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΖΩ[.....] ΟΕ[]
 ΧΕ ΟΝ ΟΛCΕΛ ΝΑΙ Ν[] λ ε
 5 ΠΟΝ ΜΑΡΕ ΠΕΙΔΑΝΑ .[.].. ΟΝ ΧΟ[]

11. ἄτοναι for ἄτον ναι , see chapter VIII par.80.
 12. ετουαβ for ετουααβ , see chapter VIII par.13.
 16. ωινεροκ for ωινεεροκ , see chapter VIII par.20.

(lines 1 - 9, broken and obscure)]... (?) I besought ($\mu\epsilon\rho\kappa\kappa\lambda\epsilon\hat{\iota}\nu$) him and his mercy met me and he set me at ease. It is written⁽¹⁾; 'Saying is exquisite indeed ... (?), but giving is better'. But⁽²⁾. If there is any possibility, then come south with Apa Serne and comfort my sister Eucharis ... (?) your word, I am drawing up ... (?). My brother Theodore the oil-seller and his wife greet you, and remember them for they are ill. The deacon Abraham and Paitapa⁽³⁾ [...] greet [you (broken).

(2) ΝΝΕΝΙΟΤΕ ΕΤΟΥΑΒ is extremely difficult here, as εϋφνε in the next line is practically certain, and there is no line missing. The

scribe evidently left something out here.

(3) Paitapa is an unusual name, but cf. Patapē C.O.290, J.71²⁸, al..

229

(e 37; f 97; d 151b) Few ligatures. On the verso 217, earlier.

→

(margin)

1 [+ουω] ου ουν τευνοϋ ετετναχι

2 τα^(sic)επιστολη ντοοτην νσοκβητ

3 [...] ταρετετην πληρου μπιμοναστηρι

(gap)

5 [...] τιμουρ νβητ ενανουου τετηε

[τετην]βουλλιζε μμοου τετην

ταδϋ ετοοτη μπρωμε ξενεουα ζωωου

βωκ εμα^(sic) αλλα παντως μπωρδω να

ταας ντε πετηνητ εικε

10 τιασπαζε μμωτην ειτην νεικεαι +

(margin)

Verso: (address) ↑

11 + ταας ννεσνηϋ νσοκ[βητ

1. Above this line are the remains of a few letters, probably the address of the letter on the verso.

2. ντοοτην clearly for ντωτην, see chapter VIII par.49; ντοοτην is impossible here in view of ταεπιστολη preceding. See also below note 1.

5 and 6. τετην- for ντετην, see chapter VIII par.138.

8. εμα probably for εμαϋ, see chapter VIII par.17.

μπωρδω for μπρδω, see chapter VIII par.144.

Translation:

[+]Be so kind, therefore, as soon as you receive my letter(ἐπιστολή), you the palm-leaf-pickers(?)⁽¹⁾ [...] that you satisfy(πληροῦν) the monastery

(μοναστήριον) [..... (gap)] [..]⁽²⁾ good palm-bundles⁽³⁾ and [...] and seal(βουλλίζειν)⁽⁴⁾ them and give them to the man, so that not one among them go there(?); but by all means(ἀλλὰ πάντως) do not continue without doing it, so that your heart be distressed⁽⁵⁾. I salute(ἀσπάζειν) you through this letter.+

Address: +Give it to the brethren, the palm-leaf-pickers(?)(¹) [.....]

- (1) The word $\sigma\kappa\beta\eta\tau$ recurs almost certainly in line 11 and as $\sigma\alpha\kappa\beta\eta\tau$ twice in 259, esp. 259⁷ $\epsilon\omega\omega\mu\epsilon\ \nu\omicron\upsilon\sigma\alpha\kappa\beta\eta\tau\ \alpha\lambda\ \pi\epsilon\tau\omega\mu\epsilon\ \epsilon\pi\omicron\iota\ \alpha\lambda\omicron\kappa\ \epsilon\tau\epsilon\alpha\ \nu\omicron\upsilon\chi\epsilon\ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda\ \epsilon\zeta\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\ \epsilon\pi\omicron\kappa$. Dr. Barns suggested that this is a title and offered the following translation for 259⁷: "if a palm-leaf-picker is not one whom it is fitting for me to expel any more than it is for you". This seems very probable and is borne out also by other evidence: Crum: Dictionary p.328a cites a few words composed also of $\sigma\alpha\kappa$ - and another word, where we clearly have a parallel development. (1) MIF 59³⁴⁸ $\pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon\ \psi\alpha\kappa\omega\omicron\upsilon\ \text{'Petre the six-day-faster'}$ (cf. Dict. p.326a); (2) Ryl.289⁴ $\parallel\ \kappa\epsilon\ \epsilon\upsilon\beta\eta\kappa\ \epsilon\pi\sigma\alpha\kappa\omega\omicron\upsilon\ \alpha\lambda\upsilon\pi\theta\epsilon\ \mu\mu\omicron\omicron\upsilon\ \epsilon\tau\epsilon\pi\epsilon\chi\iota\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \epsilon\zeta\eta\tau\ \alpha\mu\alpha\lambda\upsilon$; here I would suggest we read $\epsilon\pi\sigma\alpha\kappa\omega\omicron\upsilon$ and translate: "(men) who were going to the corn-gatherers and persuaded them that they should take them north with them." ; (3) P.Mich. 3571 cited Crum: Dictionary p.328a 'I sent $\omega\omicron\mu\tau\epsilon\ \nu\sigma\alpha\kappa\omega\upsilon\pi\epsilon$ ' probably 'three thorn-gatherers', but the context of the letter might suggest a different interpretation; (4) Professor Drescher drew my attention to a letter which he had copied which contained the phrase: $\alpha\lambda\chi\omega\omicron\upsilon\kappa\ \epsilon\zeta\eta\tau\ \epsilon\pi\psi\alpha\kappa\epsilon\lambda\omega\mu$ where $\psi\alpha\kappa\epsilon\lambda\omega\mu$ is probably a man who does something with cheese, though it is difficult to be certain which meaning of $\omega\omega\kappa$ would be applicable here; (5) B.M.487 contains $\tau\sigma\alpha\kappa\mu\omicron\omicron\upsilon$, but there the context is obscure.

(2) Probably 'three' good palm-bundles' ($\omega\omicron\mu\alpha\lambda\iota\tau$) or 'ten' ($\mu\eta\tau$) etc. (Barns).

(3) For $\mu\omicron\upsilon\pi\ \alpha\beta\eta\tau$ see Crum: Dictionary p.181b; the word recurs here in 260⁴; cf. also W.S.148.

- (4) For $\beta\omicron\gamma\lambda\lambda\iota\zeta\epsilon$ cf. Krall M.P.E.R. vol.V p.37 $\epsilon\iota\varsigma\epsilon\eta\eta\tau\epsilon\ \alpha\iota\tau\nu\omicron\omicron\gamma\gamma\ \nu\alpha\gamma$
 $\epsilon\iota\tau\omicron\omicron\tau\gamma\ \nu\alpha\pi\alpha\ \omicron\upsilon\epsilon\lambda\omicron\beta\rho\ \epsilon\gamma\beta\omicron\gamma\lambda\lambda\iota\zeta\epsilon\ \nu\omicron\gamma\beta\omicron\gamma\lambda\lambda\alpha$ 'Behold I have sent it
 to you through Apa Ouenober sealed with a seal.'
 (5) The sense of this passage is: 'do not delay to do it, lest you be
 sorry for it'. For $\mu\eta\rho\acute{\omega}\nu\alpha\tau$ and its Theban equivalent $\mu\eta\rho\acute{\omega}\ \nu\epsilon\gamma\omicron\upsilon$ -
 in the meaning 'delay not to (do something)' see Crum: Dictionary
 p.601a. $\nu\tau\epsilon\ \pi\epsilon\tau\eta\eta\tau\ \gamma\iota\zeta\epsilon$ recurs here 259³, also C.O.Ad.52 and Ep.
 298²², cf. C.O.276, Ad.60, V.C.6⁹, B.M.1195², Ep.105⁹, 486.

230

(g 58; d 135b; d 150g) Few ligatures. Three fragments.

↑

(broken)

1] $\epsilon\iota\tau\omicron\omicron\tau\bar{\kappa}\ \epsilon\iota$ [

2 $\epsilon\mu\pi\tau\rho\alpha\varsigma\omega\tau\bar{\mu}\ \omicron\upsilon\eta$ [

(gap)

4] $\epsilon\pi\omega\tau\ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda\ \epsilon\pi\epsilon$ [

5] $\omega\ \kappa\alpha\pi\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\omicron\ \epsilon\eta\gamma\rho\eta\gamma\omicron\rho\iota$ [α

6] $\omega\kappa\ \tau\acute{\eta}\mu\alpha\epsilon\ \pi\beta\alpha\mu\omicron\upsilon\lambda\ \varsigma\eta\lambda\upsilon\ \nu\tau$ [?] $\omega\kappa\alpha\tau\iota\ \epsilon\iota\omega\rho\kappa\omicron\upsilon$ [η

7 $\epsilon\iota\tau\omicron\omicron\tau$] $\tau\eta\upsilon\tau\eta\ \tau\iota\omega\iota\eta\epsilon\ \epsilon\pi\lambda\alpha\omicron\varsigma\ \tau\eta\rho\acute{\eta}\ \alpha\pi\alpha$ [?] $\rho\epsilon\ \mu\eta\ \alpha\pi\alpha\ \pi\alpha$ [

8] (blank) [] $\epsilon\pi\iota\phi\ \iota\alpha\ \varphi$ [$\iota\nu\delta$

(margin)

Verso: (same hand) →

(margin)

9] $\omega\gamma\alpha\eta\epsilon\iota\ \epsilon\pi\alpha\pi\eta$] $\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$?] $\dots\mu\ \epsilon\epsilon\eta\tau\ \epsilon\alpha\epsilon\tau\eta\eta\ \alpha\pi\omicron\lambda\lambda\omega\ \chi\iota$ [

10] $\tau\ \alpha\lambda\omicron\kappa\ \alpha\pi\alpha\kappa\upsilon$] $\rho\epsilon$?] $\dots\tau\eta\omega\iota\eta\epsilon\ \epsilon\rho\omicron\kappa\ \alpha\upsilon\omega\ \tau\eta\eta\alpha\epsilon$] $\tau\epsilon$

(margin)

6. $\tau\eta\mu\alpha\epsilon$ -for $\eta\gamma\mu\epsilon\epsilon$ -see chapter VIII paragraphs 21 and 138.

7. $\tau\iota\omega\iota\eta\epsilon\ \epsilon\pi\lambda\alpha\omicron\varsigma\ \tau\eta\rho\acute{\eta}$ probably 'I greet the whole community' cf. chapter

V p.34.

The document is too fragmentary to permit a translation.

(f 73) Letter perhaps from a bishop.

(broken)

- 1 [.....
 2 μ]ΠΕΤΝΕΡΤΑΓΑΠΗ ΝΤΕΤΝΕΤΝΟΟΥΥ
 3]ΝΤ[α]ΣΤΑΖΟ ΤΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΗ ΠΙΣ[...]
 4 Ε]ΛΑΧΙΣΤΟΝ [α]ΥΩ ΤΕΤΝΟΟΥΝ Χ[Ε]

(broken)

Verso: (continued from the recto) —→

(broken)

- 6]ΜΟΝΟΝ ΝΠΕΡΤ[...Ε[...]
 7]ΠΕΘΟΥ ΝΠΑΣΟΝ ΦΙΒ ΝΓΒΩΚ[...]
 8]ΤΕΑ.Α.ΙΕΖΗΤ ΟΥΧΑΙ ΕΜΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΟΥ
 9]ΝΜΑ ΕΥΟΥΗΖ ΥΙΤΟΥ ΝΜΑΥ +

(margin)

2. ΝΤΕΤΝΕΤΝΟΟΥΥ for ΝΤΕΤΝΤΝΟΟΥΥ, see chapter VIII par.140.

3. Difficult; ΝΤ[α]ΣΤΑΖΟ ΤΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΗ can hardly stand for ΝΤ[α]ΣΤΑΖΟ ΝΤΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΗ
 '(she) who has established the office of bishop (ἐπισκοπή)'.

(g 43; d 110a) From a bishop or an archimandrite.

(margin)

- 1 [?]ΚΑΙΝΕΡ ΠΩΔΧΕ[
 2 ΑΥΤΑΝ[20 ?]ΕΥΠΕΙΘΕ ΝΤΕΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ[
 3 ΕΥ201[? Ν]ΝΩΗΡΕ ΧΕΚΑΣ ΕΚΝΑ[
 4 [?]ΜΑΟΝ ΑΠΕΝΒΟΛ ΖΩ[

(broken)

Verso: (address) —→

- 6 [+Τ]ΔΑΣ ΝΝΕΝΩΗΡΕ Π[]ΠΡ^Τ +ΘΕ[ΟΔΩΡΕ
 7]..ΖΜ[

6. ΠΡ^Τ for προεστώς.

6. θε[ο]λωρε is probably the same as the Theodoros of 165¹⁴ and 235¹¹.

233

(f 19) On the Verso 263, later.



(broken)

]εταυρωκ εαθη πενικ

]ενουτεχαϊβιτυ τακαν

]τωκ μμωτην νετνεροϋ

]μμα α.ωτ .. ετνητνοϋ

5]κοϋι. νβιρ μν[]

]αυω ααπα [ω]εανηε ε

]ηκειςηε μμμα ναι ει

8 ο]ιχ (blank)

(margin)

2. Perhaps read χαϊβιτυ for ξεαβιτυ?, cf. chapter VIII par.151.

234

(g 34) From a bishop or an archimandrite.



(broken)

1 []λοιπον ειςζηητε

2 τετηκη ειβολ νεμηστηριον

3 ετοϋααβ τετηπαρτιδου[]

(broken)

Translation:

(broken)] now(λοιπόν) behold you are excluded from the holy mysteries(μυστήριον)⁽¹⁾, that you might hand over(παρεδόναι)[..... (broken).

(1) This is one of the few references to excommunication outside the Theban texts, cf. Ep. vol.I p.154.

(d 28) Uncials. On the Verso large fragment of a Greek-Arabic proto-col.

(broken)

5

9

ΧΝΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ Ν ΧΡΙΣΤΟΔΩΡΕ ΑΥΩ ΑΠΩΔΑΣ ΑΛΛΑ [Α]ΚΑ ΠΧΟΙ
 [Ε]ΜΟΟΝΕ ΝΝΕΙΖΟΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΕΡΕΤΕΥΖΜΕ ΜΗΡ ΕΠΡΩΜΕ
 [ΔΙΘΝ]ΛΟΙΒΕ ΖΝΠΑΖΗΤ ΧΕ ΑΚΩΤΩΡΕ ΕΤΡΕ ΝΕΜΟΝΑ^Χ
 []Υ ΝΑΙ ΑΥΩ [Μ]ΠΟΥΤΑΔΥ []
 []Λ ΕΒΟΛ []ΥΝΑΓΕ ΖΩΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΟΣ ΩΑ[~]
 ΤΟΥΧΟΚ^(sic) ΧΡΙΣΤΟΔ[Ω]ΡΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΝΕ []! ΤΗΡΟΥ
 ΕΩΑΥΤΑΖΟΥ ΕΡΟΥ· ΜΟΝΟΝ ΤΑΡΟΥΤ []ΧΕ ΕΡΟΥ
 ΤΗΡΟΥ ΑΠΑΤΟΥΚΑΔΥ ΝΣΥΝΑΓΕ· ΤΗΨΙΝΕ ΕΤΕΚ
 ΘΕΟΦΙΛΕΙΑ ΝΨΗΡΕ ΖΙΤΗ ΠΕΙΣΣΑΙ +

(margin)

Verso: (address) —→

10 + ΠΘΕΟΦ[Ι]Λ^Ε ΝΨΗΡΕ ΕΤΤ[~] ΠΑΡ^Χ ΠΡ^Ε ΪΩΣΗΦ⁺⁺⁺ ΠΖΙΓΟΥΜΕΝΟΣ []
 11 ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ Ν... []

2. [Ε]ΜΟΟΝΕ, we might have expected [Ε]ΜΑΝΩΟΥΤ.

ΖΜΕ for ΖΗΜΕ, cf. chapter VIII par.37.

5. ΩΑ[~] for ΩΑΝ, cf. 272²⁴ ΥΟΟΥ[~] and Krall 223¹⁰; rare in non-literary texts.

10. ΠΑΡ^Χ ΠΡ^Ε for π-αρχιπρεσβύτερος, cf. ΑΡ^Χ ΜΑ^Δ for αρχιμανδριτης, ΑΡ^Χ ΔΙΑΚ^Ο for αρχιδιακονος.

Translation:

(broken)]basket(?) from(?) Christodōre and he did not do it, but
 left the ship moored all these days, while his freight was tied⁽¹⁾ to the
 man. [And I found]occasion in my heart because you undertook that the
 monks(μοναχός) should [...]it to me and they did not give it[.....]...(?)
 [...]communicate(συνάγειν)⁽²⁾ like a Christian(χριστιανός) until they com-
 plete for(?)⁽³⁾ Christodōre all the [...]which he shall assign to them.
 Only(μόνον) let them [...]them all before they have been permitted to

communicate(συνάγειν). We greet you (our) God-loving(θεοφιλέα) child through this letter. +

Address: +The God-loving(θεοφιλής) honoured child, the archpriest(ἄρχι-
πρεσβύτερος) Joseph, the ἡγούμενος (from) Theodoros⁽⁴⁾[...]

(1) Presumably this means that the man was in charge of the freight.

(2) Probably 'they shall not]communicate ...' in view of what follows.

On συνάγειν cf. B.S.A.C. vol.IX (1943) p.229 note 2.

(3) ὡς ἀντοῦ σοκ χριστοδωρε εβωλ is extremely difficult; I can only suggest that the scribe omitted an η after σοκ (χωκ).

(4) Theodoros is probably the bishop who recurs elsewhere in the present collection, see 165 note 3.

236

(f 102; d 62b) Poor papyrus.

(broken)

]CΜONT ΕΡΟΟΥ ἸCΕΤΑΔΥ ΤΕΡΟΜΠΕ[

2]ΗΤΟΥ ἸΤΕΡΕΥΕΙ ΛΟΙΠΟΝ ΑΥCΟΛΗ[

]..[]4 ΝΟΥΗΡ. ΕΡΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ C[

]ΙΑ ΝCΕ[]4 ΕΧΩΟΥ ἸΤΑ. ΔΕ Μ[

5]ΙΑ ΝΤΕΝ[.]Ω[.]ΚΖΕ^ΕΡΟΝ ΑΝCΥΝΑΓΕ 2[

]ΛΖΝ ΤΕ[Θ]ΕΟΤΟΚΟC ΕΝΕΙΡΕ ΝΤΔΙΑΚΟΝ[ΙΔ

7 ΟΙ]ΚΟΝΟΜΙΑ ΕΥCΥΝΑΓΕ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ ΕΥΧΙΒΟ[ΤΕ

(broken)

6. ΕΝΕΙΡΕ ΝΤΔΙΑΚΟΝ[ΙΔ, cf. chapter V Appendix.

237

(d 147a) Letter to a bishop.

(margin)

1 +ΤΙ ΠΡΟCΥΝΕΙ ΔΥ[Ω

2 ΔΥΩ ΠΑΠΟCΤΟΛΙΚΟΝ[

3 ωτ ετοϋααβ[.ε]βολ[

(broken)

Verso: (address) —→

5]πε εχ^χ νπρ^ε εϣε⁺νπερ⁺δα⁺ιη

5. '... from ...]the least priest who is in disgrace'.

238

(d 64b; d 148a; d 156a) Letter to a bishop written in literary uncials.

(margin)

1 προς θε̄ ἡτατετνεωσιω̄τατος ἡχοεις νε[ιωτ

2 ετε μνη̄καζε· ειςε̄ηητε ουν α[̄]τη̄[

(broken)

Verso: (address) —→

4 πεπ[̄]ι[̄]κ[̄]ο[̄]πος νορθοδοξο̄ς· μαρκος ε̄λαχ[̄]

Translation:

According as you the most holy(ὁσιώτατος)⁽¹⁾ lord (and)[father ...
...](?)⁽²⁾ behold therefore [...](broken).

Address: [Give it to ... the]orthodox(ὁρθόδοξος) bishop(ἐπίσκοπος)
(from) Markos (the) least[...]

(1) For the construction of ὁσιώτατος see 191 note 2. ὁσιώτατος was
specially applicable to a bishop, see Ryl.289 note 3.

(2) ετε μνη̄καζε, obscure.

239

(d 55) Uncials, very like Crum: Coptic Manuscripts no.XXVIII pl.I.

(margin)

]ω̄ινοϋτε παεσω πετσεᾱι νπ[̄]

]ενοκ νετηροϋ ετβε π̄ρ[̄]

]μπε πω̄ν στεφ̄ν μ̄ν μαν[̄]

- 4 πεκνη]α ταζοϊ τεκςμ̄ν ουεπις[τολη
 5]ιλος τεγςμ̄ν ουςικλη[
]ḡp̄uze ne δω couc2aei τ[
 τε]ητεμοσιον μ̄ν τεγταπανε[
]ne λx[o]eic μ̄ν neq̄iote τ[
 9]+ (blank)
 (margin)

1. πετςαϊ see chapter VIII par.155.

2. ενοκ ne for ενοκ ne , see chapter VIII par.56.

5. ικλη , perhaps σιγελλιον , but doubtful.

6. couc2aei for cec2ai or ncec2ai , see chapter VIII paragraphs 139 and 138.

Translation:

[...]Shinoute⁽¹⁾ of Esō⁽²⁾ it is who is writing to [.....]which are all yours, because of [.....]... the son of Stephen and ...[..... may your]mercy meet me to draw up a letter(ἐπιστολή)⁽³⁾ [.....]... that he draw up a σιγέλλιον (?) [.....]are free and they are(?) writing[.....]his general tax(δημόσιον)⁽⁴⁾ and his expenses-tax(δαπάνη)[.....]lords and his fathers [.....]+

(1) This spelling of the name Shenoute recurs 104⁴,278⁹ and elsewhere.

(2) This place recurs as εcou in Worrell: Coptic Texts III,20: ἀνοκ βικτωρ πγεν μαθιας πρωμ εcou εηπτοω ναιμογν εγςει ἡαπα ενοχ τιμονοχος ἡαπα απολλω . That we ought to read πρωμ εcou (not πρωμε cou) is obvious from chapter VIII par.154 here. On the verso of that papyrus we ought probably to read πρωμ icou for Worrell's κωμ icou since κωμ does not occur elsewhere in such a context. For the location of this place see Worrell's note. The monastery of Apa Apollo mentioned in that papyrus is probably the great monastery at Bawit, see above chapter III p.18. Perhaps another reference to ecw

may be found in an inscription published by Gayet: Miss. III (1889) p.30 ἀριθμέεεε νιερημιας πεσοοϋ where πεσοοϋ perhaps stands for παεσοοϋ.

- (3) ἐπιστολή used as here in the sense of 'document' recurs elsewhere e. g. Ryl.323 and B.M.Or.6201 A 129, but this use is uncommon; cf. the similar use of ε2α1 e.g. Krall in W.Z.K.M. vol.XVI (1902) p.258f line 8 †στοιχε επειε2α1, also χαρτης, βελχε and πλαξ.
- (4) For δημόσιον and δαπάνη here see above chapter VII and references there.

240

(c 14; d 71b - g; d 90d) 4½ by 12 inches, width complete. Ligatured. On the verso taxreceipt 124, later.

This letter is in many ways related to the eighth century Aphrodito find; not only is Jkoou (Aphrodito) mentioned, but the letter relates to some money paid to the government with an assurance that the persons had not received more money from the tax-payers than they had actually paid over to the government. The fact that the verso was re-used to write a tax-receipt makes it probable that the letter was addressed to the local financial officer, perhaps the pagarch.

(broken)

- 1 [.....]ΝΤΧκ[.....]
.....]
- 2 [.....]ΝΟ]δ ΝΤΙμε ΜΗ[Υε κοίε πρ[ος] τ[ό]σσ
Ν[Ν]ο[μο]λογ[εία]
- 3 Ε[ΤΝ]qYONZOY ΝΗΤΝ ΕΒ[ΟΛ.....]Ε2ΟΜΟΛΟΓΕΙΑ 2ΝΗΤΡῆΒΟΚ Ε2ΗΤ
ΕΒΑΒΥΛΩ[Ν]
- 4 [2Ν ΤΙ]ρ[ο]μπε τ[α]1 πεμτ[η]ς ΙΝΔΥ...ΕΤ[.....]ΕΝΠ[.....]ΑΝΚΑ[..
.....]
- 5 [..]Υκαταβαλε ΝΕΝΟΥΒ ΝΤΑΝΑΝΩ[.....]Ε...ΕΜ[.....]2ΝΗΤ[
.....]

and you have not built bricks over the yard, [nor] have you strengthened the beam which is broken, nor have you ... [.....] downwards or upwards. Now (λαοτόν) ... [.....] for (?) everything which you wished to do and I will do more than those (things). Now (λαοτόν) let me come in by the will of God to see any thing you have done so that my heart be at rest. And (as regards) the wine [.....] and you have not [.....] your face upon my [.....] brother in the Lord [.....] (margin).

Address: + Give it to my dear [honoured brother Apa Hel]ias from Flinoute⁽³⁾.

(1) $\mu\alpha\ \nu\omega\mu\eta$ 'dwelling-place' often refers to a monk's cell, which is probably the meaning here; see Crum: Dictionary p.580a,b.

(2) Perhaps read $\epsilon\zeta\omega\gamma(\nu)\ \epsilon\rho\theta\beta$ for $\epsilon\zeta\omega\gamma\epsilon\rho\theta\beta$ and translate: 'you have not come into it'; (Barns).

(3) This name is rare; again as $\mu\epsilon\iota\lambda\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$ 294¹, also Ryl.207.

(e 45) Few ligatures. Letter relating to a legal decision.

→

(margin)

[+ $\nu\omega\gamma\omicron\rho\eta$ $\mu\epsilon\eta$] $\eta\epsilon\omega\beta$ $\eta\iota\mu$ $\tau\iota\eta[\rho]$ $\theta\varsigma\gamma\iota\eta\epsilon$ $\lambda\gamma\omega$ $\tau\iota\alpha\varsigma$
 [$\mu\alpha\varsigma\epsilon$ $\mu\eta\gamma\upsilon\eta\theta$] $\mu\omicron\tau\iota\omicron\eta\eta$ $\eta\eta\omicron\upsilon\rho\eta\tau$ [ε] $\mu\mu\alpha\varsigma\omicron\eta$ $\alpha\mu\alpha$ $\alpha\mu$
 [$\mu\omega\eta\epsilon$ $\chi\epsilon$ $\epsilon\mu\epsilon\iota\delta\eta(\nu)$] $\omicron\eta$ $\eta\tau\omicron\kappa\epsilon\iota$ $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ $\epsilon\tau\omega\tau$ [α] $\alpha\mu\alpha$ $\beta\iota\kappa$
 [τωρ] $\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\tau\eta$ $\mu\alpha\mu\epsilon\rho\alpha$ $\alpha\gamma\varsigma\mu\mu\epsilon$ $\epsilon\tau\beta\epsilon$
 5 [ϵ $\eta\lambda\alpha\alpha[\nu]$ $\eta\epsilon\rho\eta$ $\alpha\mu\delta\omicron\zeta\omicron\eta$
 [$\gamma\omega\mu\epsilon$ $\lambda\epsilon\mu\omicron\eta$ $\epsilon\kappa\eta$
 [$\mu\eta$ $\alpha\mu\alpha$ $\beta\iota\kappa$
 8 [τωρ] $\eta\omicron\gamma\eta$ $\eta[\cdot]$

(broken)

Verso: (address) ↑

10 + $\tau\alpha\varsigma$ $\mu\mu\epsilon\rho\iota\tau$ $\eta\varsigma\omicron\eta$ ($\mu\mu\epsilon\rho\alpha$) $\alpha\mu\mu\omicron\eta\epsilon$ [.....]

3. $\eta\tau\omicron\kappa\epsilon\iota$ for $\eta\tau\alpha\kappa\epsilon\iota$, see chapter VIII par.10.

$\epsilon\tau\omega\tau$ for $\epsilon\tau\omicron\omicron\tau$, see chapter VIII par.49.

5. ερη for ηρη, see chapter VIII par.34.

10. τας for τας, see chapter VIII par.13.

μμεριτ for μμμεριτ, see chapter VIII par.96A.

Translation:

[+First] of all I worship(προσκυνεῖν) and salute(ἀσπάζειν) the foot-stool(ὑποπόδιον) of the feet⁽¹⁾ of my brother Apa Ammone⁽²⁾, [saying: Since(?)] you came away from me, Apa Biktor [...] in the presence of the Emir⁽³⁾ and he made application concerning [.....] any wine. And the decision(δούλον)⁽⁴⁾ was [given (three more lines mentioning Apa Biktor, then broken)].

Address: +Give it to <the> dear brother Ammone [...]

(1) For this salutation-formula see 189 note 2.

(2) Probably the person who recurs elsewhere as superior, see index.

(3) The Emir (امير), as elsewhere, is the pagarch, see Steinwenter: Studien pp.8f..

(4) For δούλον in this sense see Steinwenter: Studien p.13 note 6; the word occurs very rarely outside the Theban district, again Ryl.139 and B.M.Or.6201 A 57.

(e 29; d 107a - i) Two fragments. On the verso an account in minuscule script, later.

Letter mentioning a promise(λόγος) and 'the headmen(ἀπηνε)'.
 ↑

(margin)

]ΕΥΝΗΥ ΕΡΗΣ ΕΠΜΟΝΤ[

μεριτ ἂχουεῖς ἂειωτ ετῶ[]ς ἂ[

]μπετῆε[

]μηνλινη[

]καταλ[

5

]τε ε[

]παπ[

]ιτοοτ[

7

]π.[]πετνα[

]μπνουτε μῆνεζε νε[

ει]ς πλογοc ἡτετῆτνοογγ[

10

]ς ψαῖτι μῆτρε ἐναπηνυ[ε

11

πε]τν[ς]δαί ετ[

(broken)

244

(d 19) 7½ by 9½ inches; height complete. Ligatured.

↑

(margin)

+εμπραν ⁺νηνουτε ππαῖ ^τανοκ φοιβαμμων τιψινε επα.[

τκμααυ ψινε εροκ δωρα μν γεννατια ψινε εροκ απα ιαννε[

[]τγμααυ μντψεζιμε μν νψψηρε ψινε εροκ δω[

αυω ησειας μντψεζιμε μν νψψηρε ψινε εροκ εν[

5

μν νψψηρε ανοκ φοιβαμμων μν μαροῦ τνψιν[ε

πλαοc τηρῇ τιψινε ελουνγινι αυω ντοκ[

μν μονε παψηρε ξε πκψηρε ζωωκ πε επειδ[η

εκιρε νμογ νεμαι αυω ταρκψινε νς[α

επει διχι πεψενταγιν ντοοτγ ζωογ αυ[

10

[[φ[]δα αυω ειc πενταγιν αιτνοογγ[

cναυ νβιρ νπωωκ βαλβε εβολ αυω ζιτ[ν

^(sic)
ψαερε ουχαι εμπχοειc +

13

ερε[. ^δφ κς +

(margin)

Verso: (address) →

14

]νε (space) ζιτν φοι[βα]μμων μν μαρογ +

11. πωωκ βαλβε εβολ, see below note 8.

Translation:

+In the name of almighty God. I Phoibammōn greet my[.....]your
 mother greets you; Dōra and Gennatia⁽¹⁾ greet you; Apa Ianne⁽²⁾[.....]

his mother and his children greet you; Dōra(?) [.....] and Esaias and his wife and his children greet you ... [.....] - 5 - and his children. I Phoibammōn and Marou⁽³⁾ we greet [.....] the whole people⁽⁴⁾. I greet Loungini⁽⁵⁾ and you [.....] and Mōne⁽⁶⁾ my son for he is your own son. Since [.....] which you are doing together with me; and that(?) you may search after [.....] since I have received his receipt (ἐνταύριον) from him for him(?) [..... - 10 - ...] And behold I have sent the receipt (ἐντ.) [.....] two baskets to⁽⁷⁾. And through⁽⁸⁾ [.....] daughter. Farewell in the Lord.+ Written indiction [...]; Phaophi 26.+ (margin).

Address: [.....] from Phoibammōn and Marou.+

(1) Gennatia is evidently a feminine form of the common name Gennadios; cf. J.71⁶¹, C.O.160, al..

(2) On this name see 154 note 1.

(3) Marou is a woman's name; cf. B.M.1024, 1043, and Preisigke: Namenbuch μαρεου.

(4) "the whole people" probably refers to the monastic community; see chapter V p.34.

(5) Loungini, a strange spelling of the name Longinos; a similar spelling occurs C.O.394¹⁰ λωνγινε.

(6) The name Mōne is not listed in Preisigke: Namenbuch, but is common in Coptic documents, cf. Ryl.(index), etc.; it is probably a short form of Ammōne; recurs here 245^{2,15}.

(7) ηνωκ βαλβε εβολ is very difficult. For ηνωκ see Crum: Dictionary p.261a where Crum cites B.M.Or.6201 B 205 ταβολτε ει... ενωκ τω εζογν; Crum suggests 1. ηνωκ which would make good sense. Here ηνωκ would also make good sense: "two baskets to remove βαλβε". βαλβε, this word does not seem to recur elsewhere, but perhaps we might read βλοβ "gourds".

(8) Probably: "and through [you I greet]"; see 188 note 13.

(d 21) 9½ by 10¼ inches; width complete. Ligatured. On the Verso 154, earlier.

(margin)

- ↑
- + ΝΩΟΡΗ ΜΝ ΝΩΩ ΝΪΜ ΤΝΩΙΝΕ ΕΠΕΝΜΕΡΙΤ
 ΝΩΗΡΕ ΜΩΝΕ ΖΜΠΕΝΖΗΤ ΤΗΡΥ ΔΥΩ ΤΕΚ
 ΩΗΕΡ ΩΙΝΕ ΕΡΟΚ ΚΑΛΩC ΔΝΪ ΧΕΝΔΕΙ ΕΡΗC ΕΠΩΔ
 ΔΤΕΚΜΑΔΥ ΩΩΝΕ ΔCΕΙ ΧΕCΑΜΟΥ ΔΠΝΟΥΤΕ
 5 ΤΟΥΝΟC ΧΙΝΕΘΕ ΝΤΑCΤΩΟΥΝ ΔΪΕΝΚΟΤΚ
 ΖΩΩΤ ΛΟΙΠΟΝ ΝΤΙΝΟΕΙΝ ΔΝ ΧΕΩΔΙΜΟΥ Η ΧΕ
 ΩΔΙΩΝΔC CΔΔΙ ΤΙ ΤΕΚΩΗΕΡ ΝΤΕΚΜΑΔΥ
 ΕΠΪ ΚΝΟΕΙΝ ΧΕ ΠΪΚΟΥΪ ΩΗΕΡ ΖΟΟΥ ΔΥΩ
 [Δ] ΤΕΚΜΑΔΥ ΖΙCΕ ΝΕΜΑC ΔΥΩ ΔΪΧΙ ΠΕCΖΟΛΥ
 9a ΔΥΩ ΝΤΕ ΚΟΛΛΟΥ ΠΜΟΝ^θCΩΒΕ ΝCΩΙ ΩΑΤΕ ΦΩΥ ΤΑΚ[Ο]
 10 ΝCΟΥΩ ΝΠΑCΟ[Ν ..] ΡΙΜ[.] CΔ[...]; ΜΝΤΑΥΤΕ
 ΝΕΡΤΟΥ ΝΔΪ [
 ΟΙΠΕ ΔΥΩ Τ[
 13 ΕΤΡΑΩΑΤ^τΜΜ[]

(broken)

Verso: (address) ↑ (sic)

- 15 + ΤΑΔC ΝΠΑΜΕΡΙΤ ~~ΝΩΗΡΕ ΜΩΝΕ + ΖΙΤΝ ΠΕΥ~~
 16 ΙΩΤ ΜΝ ΤΕΚΜΑΔΥ

3. ΩΗΕΡ for ΩΕΕΡΕ, again line 7. This spelling occurs only here, but cf. ΩΕΕΡ which is found in a number of texts, see chapter VIII paragraph 20c.

ΧΕΝΔΕΙ for ΧΕΕΝΝΑΕΙ, similarly line 4 ΧΕCΑΜΟΥ for ΧΕΕCΝΑΜΟΥ, see chapter VIII par.129.

5. ΧΙΝΕΘΕ for ΧΙΝΘΗ, see chapter VIII paragraphs 34 and 153.

6 - 7. Cf. Worrell: Coptic Manuscripts p.239 lines 1 - 3: ΝΤΙCΟΟΥ[Ν ΔΝ]
 ΧΕ ΩΔΙΟΥΩΝ^(sic)Ζ [Η] ΧΕ ΩΔΙΜΟΥ.

9a. Added between the lines.

9a. γατε φωγ τακ[ο] seems certain. γατε- for γαντε-, cf. chapter VIII par.

149.

Translation:

+First of all we greet our dear son Mōne⁽¹⁾ with all our heart and your daughter greets you heartily. We were about to come south to the feast⁽²⁾, when your mother became ill and was about to die; God raised her up. From the time that she rose, I myself took to my bed; now (λοιπόν) I do not know(οὐκ ἔχω) whether I shall die or live. Write!⁽³⁾ give your daughter to your mother, since you know(οὐκ ἔχω) that this young boy is wicked and your mother and she have been suffering⁽⁴⁾. And I have received her solidus' worth of wheat⁽⁵⁾ for(?) my brother [....] (broken and obscure) - (added above the line) and Kollouthos the monk will mock me until the matter has perished - [....(three more fragmentary lines, then broken).

Address: + Give it to my dear son Mōne+ from his father and his mother.

(1) See 244 note 6.

(2) A 'feast' is sometimes mentioned in the present collection, cf. index; cf. also Ep. vol.I p.153, but here the feast is hardly the communion-service.

(3) The use of the imperative is somewhat surprising here, but it is impossible to translate the passage in any other way.

(4) As the context behind this letter is not known, it is difficult to make any suggestions for the meaning of this passage.

(5) Lit.: "her solidus of wheat"; this expression recurs elsewhere, cf. Ry1.350, 386, etc..

246

(d 23) On the verso Arabic, earlier.

Obscure letter to Euphēmia and her children. Line 2 mentions some wheat which has been brought south; line 4 "that he bake them and eat

them"; the rest is more or less obscure.

→

(margin)

[υἱ]νε εεϕημια μὴ ν̄ωμρε
 []νεσογο ν̄ταγεντοϋ ερηс τι
 []τῆταβοϋ τῆγομοϋ αγω
 []ζιωοϋ αγω ετβε ταμνα
 5 [ετ]βε ν̄ζωβ αγει εζηт
 []απαρ[χων]⁽²⁾]χνοϋι χε αϋχνοϋ μακαρε
 []ειχω μμ[οc]χνηπ[]ῆ ρολλος εϋχε ν̄πιβοτ
 []..κ..η̄τοϋ ν̄[.]ῆ ειερχη[α η̄].[]
 []η̄ εροϋ ενανοϋ πω̄ι ραχοϋωτ ν̄θε η̄πωω.[]
 10 []νο παρ υἱ! τῆαϋ̄c ζωω[η]
 ειωγινε'εμακαρια οϋ[χ]ᾱι ρμηχ[οει]c + αγω[.].ι[]
 νεcνηη̄ ταει ερηс cαῑ ^(αι)ϋατενοϋπαϋε ν̄ζολοκ^τ ραροοϋ +

(margin)

Verso: (address) ↑

13 +ταac νεϋϕυμια [

3. τῆταβοϋ τῆγομοϋ for ν̄τῆταβοϋ ν̄τῆγομοϋ, again in line 10 τῆαϋ̄c for ν̄ταϋ̄c; see chapter VIII par.138.

4. ταμνα, apparently not elsewhere, but cf. Crum: Dictionary p.7b πι-αμνα (Bohairic) mentioned among herbs and perfumes; same word?

10-11. Perhaps a gap between these two lines.

12. cαῑ is difficult; in view of ϋατεν οϋπαϋε ν̄ζολοκ^τ following cαῑ ought to be a numeral, perhaps for cε (60), cf. chapter VIII par.26, or cooϋ (6), but this would be difficult to explain.

(d 25) 4½ by 8 inches, complete. Few ligatures.

The numerous lacunae make it difficult to understand this letter properly.

Fragment a

(broken ?)

α]ΝΟΚ ΤΑΝΚΡΑΤΑΝ ΤΙΩΙΝ[Ε

]ΤΙΩΙΝΕ ΠΑΜΕΡΙΤ ΝΩΗΡΕ ΤΕΤ[ΟΥ]Ε Δ[ΝΟΚ]Τ[

]ΩΙΝΕ ΠΑΜΕΡΙΤ ΝΩΗΡΕ ΤΕΤΟΥΕ ΔΝΟΚ[

Μ]ΕΝ ΔΒΡΑΖΑΜ ΤΕΝΩ[ΙΝ]Ε ΠΕΝΜΕΡΙΤ ΝΣΟΝ[.]Ν.ΡΑΝ ΜΕΝ

5]ΜΕΡΙΤ ΝΣΟΝ ΔΝΟΚ [ΤΑΝ]ΚΡΑΤΑΝ ΤΙΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤ[Ε...]ΩΝΗ ΜΕΝΔ[

]ΩΛΗΛ ΑΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΑΛΑССΕ ΝΑΪ ΕΠΤΑΛΒΟ[

]ΕΩΤΕΝΔ ΕΝΠΑΛΝΑΚΩ ΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΝΠΑΡΑΚ[ΑΛΕΙ

8]ΝΝΕCННУ ΤΗ[ΡΟΥ.]... ..ΗΡΤΟ.Κ[

8a ΔΥΩ ΕΚΩΑΝΪ ΕΞ[Η]Τ ΩΔΙΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΕ[

]ΥΕΝΤΕΤ[?]Δ ΒΟΒ ΔΝΟΚ[...]ΩΖΩ ΜΝ ΤΕΖΗΥ Τ[

10 ΔΠ]Δ ΙΩΝΟΒΑΡ ΜΕΝ ΑΠΑ ΦΩΚ[Α]Χ[

(broken)

Fragment b

(broken)

12 Β]ΩΚ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΠΑΗΪ ΜΕΝ[

13]ΕΜΟΚ ΑΠΑ ΙΩΝΟΒΑ[Ρ

(broken)

Fragment c

(broken)

15]ΤΗ[.]ΠΕΤΖΟΥΟ[.]

]ΝΠΤΕΙΑΚΟΥ ΤΙΩΙΝΕ[.]

ΑΡΙ]ΤΑΚΑΠΕ ΚΑ ΠΕΤΖΟ ΔΕ[.]^(sic)

ΜΕΡΙ]Τ ΝΩΗΡΕ ΙΩΝΟΒΑΡ ΔΝΟΚ

]C ΔΝΟΚ ΤΕΖΗΥ ΤΙΩΙΝΕ

20 Δ]ΥΩ ΝΕΝCΥΝΗΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΩΙΝΕ^(sic)21]ΟΥΧΑΙ Υ ΠΣΟΕΙC ++^(sic)

(margin)

Verso: (docket) —→

22 ΜΕΡ]ΙΤ ΝΩΗΡΕ ΤΕΤΟΥΕ (C) [

1. Tankratan, recurs line 5; I am unable to find this name elsewhere.

2. ωΙΝΕ ΠΑΜΕΡΙΤ for ωΙΝΕ ΕΠΑΜΕΡΙΤ, again line 2, cf. line 12 Β]ΩΚ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΠΑΗΪ

for βωκ εζοϋν επανη ; see chapter VIII par.20.

2. Tetoue, again lines 3 and 22; cf. (ψλζ) Διλοϋε 382¹; I am unable to find this name elsewhere.
7. The first part of this line is obscure, even the word-division is doubtful.
- 8a. Added between the lines.
9. Tehēu, again line 19; this name apparently not elsewhere, but cf. ϑηϥ 176¹.
10. Tōnobar, again lines 13 and 18; recurs as ωνωβ Ryl.159, B.M.1080 and ιανβαϣ Krall 29¹; perhaps some form of the common name Onnouphrios (Crum).
12. ⲩωκ εζοϋν παηι for βωκ εζοϋν επανη , cf. note on line 2 above and see chapter VIII par.20.
16. πτειακοϥ for π-διακονος; this form is of some interest as it is extremely rare outside the Fayyum where it is common, Crum: Coptic MSS 42, 44¹⁰, 50^{verso} 7, B.M.545 part 2¹⁰, 593^{verso}. Outside the Fayyum I can only find it once again on an ostrakon found at Deir el-Matmar (opposite Bala'izah) Brunton: Matmar p.95 line 4 πδιακοϥ .
17. πετζο for πετνζο is of unusual interest, see chapter VIII par.141.
20. ϥνηϥ for ϥνηϥ is also of special interest, see chapter VIII par.64f.
21. οϥχαι ϥ ηχοεic for οϥχαι επηχοεic (chapter VIII par.25) for οϥχαι ανχοεic (ib. par.82) for οϥχαι ϥηχοεic, the usual form, cf. also CO 119³.

(d 37; d 71a; d 109a; d 153a; further fragments not included here are d 95g; d 99a; d 104c; d 109b) 3¼ by 8¼ inches, incomplete. Written in a very small ligatured hand, in places especially on the verso extremely difficult to read.

Recto: →

(margin)

+ ΔΙΧΙ ΝΕCΖΑΙ ΝΠΑΜΕΡΙΤ ΝΧΟΕΙC Ν[

ΖΑΠΖΩΥ ΝΤΕΖΤΟΟΡΕ ΝΤΑΦΕΝΤC ΕΠΜΟΝ[⁷

ΑΠΕΝΖΩΥ ΚΩ ΖΡΑΙ ΕΜΝΤΟΥΕ[]Π[]Ω ΕΧΩΝ[

ΤΩ[]ΩΔΙΕΙ ΕΡΗΣ ΤΑΨΛΗΛ ΤΝ[

5 ΝΑΥ ΕΤΒΟΜ ΜΠ[]CΙΓΙΟΝ[]ΚΟΥΙ ΟΠΟ ΕΡΟΥ ΨΑΟ[

ΑΥΩ ΧΝΟΥ ΑΠΑ ΙCΑΔΚ ΕΤ[ΒΕ] Τ[Π]ΑΨΤΡΙΜΗCΙΟ[Ν]ΕΡΟ ΧΕ ΕΥΘ ΝΑΨ Ν[ΖΕ

ΚΟΥΜΟΥ ΝΠΕΝΙΠΕ ΑΥΩ ΧΝΟΥ ΑΠΑ ΑΜΩΝΕ ΜΑΡΧΝΕΖ ΝΕΙΖΟΤΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΟΥΖΑΖ[

ΑΥΩ ΑΝΑΥ ΖΝΜΟΕΙΖ ΚΑΔΥ ΝΑΝ ΑΥΩ ΥΤΟΟΥ ΝΒΙΡ ΝΟΛΝ[.]Ε..ΕΤ[ΒΕ] ΑΠΑ[

ΑΥΩ ΥΤΟΟΥ ΝΧΝΟΥ^(sic) ΝΧΙ ΚΑΠ ΝΝΟΒ ΜΝ ΥΤΟΟΥ[.]ΚΟ[Υ] ΑΥΩ ΠΡΟ[

10 ΖΑΡΟΝ ΚΑΛΩC ΜΝ ΠΛΑΟC ΤΗΡΥ. CΕΥΗΡΟC ΜΝ ΚΩCΜΑ ΨΙΝΕ ΕΡΟΚ ΜΝ CΟΦΙΑ[

ΛΙCΑΒΕΤ ΖΑΡΟΝ ΑΥΩ ΨΑΙΤΝΟΥ ΠΚΟΥΙ ΒΑΜΟΥΛ ΕΡΗΣ ΜΝ ΝΕCΝ[ΗΥ

ΛΟΙΠΟΝ ΧΝΟΥ ΑΠΑ^(sic) ΤΙΑCΠΑΣΕ ΜΜΟΚ ΚΑΛΩC ΖΙ[ΤΝ] ΝΕΙCΖΑΙ + ΟΥ[

(margin)

Verso: (address, and continued from the recto; margin)13 ↑]Τ ΨΑΝΤΑΕΡΠΑΙ^(sic) ΑΠΤΟ ΠΡΟCΨΠΟΝ ΝΕCΗΜΑ
]...ΤΡΕ[]ΑΡ^χΠΡ^ε + ΖΙΤΝ ΠΥCΟΝ ΝΕΛ^χ +15]Α[²Ρ]ΧΩΝ ΝΤΟΚ ΠΕΝΧΟΕΙC ΠΕΝCΩΜΑ[]
]...[.]ΩΥ.[] ΝCΩΤ[]Μ ΚΡ[Ι]ΝΕ ΖΩCΧΟΕΙC
Π]ΕΙΖΩΥ ΠΑΙ[]ΤΕΖΤΟΟΡΕ ΠΡΟC ΘΕ]ΜΝ ΛΟΤ...CΝΑΥ ΤΗΕΙ ΕΡΑΤΥ ΤΕ.[²]ΕΙCΖΗΗΤΕ ΟΥΝ ΑΦΕ[Ι Ν]ΗΤΝ ΤΕ[.]ΕΡΟ ΝΟΒΗ.19]ΕΝΑΝΟΥΥ CΗΜΑΝΕ ΜΜΟΥ ΝΑΝ ΖΙΤΟΟΤ² ΝΑΙ ΕΙCΖΑΙ ΜΜΟΥ ΕΝΑΟΥ[ΧΑΙ]

(margin)

5.6^{no} probably for Χ^{no}, cf. chapter VIII par.124.7.Χ^{no}, followed by μαρε- is unusual, but recurs 276^{10f.}; μαρε- in a similar context again Ryl.308 κελεγε μαρευχιτου.

9. See note 5 below.

12. After ΑΠΑ a short space was left blank; the writer had evidently forgotten the person's name and left a blank space to be filled in later; cf. Krall 29² note.

13. $\omega\alpha\tau\alpha\epsilon\rho\pi\alpha\iota\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\ \pi\rho\omicron\omega\pi\omicron\upsilon\alpha\iota$; the $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron$ is remarkable and recurs as $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron$ in another document from this collection 273¹ $\omega\alpha\tau\tau\epsilon\rho\pi\alpha\iota\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron$ [] ; from parallel passages we should have expected $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha$ e.g. 223¹ $\omega\alpha\tau\alpha\epsilon\rho\pi\alpha\iota\ \kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\ \pi\rho\omicron\omega\pi\omicron\upsilon\alpha\iota$, similarly 191⁸, Ryl.298 al.. The word is not listed in Crum: Dictionary, but it might not be Coptic. Perhaps the Greek $\tau\omicron\ \pi\rho\omicron\omega\pi\omicron\upsilon\alpha\iota$ is substantivised here, cf. the similar $\pi\text{-}\tau\omicron\mu\iota\varsigma\upsilon\mu\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma$ which occurs several times in the Jeme deeds, but then the α of $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron$ is difficult to explain.

Translation:

+I have received the letter of my dear lord[.....]as regards the matter of the horse which he brought to the monastery($\mu\omicron\nu\kappa\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\rho\epsilon\iota\omicron\nu$)[.....]⁽¹⁾[.....]I will come south and pray ...[.....(line 5 obscure)]and ask Apa Isaac concerning the half-trimesion [...]how he(?) is⁽²⁾]iron pan($\kappa\omicron\upsilon\kappa\kappa\omicron\upsilon\mu\iota\omicron\nu$)⁽³⁾ and ask Apa Amōne, let him cast these fears away ...(?)[.....]and behold (as regards) some 'moih'-measures⁽⁴⁾, leave them for us; and four baskets($\beta\iota\rho$)(?)[.....]and four baskets($\chi\alpha\omicron\upsilon$?) with the capacity of a 'kap'-measure of the large ones and four [of the] small ones⁽⁵⁾ and ...[..... greet(?) ...]and the whole people($\lambda\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$)⁽⁶⁾ for us heartily($\kappa\kappa\lambda\omega\varsigma$). Sevēros and Kōsma greet you and Sophia[..... greet(?)]Elisabeth for us; and I will send the young (or: 'small') camel south with the brethren[.....]further ask Apa --- ⁽⁷⁾. I salute($\acute{\alpha}\sigma\pi\acute{\alpha}\gamma\epsilon\iota\nu$) you heartily($\kappa\kappa\lambda\omega\varsigma$) through this letter.+ ...[...]
(margin; on the verso address and continuation of the letter, mostly obscure.)

(1)Dr.Barns tentatively proposes to read $\alpha\pi\epsilon\alpha\gamma\omega\gamma\ \kappa\omega\ \beta\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\upsilon\epsilon$ [$\epsilon\mu\iota\alpha\iota$]

"our affair entered up in Greek", but very doubtful.

(2) Or: 'how it is', i.e. our affair, but doubtful.

(3) On this word see Ep.549 note 1 and references there.

(4) A measure for fodder etc., see Crum: Dictionary p.208a.

(5) Reading: $\gamma\tau\omicron\omicron\upsilon\ \nu\chi\omicron\upsilon\ \nu\chi\iota\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \nu\chi\omicron\beta\ \mu\alpha\iota\ \gamma\tau\omicron\omicron\upsilon\ [\nu\chi]\kappa\omicron\upsilon\iota$; $\chi\alpha\omicron\upsilon$

clearly stands for $\chi\alpha\sigma\gamma$, cf. $\delta\iota\gamma$ in the previous line; for in this meaning see Crum: Dictionary p.748b; $\eta\eta\sigma\delta'$ for $\eta\eta\eta\sigma\delta$, see chapter VIII par.80m; presumably the lacuna preceding this line contained a reference to what 'the large ones' referred.

- (6) This is probably a reference to the monastic community, see chapter V p.34.
 (7) See note on line 12 above.

250

(d 86a; d 87a; d 89e,f; d 96d,e; d 98a; d 105b; further fragments are d 81b; d 89g; d 93b; d 120b; d 141b,c) On the Verso 404, earlier(?).

→

(broken)

]ω ἡπὶ χορῶν κεν λλ

(2)[αγ] ηζωγ ἀλλὰ ἐρε πνοῦτε νασμοῦ ἐροκ

]ν[.]τῖ πεκβεκε νாக επικαταροῖ

]χε παδικαῖον ἀν πε εογ[]ζαζω πεωτορτρ

5

]ἀπορω[]τηζωρε ησογ αγω μῆσανδ

]ευζωωνῆγ μνηνηρηγ

]χοεῖς †

(margin)

2. etc. Perhaps there is more missing than merely two letters.
 3. επικαταροῖ is difficult; I can only suggest that καταροῖ is treated here as a noun, cf. π-κατααρζ in J.67¹⁴, 75^{27,108}, V.C.5¹⁴ and here 43⁶²⁻³, also πκαταπροσωπον P.Lond.IV 1574 and 1642, πκατα-μαθαιος 43⁶⁷⁻⁸ and elsewhere, etc..
 4. ζαζω, extremely doubtful.

Translation:

(broken)] I have not stumbled against you in any matter, but may God bless you [.....] give(?) your wage to you according to what is due from (?) me [.....(rest mostly obscure and broken)].

(d 103b; d 113f) Verso: different hand.

(margin !)

αἰρωμηρε τεκα[
τηρου νεκωινε εσωι[
νωινε ες[ω]κ πλην[

(broken)

1. αἰρωμηρε τεκα[for αἰρωμηρε νετεκα[, see chapter VIII par.80c.

2. νεκωινε εσωι for νεκωινε νεσωι , see chapter VIII par.82i; similarly line 3.

Translation:

I am amazed⁽¹⁾ at your [.....]all [...]and you did not search after me [.....]to search after you; but [.....(broken)].

(1) An unusual opening for a letter; it is also to be noted that there is no cross at the beginning of this letter, perhaps from a Muslim.

(d 146a)

(broken)

1 ΧΕ ΑΝΘΩ ΠΕΤΝΟΥΧΩ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΖΗΤ[ΟΥ
2 ΜΝ ΠΑΛΑΥ ΜΝ ΠΑΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΝ ΘΕΟΔΩΡ[ΟΣ
3 ΜΝ ΤΚΑΨΙΑ ΜΝ ΜΑΡΙΖΑΜ ΜΝ ΙΟΥΣΤΝΑ[

(broken)

Verso: (address) ↑

5]ΠΔΙΑΚ ΑΧΙΛΛΙΤΗΣ ΖΙΤΝ ΑΦΑΝΑΣΕ
6] ΜΝ ΝΕΒΕΝ[ΗΥ +]

Translation:

(broken)]because we found your welfare in [it⁽¹⁾]and Palau⁽²⁾ and Papnoute and Theodōros [.....]and Tkapsia⁽³⁾ and Mariham⁽⁴⁾ and Ioustna⁽⁵⁾ [.....(broken)]

Address:]the deacon Achillitēs⁽⁶⁾ from Athanase and his brethren
(?)(7).[+]

- (1) Perhaps supply: "we have received the letter of your honoured pater-
nity and we rejoiced greatly]because we found your welfare in[it."
Cf.J.122²⁻⁵(translation above 102 Appendix).
- (2) Palau recurs as a name in this form here 312^{2,4} and Maspero: Bawit
10⁸, 27^{10,15}, 145^{1,2,3}; cf. παλoυ here 184¹ and once in Preisigke:
Namenbuch (P.Lond.IV,1420¹⁷³); also παλω Brunton: Qau and Badari
vol.III pl.LII (top left) line 1; παλεoυ and παλ^e Krall 222^{1,11};
παλευ Krall 164^{2,10} and Engelbach in Ann.Serv. XXII pp.269ff. num-
ber 5; παληυ J.12²⁶. The name is rare and apparently does not
occur before the 7th or 8th centuries.
- (3) Tkapsia is a woman's name; apparently not elsewhere.
- (4) Mariham is a common form of the name Maria.
- (5) Ioustna evidently stands for Ioustina or Ioustine, cf.B.M.1128²⁴ al..
- (6) See 197 note 8.
- (7) Cf.W.S. 193 note 4 ?

253

(d 146d; d 139d) Uncials.

↑

(broken)

] πουχαί μ[

NT] ΔΙΤΝΟΟΥ ΘΕΖΗΤ ΕΑΤΝΤΗΥΤΝ ΔΡ[

] ΝΤΕ [Π]ΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΗΕ ΤΚΟΥΙ ΝΑΠΑΡΧΗ[

] ΝΤΙΤΙΤΟ ΕΡΟΣ ΔΡΙ ΤΑΓΑΠΗ ΤΕΤΝΤΙ[

5] ΝΜΑΥ ΕΝ [Χ]ΑΔΥ ΝΕΩΥ ΕΠΙΔΗ ΟΥ[

(broken)

Verso: (address) —→

7] } ΝΕΧΩΩΧΕ ΜΠΝΟΒ ΝΤΙΜΕ ΜΟΥ[?]

8] } ΕΙΤΝ ΑΠΑ ΙCΑ[(Α)Κ+]

2. $\omega\epsilon\gamma\eta\tau$ apparently for $\omega\lambda\eta\tau$, cf. chapter VIII par. 7.

3. $\mu\eta\epsilon$, corrected.

4. $\nu\tau\iota\tau\iota\tau\omicron$, perhaps dittography for $\nu\tau\iota\tau\omicron$.

7 - 8. "...]the headmen of the large village Mou[...]from Apa Isaac."

The plural $\chi\omega\omega\chi\epsilon$ of the word $\chi\omega\chi$ occurs only here and is not cited in Crum: Dictionary. The word itself is not very common in this connection, but cf. C.O.267.

254

(d 148d) Ligatured.

↑

(broken)

1 $\zeta\epsilon\lambda\eta\tau\iota\zeta\epsilon\ \gamma\alpha\rho\ \epsilon\pi\nu\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon\ \chi\epsilon\ \omega\alpha\lambda\alpha\pi\alpha\lambda\tau\iota\alpha$

2 $\tau\alpha\ \epsilon\kappa\omega\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon\ \chi\epsilon\ \alpha\gamma\epsilon\iota\ \nu\eta\tau\eta\ \nu\kappa\alpha\lambda\omega\varsigma$

(broken)

Verso: (address) →

4 $\mu\alpha\lambda\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon\ \nu\kappa\omicron\lambda\ \epsilon\tau\tau\iota$

2. $\nu\kappa\alpha\lambda\omega\varsigma$, see 188¹⁶ note; but perhaps not $\nu\kappa\alpha\lambda\omega\varsigma$.

Translation:

(broken)]for[I(?)]hope($\epsilon\lambda\pi\epsilon\iota\sigma\theta\epsilon\iota$) in God that we shall meet($\alpha\pi\alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota$)
.....]if you know that he has come to you ...[.....(broken).

Address: the]God-loving honoured brother.

255

(d 160; f 93) $4\frac{1}{4}$ by $10\frac{1}{4}$ inches, neither complete. Few ligatures.

↑

(broken)

1

 $\tau\omega\omega\epsilon\tau\iota$

2

 $\epsilon\upsilon\phi\rho\omicron\varsigma\upsilon\lambda\eta\tau\iota\ \pi\tau\epsilon\lambda\eta\lambda$

3

 $\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\pi\alpha\lambda\iota\omicron\upsilon\lambda\ \gamma\alpha\rho\ \omicron\upsilon\omega\pi\eta$

4

 $\epsilon\upsilon\pi\alpha\rho\epsilon\varsigma\tau\iota$

(gap ?)

- 5]αυ αχταλε[.]γεν εροϋ
 6]πετνοϋ[ε]ςααζνε εβολ ναϊ ειςαϊ μμοου τιϋινε
 7]α νωηρε μν̄ νετνμ̄ητ̄ν τηροϋ κατα ονομ̄ + [?]
 (margin)

3. σπανιον, the Greek σπάνιος?

7. κατα ονομα, we might have expected κατα νεϋραν which is the normal expression, or κατα ραν 187⁴ and Ryl.291, but κατα ὄνομα is common in Greek letters.

256

(e 42) Written in a very difficult ligatured hand. On the Verso 286, earlier.

This letter is of unusual interest. It was evidently written by a high official in the government treasury to a local tax-official, reproving him for extortion. In this connection it is not without interest that on the Verso we find an official account of worker's overseers(?) which clearly was written in the government treasury and later was torn and re-used for official letters. It should also be noted that the greeting at the end of the letter is 'peace unto you' which is the normal phrase found in letters written by muslims.

→

(broken)

επαρωμε[.].εεργακ ζωωκ λοιπον αν
 αυ επεντακωατϋ μμοϋ στοϋ εροϋ μνν̄^(sic)
 παϊ εκστω νεϋβααμπε εροϋ αυω
 []ρηϋ.κει παϋπε εμποϋ
 5 αῡ μπνοϋτε αυω τηρηνη νακ +
 (margin)

2. μνν, sic !, for μν.

4.]ρηϋ.κει or]ρηϋκκει, obscure.

Translation:

(broken)]... my man[...] to be(?) prudent concerning you. Now
 (λαοπόν) behold, as regards that which you extorted of him, return it to
 him together with this, you returning his goat to him. And[...]...(?)
 shame by the will of God, and peace unto you. + (margin)

257

(e 44) The chief interest of this letter is the occurrence of $\bar{\eta}\tau\beta\epsilon$ for
 $\epsilon\tau\beta\epsilon$ in line 4; on this see chapter VIII par. 27.

→

(margin)

+ αἰχί ννε[εεαί

τενοϋ νταῖ[

βοοϋε ντ[

σοϋ νακ[

5

εἰαθε ενα[

ναί εἰεεα[μμοοϋ εν(ν)λοϋχαι ςι[τδου ντετρεῖα[ε τοϋααβ +]

(margin)

[αναγεβολ[

]ε χοϋωτ ενλ[

]ε αϋω $\bar{\eta}\tau\beta\epsilon$ τα[

]μανϋωπε πε[

6. For the lacuna see 186 note 9.

258

(e 46) Few ligatures.

This letter is of considerable interest as it shows several Fayyumic forms; see chapters II and VIII.

↑

(margin)

+ γεμπραν μπνοϋτ[ε

επαμεριτ νιωτ εωλω[

μν παμεριτ νιωτ[

μω μμακ ετβε πε[

5

αϋω μαϋ+ λαοϋ νη[

αναϋ ξε γακπαρα[

- 7 ΚΟΥΙ ΝΖΩΛΩΚΩΤΣΙ[
 ΕΒΤΑΝΖΩΚ ΨΑΝΤΕ ΠΝ[
 ΕΝ ΝΙΚΟΥΙ ΣΟΥΔ ΕΡΗΣ[
 10 ΨΙΝΙ ΝΗΙ ΧΕΚΟΥΨΥ Τ[
 ΖΑΜΕ ΝΒΗΤ ΕΨΩΠΕ[
 12 [ΕΧΩΚ ΕΝΒΗΤ ΟΥΧΕΙ[
 (margin)

Verso: (address) —→

- 13 ΤΑΔ]Σ ΕΝΠΑΔΟΝ ΠΨΑΙ

4. Perhaps τα]μω, Crum.

8. εβτανζωκ, we should have expected εψτανζο μμοκ, Barns.

Translation:

+In the name of God[.....]my dear father Hōld[... ..]and my dear father[.....]told(?) you about the[.....]and they will not give anything to[me(?).....]behold then, you will[.....]small(amount of)⁽¹⁾ solidi [.....]he keeping you alive until[.....]bring(?) these small (measures of)⁽¹⁾ wheat south[.....]greet me saying: you wish[.....]palm-leaf-peg⁽²⁾ if[.....]... of palm-leaf. Farewell[.....](margin).

Address: [Give]it to my brother Pshai⁽³⁾.

(1) ΚΟΥΙ 'small' in both cases is difficult. There were no small solidi as against large solidi, and small wheats is nonsense. Perhaps in the first instance ΚΟΥΙ ΝΖΩΛΩΚΩΤΣΙ was followed by (Ν)ΣΟΥΔ, in that case translate: 'small measure(s) of wheat worth a solidus' cf. the common ΟΥΖΟΛΟΚΟΤΤΙΝΟΣ ΝΣΟΥΔ 'a solidus' worth of wheat'.

(2) See Crum: Dictionary p.675a; the other two examples of ΖΑΜΕ from this collection cited by Crum are 335³ and 336².

(3) Pshai is a dialectic variant of the name Pshoi; perhaps the same Pshoi who recurs elsewhere in this collection, cf. Index.

(e 47; d 123b) 6½ by 7¼ inches, width complete. Few ligatures. This papyrus was used three times: The first text was the letter on the verso (228); then it was re-used to write an account on this side which was later rubbed out before the present letter was written.

The translation and interpretation of this letter has been extremely difficult and I should express my thanks to Dr. Barns and Professor Drescher who have made some valuable comments.

(broken)

↑ [] λαν ειναι λοιπον μηρ
 [...] NTNA NEMA [] ca] KBHT ἡ γερφωγ ἡ
 [] φ. ! τανοχῆ εβολ τ[ε] πεκγнт εἶσε κνοῖ
 γαρ θε γαρ ε ἡ γβνοуε ἡ πμα ουωψ εααυ αυω
 5 με βομ μοῖ με βομ μμοκ επει ακεραῖ ναῖ
 [X]ε μηρκαρωμε γατηκ ταει τανοχῆ εβολ
 [X(ε)]κειμε ζωσκ τανοχῆ εβολ εωψε πε νουσακ
 BHT αν πετψуε εροῖ ανοκ ετρανοуθε εβολ
 εзоуе ерок λοιπον ψῖνε nca ουψημ narayin
 10 μн πψημ нтаριхе нкннтой екннү μμοῖ μαν
 бине γατηн. зитоотк тῖψине епасон θεοδωρος
 [μн π]διακῶ ἰωzανннc μн παсон BIKTWP μн παсон αρων
 13 + ναῖ εικραῖ μμοου ουχαῖ εμπχοεic +

(margin)

3. τ[ε]- for нте-, see chapter VIII par. 138.

5. με βομ μοῖ με βομ μμοκ for μμн βομ μμοῖ μμн βομ μμοκ, see chapter VIII paragraphs 78 and 82k.

7. [X(ε)]κειμε, doubtful, but probable.

10. HNTΟΥ for нтой, see chapter VIII par. 2e.

Translation:

(broken)] ... thus. Now (λοιπον) do not [...] mercy with [.....] palm-leaf-picker⁽¹⁾ that he should do the work [...] and I expel him and your

heart will be troubled⁽²⁾. For you know that the works of the place require to be done⁽³⁾ and it is neither possible for me, nor is it possible for you⁽⁴⁾. Since^(ἐπεὶ) you wrote to me saying: 'Do not let a man (stay) with you (lest)⁽⁵⁾ I come and expel him, [for] you know(?) yourself that I shall expel him'. Because a palm-leaf-picker⁽¹⁾ is not one whom it is fitting for me to expel any more than (it is) for you. Now^(λοιπὸν) search after a few lentils and the little salt-fish^(ταρκαχέιον) and bring them when you come, because we shall not (be able to) find (them) here⁽⁶⁾. Through you⁽⁷⁾ I greet my brother Theodōros [and the] deacon Jōhannēs⁽⁸⁾ and my brother Victōr and my brother Arōn. + These (things) I am writing; farewell in the Lord.+ (margin)

(1) See 229 note 1.

(2) See 229 note 5. The last sentence is evidently quoting what the other person had written in his letter, compare the next sentences.

(3) For this translation cf. Crum: Dictionary p.500b.

(4) The general context of this letter appears to be that the other person had written to him to the effect that he was not to employ a certain third person, but the writer points out that the 'works of the place' have to be executed and neither he nor the other person can really dispense with the services of the third person.

(5) Literally 'and I come'.

(6) For the use of $\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\gamma\mu\epsilon\iota$ here see 188 note 5.

(7) Cf. 188 note 13.

(8) Perhaps the deacon Jōhannēs we meet elsewhere, cf. index.

260

(e 54; d 148c; d 161a.) 8 by 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches, height complete. Ligatured.

(margin)

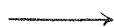
↑

τις παζε νουμανηε νοσι εν []

[ναγαθος απετνευηρε παια [κ]

(e 67; d 95d; d 152b,c,d; d 155a,b) 6½ by 7½ inches, width complete.

Uncials. On the Verso account, different hand, illegible.



(broken)

[]

[] ΧΕ ΑΝΟΚ ΑΙΧΟΟΥ

[...] ΕΞΟΥΝ·ΕΡΟΙ ΖΑΠΙΖΩΥ· ΜΜΟΝ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΣΟΟΥΝ

ΧΕ ΑΝΟΚ ΑΙΤΑΟΥΟ ΠΙΩΑΧΕ ΑΠΑΖΥΤ ΜΚΑΖ ΤΟΝΟΥ

5 [] ΟΝ ΕΙΩΑΝΑΠΑΝΤΑ

[] ΟΣ· ΩΑΝΤΕ ΦΩΥ ΤΥΡΥ ΩΩΠΕ

[] Υ ΝΤΑΥΤΑΔΥ ΝΑΡΩΝ· ΑΥΕΝΤΟΥ ΝΑΙ

[] ΜΥΤΕ[] ΑΩΑΛ ΧΕ ΑΥΤΑ

[] ΜΟC C[] ΝΡΟΥΖΕ· ΑΥΧΟΟC

10 [] Κ[...] ΠΑΖΡΕ ΒΙ

(broken)

4,6,8. ΖΥΤ for ΖΗΤ ; ΤΥΡΥ for ΤΗΡΥ ; ΜΥΤΕ for ΜΗΤΕ(?); see chapter VIII par.36.

3 - 4. 'for God knows that I have told this saying(or: word) and my heart was greatly grieved'.

(f 15) On the Verso Arabic, earlier.



(margin)

+ σ^θΥ ΤΙΡΗΝΗ ΝΑ[Κ

CΑΜΑΙ ΝΤΑ ΑΠΑ[

ΑΒΤΑΜ[Θ]Ι ΧΕ ΕΙΧΙ[

ΤΠΕΛΛΕ ΔΙΩΙ[

5 ΝΠΕΚΧΙΤΒ ΝΑΒ[

ΑΤΟΥΑΖΕΒ ΕΧΩC[

ΛΟΙΠΟΝ ΤΙΠΕΒ[Τ]

ΠΡΩC ΘΕ ΕΥΤΙ ΧΕ[.]ΕΝ[

9 ΕΠΑΖΟΥ ΕΠΙΟΥΞ[

(margin ?)

1. '†With God. Peace to[you ...'. This was probably an official letter written by a muslim, cf.256.

4. ΤΠΕΛΛΕ, the Greek πέλλη 'wooden bowl' ?

6.]ΑΤΟΥΑΖΕΒ, Ν]ΑΤΟΥΑΖΕΒ or ΑΤ(ΕΤΝ)ΟΥΑΖΕΒ, cf. chapter VIII par.143.

8. ΕΥΤΙ or ΕΥΤΙ.

263

(f 19) On the Verso 233, earlier.

→

(margin)

+ ωΙΝΕ CΑ ΝΕΙCΚΕΥΕ

ΖΙΤΟΟΤΥ ΝΑΠΑ ΦΟΙΒΑΜΜΩΝ

ΟΥΛΕΒΙΤΟΝ: ΟΥΩΤΗΝ

ΟΥΠΟΡΚ[?]: ΟΥΩΟΤ Ν

5 ΒΑΛΟΤ[.?] ΟΥΚΛΑΤΥ^(sic)ΟΥΠΟΒΕ[...] ΟΥΒΑΛΟΤ ΝΔΙΑΚ^ο

ΤΙΑCΠΑΣΕ ΝΜΟΚ ΖΙΤΝ ΝΕΙCΖΔΙ

8 ΟΥCΙΑΤΟ[.]ΛC +

(margin)

1. ωΙΝΕ CΑ for ωΙΝΕ ΝCΑ, see chapter VIII par.80i.

4. After ΠΟΡΚ perhaps nothing lost.

5. After ΒΑΛΟΤ perhaps nothing lost.

ΚΛΑΤΥ for ΚΛΑΥΤ, sic !

Translation:

+ Search after these articles from Apa Phoibammon: A habit(λεβί-
των)(1), a tunic, a pallium(2), a pillow-bag(3), a cowl(4), a piece[of(?]
...], a deacon's bag. I salute(ᾠσπάζειν) you through this letter; a
...(5). + (margin)

- (1) The monk's habit, see Ep.vol.I p.150, also W.S. p.133 note 2, B.S.A. C. vol.IX p.214 note 2.
- (2) See Crum: Dictionary p.268a.
- (3) See Crum: Dictionary p.38b.
- (4) See Ep.vol.I p.150.
- (5) The last line evidently contained yet another article required, added as an afterthought.

264

(f 20) Two Fragments.

→

(broken)

1]αβερπνα νεμαν[

2]χε ανκ ουεβιηη.[

(gap ?)

4 ληπον' κσοουν χε ηζιζε ναβιχ[

5 ουων ναυ νιμ' αυαντιμωτνου[

6 υινε εαπα γεωργε ναϊ ειςζα[μμοου ουχα]

7 ζμπχοεις παμεριτ[

(margin)

Verso: Traces of address(?).

4. ηζιζε ναβιχ for ηζιζε νναβιχ, see chapter VIII par.80m.

Translation:

(broken)]he was kind to us[.....]for I am a miserable one[.....]
 Now(λασιον) you know that the toil of my hands[.....]night, any time until I put them at ease [..... I(?)]greet Apa George. These (things) I am writing, [farewell]in the Lord my dear[.....](margin).

265

(f 21) Two fragments. Papyrus in poor condition. On the Verso traces of address, also short text in different hand, illegible, and writing

→

1]ΕΤ^δ ΛΥΩ ΝΕΥΛΟΓΕΙΜΕΝ[ΟΝ
2]ΜΝ̄ ΑΠΑ ΙΩΖΑΝΝΗΣ ΑΡΙ ΠΕΤΝΑΝΟΥΒ ΤΕ[Κ
3]CΝΗΥ ΛΥΩ ΕΚΥΑΝΘ̄Ν ΟΥΠΡΗΥ ΟΝ ΕΤ..[
4]ΤΕΥΔΙ ΜΝ̄ ^(sic) ΠΡΟΣ ΘΕ ΕΥΑΚΕΥΧΙΤΥ ΜΜΟΣ^(sic) ^(sic) ΜΜΟΣ^(sic)
(1 line lost)
6]ΙΝΩΕΝ.[]ΖΟΥΟ ΝΑΙ ΕΥC[
(gap)
8 Μ]ΜΟΥ ΖΝ ..[
9]..ΔΙΠΑΡΑΚ[
10]ΤΟΟΤΥ ΜΠΑΣΟΝ ΧΑΗΛ ΛΥΩ ΕΥΩΠΕ ΥΑΚ[
11].ΤC ΕΡΟΚ ΜΜΟΝ ΤΕΧΡΙΔ ΤΕ ΛΥΩ ΔΝΕΙ ΠΑ[
12 ΟΥΧΔ]! ΖΜΠΧΟΕΙC +
(margin)

εἰς ἀκέραιον, the verb $\chi\iota$ is apparently followed by two accusatives here, mistake?

[.....]honoured and blessed(εὐλογούμενος)⁽¹⁾[.....]and Apa Jōhannēs,
do that which is good[.....]brother(s), and if you find a cloak[.... (li-
nes 4,6,8,and 9 obscure)]from my brother Chaēl and if you will[..
...]you,for there is need and we have come(?)[..... farewell]in the Lord+

(1) Recurs 205^2 , 395^8 , cf. Krall, M.P.E.R. V p.25.

(broken)

]ΝΤΛΑ Ν[

ΕΠΕΙ]ΔΗ ΝΤΑΟΥΣΟΝ Μ[

]ΙΝ ΠΔΙΑΚ^ω ΑΠΑ ΚΥΡ[Ε

]ΝΕΝΣΑ ΠΜΗΤΣΝ[

5

].ΙC ΝΑΝ ΕΙC ΝΕCΝΗΥ[

]ΧΙΤΟΥ ΝΤΕΤΝΤΑΔΥ ΝΑΥ ΝCΕΕΝ[

]ΕΤΒΗΗΤΥ ΨΑΤΝΕΕΡ ΤΕΤΝΕCΝ[

]Ν ΑΝΕΡΧΡΙΑ ΝΜΟΟΥ ΖΝΠΜΑ[

]Ε ΕΡΩΤΝ ΔΥΩ ΝΥΤΙ ΧΑΡΙC ΝΗΤΝ ΝΖΟΥΟ ΕΤ.[

10

]Ε ΝΑΪ ΕΝ[ΕΖΑ]Ι ΜΜΟΟΥ ΤΝ[Ε]ΕΛΠΙΖΕ ΕΟΥΧΑ! [

(margin)

7. ΨΑΤΝΕ- for ΨΑΤΕΤΝ-, see chapter VIII par.140.

ΤΕΤΝΕ- for ΤΕΤΝ-, see chapter VIII par.140.

8. 'we needed them in the place[...].

9. '...[you, and that he might give grace(χάρις) to you especially [...].

10. 'These (things) we are writing, we hope(ἐλπίζειν) to farewell[...];

an unusual ending for a letter.

267

(f 47) Very small script, ligatured.

(margin)

]ΠΡΟΦΑΣΙC ΤΙΨΙΝΕ ΔΥΩ ΤΙ[ΑΣΠΑΞΕ

]ΕΠΩΝΕΙ ΝΑΝ ΑΝΠΡΟCΚΥ ΝΑΥ ΑΝ[

]ΝΡΩΜΕ ΝΑΥ ΝΖΕ Η ΔΥ Π[

]ΜΕ ΕΙ ΜΠΩΡΩ ΝΑΤΙ ΝΕΜΑΥ[

5

]CΣΙΜΕ ΕΙ ΖΑΞΤΗΝ ΝΕΙΖΟΥ ΝC[

]ΕΟΛΩC ΧΝΟΥ ΙCΑΔΑΚ ...[

]ΝΟΒ ΝΡΩΜΕ ΚΑΛΩC· ΔΥΩ ΤΙ ΠΕΚ.[

8

ΚΟ]CΜΑ ΨΙΝΕ ΕΡΟΚ ΔΥΩ ΔΝΕΙ ΤΨΜΑΔ[Υ

(margin)

verso: (address) —→

9]^ε πρ^ε + ^{uu} ζιτν ηγcon νελ^x +

1. For the opening formula cf. B.M.1124¹ αἰραψε τονου ^(u)ἵταιβντιπροφαςις
αιεζαι ειωινε 'I rejoiced greatly when I found this occasion and I
wrote, greeting ...', similarly B.M.1137, 1138, Ryl.331, also here
208¹; rather differently S.T.354¹ ζιτν προφαςις νιμ τναςπαζε μμοκ
'Through every occasion we salute you ...'.
4. ^uαπαρω for ^uαηρω , see chapter VIII par.144. For this line cf.
229⁸ and note 5 there.
8. '...']Kosma greet(s) you, and bring(?) his mother[...].

268

(f 54; d 138a,b,c) Same hand as 165. On the Verso 324, later ?

(broken)

↑

- | | |
|----|-----------------------------------|
| 1 | [.. α]τνεε[|
| 2 | τνκωρω ε[|
| 3 | ατνεεωρ[ιζε |
| | (gap) |
| 5 | []τνει[|
| | [.]εολοκ ^τ αιτνοους ν[|
| | ερω κατα πνουτε αγω[|
| | ωαντι τκεογει νητν ν[|
| | ετβε πνουτε ντετνκα[|
| 10 | μοου τναςπαζε ντετνμν[τ |
| | (margin ?) |

- 1,3. ατνε- for ατετν-, see chapter VIII par.140.
2. The use of the word κωρω is interesting here, see chapter VIII par.
156.

(f 69)



(margin)

- 1 [αυω τιασπας ^(sic) ντκμε[τχο]εις ν[
 2]ρϣ ηνουτε ωον ξε αικαας[
 3]κοϋῑ μπεθοου ναττε πναβϣ[
 4]α.ϣ[]πλην δε αιχοος ξε[

(broken)

Verso: (address) —→

- 6 + μηεις μπαμα[ι]νο (πρακ) υ[τε ν

1. ασπας for ασπαςε, cf. chapter VIII par.20.

2. ωον obscure.

3. '...[little evil, without causing the yoke to[...'. ναττε-for ναττρε-, see chapter VIII par.146.

6. μηεις is very unusual, see Crum: Dictionary p.392b where this is cited.

270

(f 83) Uncials.



(broken)

- 1]μεμ[.]ηρη[.]ππατρεμ[ων
 2]δαμιανος μν απα δελεμ[η
 3]ουβε βοϋβ̄ μ̄ παωρβ̄ ριτ[
 4]ετασε μν ^(sic) πμ[

(broken)

1. ππατρεμ[ων, this place recurs on a small fragment d 118b]κε ππατριμων; see W.S.130 note 2, and Krall 255⁴ and note there.

2. δελεμ[η is a rare name; it recurs 365² δε]λεμ[η and Krall M.P.E.R. V 62, and as τελεμε CMSS 23, Ryl.173,236, Maspero: Bawit 225³. Krall suggests ροϋβ̄, but perhaps for πτελεμε (Ptolemy).

3. βοϋβ̄ 'safflower' recurs elsewhere in this collection, see index.

3. πωρβ, for this place see W.S.379 and note there; it also occurs on a legal document at Vienna, K.4955, communicated by Professor Till.

271

(f 101) Few ligatures. On the Verso, letter, later.

This letter was probably addressed to a bishop, see note 1 below.



(margin)

νοϋμνη] αε νσοπ [ντεκζ] ωσιω^T μμερ[ιτ

] ἀπειτνοοϋ ρωμε νακ ν[

] μοιτ ννοϋχ εαπα ζηλιας[

] ετωα] αλλα ξενεκεω ν[

5

] αντω. νπωρνοχ ρωμε εβολ[

] ιερημιας πετνωηρε τιπροσκ

?] (margin)

1. [ντεκζ] ωσιω^T, see 191 note 2.

5. νπωρνοχ- for μρνεχ-, see chapter VIII paragraphs 144 and 24.

Translation:

[..... I greet] many times [you] the most holy (ὁσιώτατος)⁽¹⁾ dear [...
..] I have not sent any man to you [.....] wrong road to (?) Απα Ηέλιος [...
..] ... but that you may not [.....] ... do not expel any man⁽²⁾ [.....] Jer-
ēmias your son, I worship(?)⁽³⁾.

(1) ὁσιώτατος was especially applicable to a bishop, see Ryl. 289 note 3.

(2) Cf. 259, passim.

(3) Very unusual ending for a letter, but perhaps there were a few letters in the next line.

272

(g 12) Very small script, ligatured. 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ by 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches, width complete.

<u>Recto:</u>	(broken)	<u>Verso:</u>	(margin, continued from the Recto)
	..... ΤΝ	14	ΕΝΑΝΟΥΥ Ν
	ΨΥΧΗ ΕΣΛΥΠΗ	15	ΤΑΕΙΠ ^(ω) ΕΡΟΥ ΜΝ
	ΤΝΞΛΠΙΖΕ ΧΕ		ΠΑΠΔΙΑΚ ^ω ΧΕ
	ΩΑΡΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ		ΝΤΩΤΝ ΠΕ Π
5	ΝΤΝ ΕΒΟΛ		CΟΛCΛ ΝΤΑΨΥ
	ΕΙC ΤΙΚΕΛΗΟΥΔ ^{Υ(ω)}		ΧΗ ΔΥΩ ΧΝΟΥ
	ΝΗΡΠ ΜΝ ΠΒΙΡ	20	ΑΠΑ CΤΟΛΕ ΕΙΜΕ ΘΕ
	ΑΙΜΑΖΥ ΝΟΙΚ		ΝΤΑΙΧΝΟΥ ΠΔΙΑΚ _Υ
	ΑΙΤΝΟΟΥΥ ΝΗ		ΜΠΡΚΑΔΥ ΝCΕ
10	ΤΝ ΖΙΤΝ ΙΟΥCΓ°		CΟΤΜ ΩΑΧΕ
	ΠΩΝ _Υ + ΟΥΧΑΙ		ΖΝ ΡΩΥ ΥCΟΟΥ
	ΔΥΩ ΜΠΡΤΝΟΥΥ	25	[. . .] ΝΤΛΟΙΘΕ
13	ΛΑΔΥ ΝCΑ ΠΟΥΩ		(broken)

(margin, continued on the Verso)

6. ΤΙΚΕΛΗΟΥΔ^Υ, evidently some measure; ΚΕΛΗ, perhaps the Latin 'cella', οΥΔ^Υ, obscure.

11. ΠΩΝ_Υ for ΠΩΝΗΤΗΣ? Barns.

15. ΤΑΕΙΠ ΕΡΟΥ, probably for ΤΑΕΙΜ(Ε)ΕΡΟΥ, cf. chapter VIII paragraphs 20 and 76A.

24. ΥCΟΟΥ for ΥCΟΟΥΝ, see 235⁵ note.

Translation:

(broken)]our soul(ψυχή), grieving. We hope(ἐλπίζειν) that God may bring us out. Behold this ...(?) of wine together with the basket - I have filled it with bread - I have sent to you through Joustos the merchant(ὠνητής?). Farewell and do not send any but good news, that I may know(?) it, together with that of the deacon; for you are the comfort of my soul(ψυχή). And ask Apa Stole⁽¹⁾, know how I asked the deacon, do not let them hear a word from a mouth which knows⁽²⁾ [...] the

(1) Stole is probably a short form of the name Papostole, cf. Phane for Stephane etc..

(2) There had evidently been some 'occasion' connected with Apa Stole (and others ?) which was not generally known, and the writer requests that Apa Stole (and others ?) are to be asked by a person who is unaware of the circumstances of the 'occasion'.

(g 16) Earlier text rubbed out.

] αὐτὸ μὴ φιλῶς ἀντιπερπαί^(sic) αὐτὸ
] τὴν λαλῶν καὶ οὐκ ἐκείνους ἐκείνους
] ἐκείνους καὶ ἐκείνους ἐκείνους
] τὸν οὐκ ἐκείνους ἐκείνους

5 Ν]ΕΜΗΤΗΝ ΠΕΤΝΟΥΧΑΙ ΔΕ ΕΤΝΑΝΟΥΥ

Verso: (address) \longrightarrow

7 + περιβλ^ε ὑμε^(sic)ρίτ̄ ἡ[

1. Δy_{TO} , see 249¹³ note.

7. περιβλ^ε for περιβλεπτος, cf. B.M.479, 1159, B.M.Or.6201 B 44, al..

[.... We greet our dear(?) and Christ-loving [...] until we do this
[face to face] as regards the matter of my small (amounts of) carob-
pods for the need [.....] the small (amount of) carob-pods for the need of
your house [.....] send my brother Hēlias to you [.....] with you. And
(as regards) your good health, [send us news of it(?).⁽¹⁾](margin)

Address: + The admired (περιβλεπτος) dear [.....

(1) Cf. 272¹² - 14.

(g 21)

(margin)



1 + α ἰωζαυνης ταμοῖ χε[
 2 ρωμε ενοικ νε εχχω[
 3 εβολ ναταλι[αγ]ραφον τεκ[
 4 [ταλ]αιπωρος λ[

(broken)

Verso: (address) —→

6] + .κ πε^ο, απο αββ πουε[
 +

3. νατα[αγ]ραφον, probable.

6. Apparently not απο αββ πουλει which we know from other texts in this collection.

(g 59)

(margin)



ψαντε] πνουτε αατ νεμπωα νηλυ[
]κ εκκα πεκζητ νζιζε[
]ρ. α νακ κνοι ζωωκ [

5]ερψαντε πνουτε κελεγε[
]τηρς νακ ουτενηζ[

(broken)

Verso: (address) —→

7 + ταας υπαμεριτ ν[

2. We should have expected εκκω υπεκζητ for εκκα πεκζητ, Barns.

(e 51; d 109d,e,f; d 105a; d 124b; d 186a,b; further small fragments are d 124c; d 184a; d 186c-f; e 83a,b,c) 8½ by 4 inches, width complete. Uncials, crude hand. On the Verso 385, later.

Although this letter is quite easy to read, it is extraordinarily difficult to understand and most of it has remained obscure.

(broken)

. οϣ λ ε πο[]

α π ν ο υ τ ε τ α α ε

π ε κ ε η τ τ α ρ ι ε π[ε]

κ ο υ χ α ρ κ χ ν ο[. . .]

5 [.] λ α α υ τ ρ ο[π ο ν]

[] τ ω[]

[.] α υ ω κ α υ τ κ

μ ο ν ο χ η ε μ ε κ β ν

λ α α υ ρ ω λ ο ε

10 α υ ω χ ν ο υ κ ο λ θ ε

π σ ο ν μ ο υ ι μ α ρ[ε]

υ ω κ ε τ η ε τ π ο β^{ε, (α)}

χ ε λ χ ι λ α ι υ ι ν ε

ε ω ε χ ο ο υ π ο υ ω ν

15 α ι η κ υ ν τ[]

ω ν α ι ε κ ν η[υ α υ ω]

χ ν ο υ π λ ι α κ[α β ρ]

α ε α μ ε τ η ε ν[]

ο ϣ ε υ χ ε[]

20 α ι ρ μ[]

(gap)

22 [] υ ι ν[]

(margin)

4. ο υ χ α ρ κ χ ν ο[], obscure; there is a verb χ α ρ κ cited by Crum: Dictionary p.785b, but 'meaning unknown'.

7 - 8. κ α υ τ κ μ ο ν ο χ η ε, quite obscure.

11. π σ ο ν μ ο υ ι 'the new brother', the word μ ο υ ι was otherwise only known from Fayyumic texts.

11 - 14. See Crum: Dictionary p.770a under χ ε λ χ ι λ where this passage is

cited in full; in line 13 I read $\Delta\psi\iota\nu\epsilon$ for Crum's $\psi\iota\nu\epsilon$, but very doubtful.

277

(e 34) Very crude hand. On the Verso Arabic, earlier.

This text is very difficult to read and much has remained uncertain.



(broken)

εορ[]

ρααγ[]η[]

μπαλ . . . ΝΕΠΙ ΤΑΥ

ΕΙ ΧΕ ΕΥΝΑΧΟΥ

5 ΝΡΕΥΡΟΕΙC ΕΡΑΪ ΕΡΟ

ΤΕΝ ΑΧΟΥC ΧΕ ΨΑΪΤΕ

ΝΟΥ ΝΑΥ ΑΝΤΟΥ

ΤΟΥΤΕΝΟΥ ΝΑΥ

ΜΑΝ ΜΟΝ ΜΑΥΒΕ

10 ΝΟΕΚΤΟΥΜΟ ΝΡΕΥΡΟ

ΕΙC ΔΩ^(sic) ΜΑΝΧΟΥCΕ

ΤΕΝ ΝΚΕCΟΠ ΤΙΡΕΙΝΕΤΕ

(margin ?)

Along the right side of the text:

13 ^(sic) ΔΩ ΜΠΕΡΚΑΤΙ [

3. ΤΑΥΕΙ for ΝΤΑΥΕΙ, see chapter VIII par. 131.

6. ΑΧΟΥC for ΔΙΧΟΥC, see chapter VIII par. 15; similarly line 7 ΑΝΤΟΥ for ΔΙΝΤΟΥ?

7. ΤΕΝΟΥC presumably for ΤΕΝΟΥCΟΥC, similarly line 8.

9 - 10. obscure.

11. ΜΑΝΧΟΥCΕ for ΜΕΝΧΟΥCΟΥC, see chapter VIII paragraphs 21 and 55.

12. ΤΕΝ evidently for ΝΗΤΝ, similarly at the end of this line ΤΙΡΕΙΝΕΤΕ for ΤΙΡΗΝΗ ΝΗΤΝ.

13. αω for αΥω, cf. line 11 αΥω, cf. chapter VIII par. 17.

Translation: ⁽¹⁾

(broken)](line 3) ... since he was about to send the watchmen up to you, (and) I said: I will send (them) to him and I brought them that they might send them to him(lines 9 and 10 obscure)the watchmen and we will not send them to you (?) another time; peace unto you⁽²⁾. (margin ? On the side:) And do not let[.....

(1) This translation is given with extreme reserve.

(2) This is the usual formula for a Muslim, cf. 256 introduction. In this connection it is not without interest that on the other side is a letter written in Arabic, being the first text on this papyrus. It seems very probable that the many mistakes in this letter are due to the fact that it was written by a person who knew very little Coptic.

278

(e 49) Very crude hand. Two previous texts washed off.

(margin)

+ εαθη μν εωβ μιν τι[

+ μαϊνοϋτε νσον εται[ηΥ

χοις εροι χαυκοι εισε τα[

τενοϋ τι παρακαλι μμοκ[

3 εϋτ μεν πασον ^{(sic) (sic)} μρκορε ε[

[ρκε[

]ρογενπας[

[]οc[

τῖωινε[

(broken)

Verso: (address) →

9

μῖνοϋτε

1. μιν for νμ, see chapter VIII paragraphs 76 and 85.

3. Read ρ[ζο(ε)]ς εφοι χ(ε) α(γ)κογι (N)ζις τα[ζοι 'become lord over me, for a little trouble has befallen me', Barns, cf. chapter VIII paragraphs 80 and 151.

5. 2ΥΤ for 2HT, see chapter VIII par.36.

9. For this spelling of the name Shenoute cf. 104⁴ note.

279

(f 67) Very crude hand. The λ has the peculiar form δ .



(margin)

+αιραωε μαωε Ν[
 λνουβ +ϊωνε[
 τηρβε λγω εβ[
 ναϊ αϊζε ροβ^{ετ(ω)}[
 5 μπευ[] πετεζις[
 μοτν +ϊωνι[
 ..Ν.Ναπα ζελ[
 8 [ω]νι εαπα[
 (margin ?)

1. μαωε(=εμαωο) is remarkable here, since εμαωο was otherwise only known from Bohairic, Fayyumic and a few early Sahidic manuscripts. Perhaps this letter is earlier than the other letters from the collection, but the hand is difficult to date.

2. +ϊ for + , again in line 6, see chapter VIII par.127E.

ωνε for ωινε , similarly in line 6 ωνι , see chapter VIII par.38B.

3. τηρβε, the place ? See 156³ note.

6. ωνι for ωινε , see chapter VIII par.23.

280

(e 22) Crude hand.

(margin)



1 + λνοκ απολλω πωε παμουν[
 2 απα ανδρεας σε ζαθυ νιε[

3 [...]ΙΩΤ ΕΤΘΑΝΩΕ ΕΖΟΥΝ[

(broken)

Verso: (continued from the Recto, margin) —→

5]ΑΠΑ ΑΝ^(sic) ΔΡΕΑΣ ΖΙΤΗΝ ΑΠΟΛΛ[ω

6]ΤΕΝΩΙΝΙ ΠΩΕ ΠΑΜΟ[ΥΝ

7 Α]ΠΑ ΙΩΖ[ΑΝΝΗΣ ?

(broken ?)

2. ζαθυ for ζαθη, see chapter VIII par.36.

3. ετθανωε, obscure.

6.]τενωινη (sic !); if this stands for τενωινη, it is remarkable here.

281

(d 167d)

(margin)

↑

1 ου]χαι εβολ νεητου τιωινη

2]αυαμαζε νμοι ευρολοκ[

(broken)

Verso: (address) —→

4 + ταας νημεινουτε νε[ον

1. For the lacunae cf.152 note 1.

2. 'I was seized for a solidus [...].

282

(d 166d)

(broken)

→

1]εματε χε απεκζητ

2 νεο]γο χε τρομπε ροσε εχων

3]ταναυ ερ[]επει αι

(broken)

Verso: (continued from Recto, broken)

↑

5 βομ αυω ανπαρ[

6 + ταας [μ]παμερ[ιτ ν
(margin)

2. 'and what is more, the year is grievous upon us [...]. 2ICE EXN- not listed in Crum: Dictionary.

283

(d 169c,d)

(broken)

↑ 1 []ΕΤΕΤΝΕΤΝΟΟΥΣΟΥ ΝΑΙ ΜΠΟΥ
 2 Α...Β...ΣΕ ΤΑΨΟΠΟΥ [Ν]ΗΤΝ ΝΛΑΜΧΑΤΠ·ΝΠ.ΣΣΕ
 (broken)

1. '...[which you sent to me today ...]; ΕΤΕΤΝΕ- for ΕΤΕΤΝ-, see chapter VIII par.140.

2. '...? that I expend them for you on tar ...?[...'

284

(d 50) Fragment of a letter, contains:

↑ []Ε ΒΤΟΥ ΜΕΝ ΟΥΚΟΥ ΤΟΟΒΕΒ ΑΥΩ ΠΕΑΝ..[
 ΚΟΥ for ΚΟΥΙ, so again Ryl.243³⁹; see Ryl.p.117 note 18 and above chapter VIII par.38B.

ΤΟΟΒΕΒ either 'seal's impress' Crum: Dictionary p.398b, or 'foliage' Crum: Dictionary p.402a.

285

(d 147d) From a letter, the last two lines read:

↑ []ΚΟΥΙ ΜΜΟΝΟΧΟΣ[|]ΕΙΩΤ ΜΑΚΡΟ[ΥΕ (margin)
 ΜΑΚΡΟΥΕ, this name again 338⁶, it corresponds to the Greek μακροβίος; cf. μακροβε W.S.129, μακροβι B.M.590, and μακροβια on a small fragment in the present collection d 101b.

OFFICIAL ACCOUNT

(e 42) Minuscul script, see plate V,5. On the Verso 256, later.

Account of workers' overseers(?) in various districts; lines 2,4, 6 and 8 mention the place-names, lines 1,3,5,7, and 9 the names of the overseers(?). On the Verso we find an official letter from the government treasury, see 256 introduction, and this account was evidently written there.

(broken)

↑
 πκυλ []
 5 ευφροσ
 ικ^ω π^ω ερ^δ [ν]ασερ ι β[] κομη^τ αεροφ[]
 κδμη^η μικρ^η γεων
 5 αβρααμ κκ^η... [ε]ρ^δ νασερ ι κδμη^η
 ιβ^ο ορ^ο ανταίου
 αβρ^η κοσμ^η αχ^η... ερ^δ νασερ ι η^η πιατο^ο κο[δμη^η]
 ακδμη^η μερ^ο β^ομου
 10 σενο^θ θεοδ^ω ερ^δ νασερ ι κδμη^η μουσα^ι θεοδ^ω ερ^δ [νασερ ι
 βικ^τ π^ω ερ^δ νασ[ε]ρ ι κδμη^η]ενο[]

(broken)

2. ευφροσου(νη?), apparently not elsewhere as place-name.

3. π^ω, recurs in line 10, for πουκας ?

ι in this document is written ο, cf. plate V,5.

νασερ, this word recurs in lines 5,7,9 and 10. It is neither a Greek nor a Coptic word. Professor Kahle suggests the Arabic word ^{نظير} 'overseer, inspector, guardian, etc.', which seems very probable.

ερ^δ for ερ^δ(ατων).

κομη^τ αεροφ[for κομη^ητ(κων) αεροφ(υλακων)? Barns.

4. μικρ^η γεων, this place-name apparently not elsewhere.

6. ορ^ο ανταίου, perhaps a monastery 'mount of Antaiou', cf. chapter IV.

Presumably the other place-names mentioned were near Antaiou.

7. αχ^η, a name or a title. If it is a name, it is the grandfather's

name; presumably there were more than one Abraham son of Kosma, and these were distinguished by the addition of the grand-father's name.

8. μερ^ο βαμου, this place-name apparently not elsewhere.

287

LIST OF ORDERS FOR PAYMENT OF TAXES

(c 10; d 73a; d 165a) 7 by 12½ inches, neither complete. Minuscule script, see Plate V, 6. On the Verso 122, earlier.

This document is of unusual interest as it is exactly dated 25th Phamenoth (or Parmouty), indiction 8, years (A.H.) 106, i.e. February-March A.D. 725. On the Verso we find an official letter addressed to the δημόσιος λόγος (122) and this account originated probably from the local financial government office. It is, however, somewhat difficult to account for the presence of this document at Deir el-Bala'izah.

The list relates to details (κλάσματα) of orders for payment (παιτάκιον) of the tax called δωρε(αφή) ἄλμου(μενεν); for this tax see above chapter VI.

The document is also of some interest in illustrating some special functions of the official called ὑποστάτης. From the present document it appears that he was responsible for fixing the details of the orders for payments of the poll-tax for pagarchies and cities. On the other functions of this official see Bell: P.Lond.IV p.85 and references there. His main duties seem to have been the weighing of coins and assessing their correct value. See also Bell: P.Lond.IV p.XIII 'There is indeed in 1508 and 1509 mention of a certain Theodosios described as ζυγος i.e. ὑποστάτης weighing officer or officer of taxes who resided at Shotep i.e. Hypsele and appears to have had some sort of authority over Aphrodito, but ... his authority was perhaps either temporary only or limited to a general supervision of the financial business of the Eparchy'. It is interesting to note that here we have mention of yet

another $\gamma\upsilon\omicron\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta\varsigma$ from Hypsele.

(margin)

- 1 $[.]^{\theta}\mu^{\circ}$ κε ινδ^ο η ετ^ο ρς σταλ^ο εγ^ο [...] δ κλασ^ομ^ο πι^ο διαγ^ο αλμ^ο δ [
 2 $[\pi]αγ^οχ^ο$ λυκ^ο[^ως] κουσ^οσ^ο βι^οκ^ο αθανασ^ο απο λυκ^ο[^ω
 3 πολ^ο υψηλ^οης εγ^ο αλ^οδ^ο [
 4 παγ^οχ^ο κουσ^οσ^ο δ κολλ^οου^ο φ[^οιβ^ο $\gamma\upsilon\omicron$ απο κουσ^οσ^ο δ κλ^ο δι^οαλμ^ο[
 5 παγ^οχ^ο λυκ^ος υψηλ^οης δ ηρακλειω ιωανν^ο $\gamma\upsilon\omicron$ απο π^οδ^ο υψ^οη^ο δ [
 6 παγ^οχ^ο λυκων δ ηρακλειω ιωανν^ο $\gamma\upsilon\omicron$ [
 (broken)

1. $[.]^{\theta}\mu^{\circ}$, φκμενωθ or φαρμουθι.

σταλ^ο εγ^ο for σταλέντα εις την; perhaps supply [αλ^οδ^ο] from line 3.

δ κλασ^ομ^ο πι^ο διαγ^ο αλμ^ο δ for υπ^οερ κλασμάτων πιττακίου διαγραφ^οης $\alpha\lambda\mu\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu\delta\alpha\iota$.

For κλάσματα see Ryl.226 note 13 and cf. Preisigke: Wörterbuch.

For πιττάκιον cf. 130 Appendix and Preisigke: Wörterbuch.

2. $[\pi]αγ^οχ^ο$ for παγαρχίας; similarly lines 4,5 and 6.

λυκων or Lykopolis is the modern Assiut.

κουσ^οσ^οων was a nome-capital between Lykopolis and Hermopolis.

3. αλ^οδ^ο, I am unable to interpret this word.

4. $\gamma\upsilon\omicron$ for $\gamma\upsilon\omicron\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta\varsigma$; again in line 6, similarly line 5 $\gamma\upsilon\omicron$.

δ κλ^ο δι^οαλμ^ο [^ο for υπ^οερ κλασμάτων διαγραφ^οης $\alpha\lambda\mu\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu\delta\alpha\iota$.

5. απο π^οδ^ο υψ^οη^ο δ for ἀπο πόλεως υψηλ^οης υπ^οερ[.

288

TAX-ACCOUNT

(d 52) 8 by 6 inches, neither complete. Lines 1 - 12 minuscule; lines 13 - 18 ligatured; lines 20 - 25 minuscule.

This tax-account is of some interest on account of many unusual names and place-names which occur. In lines 1 - 12 the place-name comes first (except line 1, see below), after this follows the name of the person through whom the amount is paid; then follows the actual amount paid. Lines 13 - 18 contain the witnesses to the document. On the

Verso there are remains of another account, probably similar to that in lines 1 - 12.

↑

(margin)

	περ ^χ παδοσι ^ο παλ ^λ δ ^δ τι[.]σιου[]	(ω) [
	φασε δ ^δ ιωανν ^ο χ[α]ρημων[ν]	ι ^ο κδ ^μ η [
	παροβ ^κ δ ^δ απα χ[.]δ ^δ	ι ^ο δ ^κ δ [
	παροβ ^κ δ ^δ α[π]α βικ ^κ	ι ^ο η [
5	[π]αροβ ^κ δ ^δ θ[εο]δοσι ^ο ζαχ ^χ	ι ^ο η [
	[π]αροβ ^κ δ ^δ]χ ^χ δωοηλ ^(sic)	ι ^ο δ [
	[δ ^δ θ[εο]δω ^ο ενωχ	ι ^ο δ [
	[δ ^δ αν ^ο φ ιω	ι ^ο η α [?] φ ^α πακου ^ο } ^ω [
	[δ ^δ μ ^ο ουσαι ^ι , πετε ^ε	ι ^ο \ δ [?] στ ^χ αβ ^β θο ^ο μ [
10	[δ ^δ απα κυ ^ο ιω δ ^δ ιω	ι ^ο δ β [
	βι απολλων δ ^δ θω ^ω ιωαννο[ν]	α αφ ^ω α [
12	αβ ^β πουλει δ ^δ . λ . μ . . δ ^δ μιχα[ηλ]	ι ^ο \ δ [

(space)

13	+ ται τε τηττρε νταμ[ ]	]ει ηρωμε ηπκροντ[
	[]μηττρε αβ ^ο σινε[ ]	]ι ^λ ομ σηλ ^λ αμμων ^ο ιω α ^χ σ.[
15	[]χο ^ο . κκ σουλαικην !	]νη σερχιω ιωαν ^ο απο ψα ^ο .
	ιωανν ^ο σ[ ]	]φ [
	]ητμετρε[ ]	]τα τανρωμε ναμα σο[φια
18	μηττρε[ ]	] . κλγεθ[

(broken)

Verso: (same hand as lines 1 - 12) (margin ?) →

20	] . . . . . ισακ
21	] ι ^ο η

(space ?)

22	]ιφ ^φ μααμουδ
	]η ι ^ο β
]
25	]παλ ^λ ι ^ο \ δ ^μ η

(margin ?)

1. $\pi\rho\epsilon^{\chi}$ probably for $\pi\rho\omicron\chi\epsilon\iota\sigma\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\alpha$ 'paid previously', cf. P.Lond.IV 1434¹³⁵.
 $\pi\alpha\delta\omicron\sigma\iota\omicron^{\circ}\pi\alpha\lambda$, this place-name apparently not elsewhere.
2. $\phi\alpha\sigma\epsilon$, this place-name apparently not elsewhere.
- 2 - 12. It may be noted that the numerals in the first and second columns correspond to each other exactly, thus: $\frac{1}{2}$ solidus in the first column corresponds to 4 in the second column; $\frac{1}{3} \frac{1}{24} = 3$; $\frac{1}{4} = 2$;
 $\frac{1}{8} = 1$; $\frac{1}{24} \frac{1}{48} = \frac{1}{2}$.
- 3 - 6. $\pi\alpha\rho\omicron\beta\kappa^{\omega}$, see P.Lond.IV 1604²; cf. also similar names in P.Lond.IV e.g. $\pi\alpha\rho\omicron\beta\kappa\epsilon\lambda\omega\lambda$, $\pi\alpha\rho\omicron\beta$.
6. $\delta\omega\omicron\eta\lambda$ (sic!), a very strange name, not elsewhere.
8. $\bar{\omega}$, a common abbreviation of the name Johannes, cf. index; Anouph son of Johannes recurs probably on a small fragment d 131f $[\alpha\nu\theta]\upsilon\phi$ $[\omega]\kappa\nu\omicron\upsilon$.
- (ϕ) $\alpha\chi\iota\omicron\varsigma\pi\alpha\kappa\omicron\upsilon\epsilon$, almost certainly a place-name; perhaps a monastery.
9. $\sigma\tau\epsilon^{\chi}$ presumably for $\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}\chi\omicron\varsigma$, but meaning doubtful; cf. perhaps P.Lond. IV p.9 note.
 $\alpha\beta\beta(\alpha)\theta\omega\mu(\alpha\varsigma)$, it seems likely that this is the monastery of Apa Thomas and thus it is the only reference to this neighbouring monastery at Wadi Sarga some 5 miles to the south from Deir el-Bala'izah.
10. $\delta\bar{\omega}$, difficult as it is already $\delta\alpha\pi\alpha\kappa\upsilon\rho^{\circ\circ}\bar{\omega}$, the same difficulty in line 12; ς (for δ) cannot be read here.
11. $\phi\epsilon\alpha\pi\omicron\lambda\lambda\omega\upsilon\upsilon$ recurs as $\beta\epsilon\omega\iota\alpha\pi\omicron\lambda\lambda\epsilon$ 298³, cf. 298 note 5.
12. $\alpha\beta\beta(\alpha)\pi\omicron\upsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota$, this monastery recurs elsewhere in this collection, see chapter IV p.25.
13. '+ This is the witness of ... [...] the men of Pkront[.].'
 $\mu\eta\tau\tau\rho\epsilon$ for $\mu\eta\tau\rho\epsilon$, see chapter VIII paragraphs 83 and 114; again in the following lines.
 $\pi\kappa\rho\omicron\upsilon\tau$, see P.Lond.IV 1553³¹ $\pi\kappa\rho\omicron\upsilon\tau$ which corresponds to $\beta\omicron\upsilon\upsilon\omicron\iota$ in the Greek texts, cf. P.Lond.IV index.
14. $\alpha\beta\theta^{\circ}\sigma\iota\upsilon\alpha$, the $\alpha\beta\omicron\upsilon$ ($\rho\iota$) makes it very probably that this is an Ara-

bic name; *cina* again J.74⁶⁸.

ομγ for δμοίως.

σηλ', cf. σηλ in B.M.1077 (p.452b).

αε^χσ[, for ἀρχισύμμαχος?

15. σουλαμαν the Arabic form of the name Solomon (سليمان), see 150³ note.

17. '...']witness[of ...]she of the people(i.e. nuns) of (the convent of) Ama Sq[phia ...]. This is the only reference to a convent in the present collection; for this convent see chapter IV p.26.

22. μααμουδ, the Arabic name مومود.

289

LIST OF FUGITIVES

(f 59) Minuscule. This fragment is interesting as it contains the only reference to fugitives at Bala'izah, cf.386³ below.

↑

(broken)

..... γεωργίου [✓ α]

..... 5 αβρεαμίου ✓ α

φυγ^ο σανος ιακ.ου ✓ α

..... ατ..απα ✓ α

5 [θεο]δωρος [ω]σηφ π^ε ✓ α

[ω]σηφ[✓ α]

(broken)

✓ or perhaps ο✓ for ὄνομα 'person'.

290

TAX-ACCOUNT

(b 2) Minuscule hands. 3 or 4 scribes. 17 by 12 inches.

This is not only the largest papyrus but also one of the most interesting documents in the present collection. For the taxes mentioned here see chapter VI. The document was evidently written at various periods by several scribes. The first scribe wrote lines 1 - 5 and per-

haps also lines 15 - 22; the second scribe wrote lines 6 - 11; the third scribe wrote lines 12 - 14a; lines 15 - 22 were written by either the first scribe or a fourth scribe. The Verso was left blank.

(margin)

→

	[κ π̄] ι α γ υ πωορπ νσοπ εαχρυμα νεμο ^λ ζιτν	] ν [
	> εατδαπανη γ υ ζιτν νειπροσωπον νουωτ	ν β [
	> εατδαπανη ναλμουμενιν ζιτν νειπροσωπον νουωτ	ν δ [
	> εαπβεκε ικος ζιτν νειπροσωπον νουωτ	ν δ
5	> εαπβεκε νετεχνητης ετζηθαλας ^(α) ζιτοοτου ον	ν δ
	β π̄ ι θ γ υ > εαπδιαγραφον νεμον ^λ ζιτν αχιλλ̄ διακ ^ω ς πετρ ^ο ιατρ ^ο	ν ι ε
	> εατδαπανη ζιτοοτου ον	ν β
	> εατδαπανη ναλμ̄ ζιτοοτου ον	ν δ
	γ π̄ ι θ γ υ > εαπδιαγραφον νεμον ^λ ζιτν αχι ^λ ς μην̄ πρ̄ς λαμ̄	ν ι ε
10	> εατδαπανη ζιτοοτου ον	ν δ
	> εατδαπανη ναλμ̄ ζιτν νειπροσωπον νουωτ	ν δ
	μεο ^ο κ γ υ > εαπδιαγραφον νεμον ^λ ζιτν απολλω πραστς πετρος	ν ι ε
	> εατδαπανη ζιτοοτου ον - - - - -	ν β
14	> εατδαπανη ναλμ̄ ζιτοοτου ον - - - - -	ν δ
14a	δγ ος κδμη	
15	φ̄ ι η γ υ > εαπδιαγραφον νεμον ^λ ζιτν απα ελος πετρος - - - - -	ν η
	εατδαπανη ζιτοοτου ον - - - - -	ν α
	εατδαπαν ^η ναλμ̄ ζιτοοτου ον - - - - -	ν δ
	εασογο ζιτοοτου ον - - - - -	ν π α ε ^λ ν α [
	α θ ^υ κ γ υ > εα[τδα]πανη ζιτν αχι ^λ ς πετρος - - - [
20	[εατδαπα ^η ναλμ̄ ζιτοοτου ον - - - - - [
	[] - - - [
22	[] δγ ν π η δ κδμη [

(margin)

1. [κ π̄] ι α γ υ, [κ π̄] supplied from lines 6 and 9; this seems the only possible explanation of the β and γ at the beginning of lines 6 and 9;

apparently there were three payments in the month Paoni.

1. $\epsilon\alpha$ / , similarly line 15 $\epsilon\gamma$ / and line 19 $\kappa\gamma$ / ; the line after the numerals is peculiar; presumably it was used here to distinguish the number of the day of the month from that of the indiction period, thus: $\epsilon\alpha$ / 5 γ . In lines 6, 9 and 12 this is not necessary as the number of the indiction period follows the sign for the indiction (γ).

$\chi\rho\gamma\mu\alpha$, extremely doubtful.

NEMON^X for NNMOMAXOC , see chapter VIII par.93; again in the following lines.

- 2 - 14. The little mark $>$ at the beginning of these lines in different ink presumably indicates that the entries have been checked; cf. Bell and Roberts: Merton Papyri 50 (p.155). A similar use in 293 here where a line (γ) is used. In line 9 here the mark was probably omitted accidentally.

3. γ / restored from lines 8, 11, 14 and 17; it is to be noted that the amount paid for $\Delta\alpha\pi\alpha\text{N}\eta\text{N}\alpha\lambda\mu\omicron\upsilon\mu\epsilon\text{N}\eta\text{N}$ is in each case γ / (one third).

8. $\Delta\lambda\mu$ for $\Delta\lambda\mu\omicron\upsilon\mu\epsilon\text{N}\eta\text{N}$ as in line 3; the same abbreviation in lines 11 and 17, in line 14 it is $\Delta\lambda\mu^{\wedge}$ (sic !), in line 20 $\Delta\lambda\mu$.

12. $\mu\epsilon\sigma^{\circ}$ for $\mu\epsilon\sigma\omicron\epsilon\eta$.

- 14a. $\kappa\delta\mu\gamma$ / , one fraction stroke has been omitted accidentally, read $\kappa\delta\mu\gamma$ / .

15. ϕ for $\phi\alpha\omega\phi$.

19. $\alpha\theta^{\nu}$ for $\alpha\theta\upsilon\epsilon$.

Translation:

- [1. Paoni] 11, 6th indiction. The first time for the
 money($\chi\epsilon\eta\mu\alpha$?) of the monks [through ... and ...⁽¹⁾] solidi []
 For the $\delta\alpha\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta$ ⁽²⁾ (of the) 6th indiction through these
 same persons($\pi\rho\acute{o}\sigma\omega\pi\omicron\nu$) sol. 2(?)[..]
 For the $\delta\alpha\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta$ for the Almoumenin⁽³⁾ through these
 same persons sol. $\frac{1}{3}$ (?)

For the wage(of) ...(?)(4) through these same persons sol. $\frac{1}{3}$

For the wage of the craftsmen(τεχνίτης) who are on
the sea(θαλάσσια)(5) through them again sol. $\frac{1}{6}$

2. Paoni 19, indiction 6. For the poll-tax(δωρεά)(6)
of the monks through Achillitēs the deacon(7) and
Petros the doctor(ιατρός)(8) sol. 15

For the δαπάνη through him(sic !) again sol. 2

For the δαπάνη for the Almoumenin through him again sol. $\frac{1}{3}$

3. Paoni 29, indiction 6. For the poll-tax of the monks
through Achillitēs and Mēna the priest(9) and
Lampou(10) sol. 15

For the δαπάνη through him again sol. 3

For the δαπάνη for the Almoumenin through these same
persons sol. $\frac{1}{3}$

Mesore 20, indiction 6. For the poll-tax of the monks
through Apollō the cleaner(11) and Petros sol. 15

For the δαπάνη through them again sol. 2

For the δαπάνη for the Almoumenin through them again sol. $\frac{1}{3}$

Total(γίνονται) (solidi) 76(?) $\frac{1}{24}$ $\frac{1}{48}$

Phaophi 18, 6th indiction.(12) For the poll-tax of the
monks through Apa Hlo(13) and Petros . sol. 8
For the δαπάνη through them again sol. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$
For the δαπάνη for the Almoumenin through them again sol. $\frac{1}{3}$
For wheat(14) through them again sol. $\frac{1}{2}$.. (14)

Athyr 27, 6th indiction. For the δαπάνη through Achil-
litēs and Petros [sol.]
[For the] δαπάνη for the Almoumenin through them again [sol.]
[For sol.]

Total(γίνονται) solidi 88 $\frac{1}{3}$ $\frac{1}{24}$ $\frac{1}{48}$

(margin)

- (1) Cf. the following entries which were paid through several persons.
- (2) *δαπάνη* was the tax levied to cover the expenses of the local officials and others, see chapter VI.
- (3) Almoumenin is the Arabic *مؤمنين* meaning 'faithful'; for this tax see chapter VI.
- (4) *κικος*, obscure; hardly for *zykos* (= *ζυγοστατήρ*).
- (5) Apart from the poll-tax, the expenses-tax and the corn-tax, the Arabs also required men for personal service and the expenses of these persons while engaged on this service; cf. above chapter VI.
- (6) For the poll-tax cf. chapter VI.
- (7) The deacon Achillitēs recurs elsewhere, see 197 note 8 and cf. index.
- (8) Petros the doctor recurs 362¹; here it is the Greek word *ἰατρός*, in 362¹ it is the Coptic word *CAEIN*.
- (9) Mēna the priest recurs 133¹, but the name is common, cf. index.
- (10) Lampou recurs elsewhere, see 114 note 5 and cf. index.
- (11) For *ῥαετ* 'cleaner' cf. Crum: Dictionary p.311a; see also B.S.A.C. vol.IX (1943) p.209 note 5. The word probably recurs 304¹¹.
- (12) It is not clear why Phaophi and Athyr in line 19, the second and third months, should follow after Paoni and Mesore, the tenth and twelfth months, since all are in the sixth indiction.
- (13) This spelling of the common name Hello with one *λ* only recurs elsewhere in this collection. It is probably the same person in most of these documents.
- (14) The wheat here evidently refers to the corn-tax, see chapter VI.

TAX AND GENERAL MONASTIC ACCOUNT

(d 32; d 131a) 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ by 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches, width complete. Several hands, ligatured; see Plate V,7.

This was the first text on this papyrus, and the document was later re-used as a writing exercise and the original text was sometimes copied

84 i KJ 8

20 [2100TY] ON \checkmark

2170074 70N

- 21 [] ὦ α
 22 [(?) λαμπρ]υ πλιακ^ω ὦ κδ
 (broken)

Verso: (different hand) (margin)

- 24 ζαπζημοσιον ντωζε ζιτν λαμπου πλιακ^ο ὦ λ
 25 ζαηρη επεπροσφορα ζιτν παηρη πρ^ε ὦ γ
 εαταγερ ζη̄ σιοοτ̄ ζιτν γεωρ̄ πλιακ^ο ὦ δ
 ζαστενηθ̄ῑ νεματοι ζιτν ζηλιας πβοῑ ὦ γ
 ζαηρη η̄ [.....] ζιτν̄ [αηα (?)] ζηλιας ὦ λ
 29 ζαππαρα νβτοογ̄ η̄ζλοκ^τ ζιτν λαμ̄ αῖ ὦ
 (margin)

3. η̄νεχιοορ̄, the line over the second ο is to be noted; cf. the common practice in manuscripts of the ninth century and later to write ετογααδ̄β, ψοοη, etc..

4. [κδ], restored from the writing-exercise.

8. η̄ presumably for παηα, I am unable to parallel this, but cf. η̄η̄, η̄η̄ which is often found for παηα in texts of the tenth and eleventh centuries, e.g. B.M.465, 545, 547, 608, Ryl.290, 373, Pcod.p.47 line 20.

10. ζι sic ! for ζιτν.

13. ομ̄ for ὁμοίως.

15. αβγνε probably for αηβηνε, see chapter VIII par.86, cf. par.102.

20. ζιτσοοτ̄ restored from the writing-exercise.

27. στενηθ̄ῑ for συνήθεια? (Crum).

28. not ζαηρη η̄τ[επροσφορα] as in line 25.

29. αῖ for διακονος, cf. 102³⁶ note.

η̄, the sign for nomisma (ῥ) has been omitted accidentally, read ῥη̄.

Translation:

(broken)

For the land-tax (δγμοσιον)⁽¹⁾ of Pektēs⁽²⁾ through Mēna from

Pektēs	solidi	1
For rope for Pateron ⁽³⁾ through Apa Petros the superior ⁽⁴⁾	sol.	1
For the freight of the ferry-boat of the nome(τοῦ) (of) Antinoou ⁽⁵⁾ through Apa Petros the superior and Thōmas the deacon ⁽⁶⁾	sol.	$\frac{1}{24}$
For the receipt ⁽⁷⁾ of some money from Sioout through Lampou the deacon ⁽⁸⁾	sol.	$\frac{2}{3}$
<u>Total(σύνολον): solidi 27$\frac{1}{4}$</u>		
The deacon Pǧōl for his poll-tax(ἀνδρικοῦς) ⁽⁹⁾	sol.	$\frac{1}{2}$
The horse-doctor of Sioout through Papa(?) Theodōros and Onophrios (the son of) Palan ⁽¹⁰⁾	sol.	$\frac{1}{6}$
For the rest(λοιπῶς) of the land-tax(σημόσιον) of Tōhe ⁽¹¹⁾ through Theodōros the fisherman ⁽¹²⁾	sol.	1
For clover ⁽¹³⁾ from Nerēbe ⁽¹⁴⁾ through my brother ⁽¹⁵⁾ Theodōros the fisherman	sol.	1
For the occasion(περίστασις) ⁽¹⁶⁾ of the carpenter through Achillitēs the deacon ⁽¹⁷⁾ and Apa Hello ⁽¹⁸⁾ and Mēna (the son of) Bictōr	[sol.]
Likewise(ὁμοίως) Markos and Athanase from the mount of Tahnout[?] ⁽¹⁹⁾ for the watchman's wage through Apa Sevēros	sol.	$\frac{1}{3}$
Apa Jerēmias for ...? [... the] date-seller(?) through Hello(?) the priest(?)	[sol.]
(gap)		
For the corn-tax(ἐμβολή) ⁽²⁰⁾ in barley of Pshonte ⁽²¹⁾ [through	sol.]
For wine from Nerēbe through Mēna [...(?)	sol.]
(gap)		
[..... through him] again	sol.	$\frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{3}$
[.....]	sol.	1
[..... through Lampou the deacon	sol.	$\frac{1}{4}$

Verso:

(margin)

For the land-tax(δημόσιον) of Tōhe⁽¹¹⁾ through Lampou the

deacon

solidi $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{8}$ For wine for the offering(περόσφορον) through Padēr⁽²²⁾ the

priest

sol. $\frac{2}{3}$ For ...⁽²³⁾ from Sioout through George the deacon⁽²⁴⁾sol. $\frac{1}{8}$

For the gratuity(συνήθετα ?) of the soldiers through Hēlias

the βοηθός⁽²⁵⁾sol. $\frac{2}{3}$

For wine[.....] through[Apa]Hēlias

sol. $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{8}$ For the receipt⁽⁷⁾ of four solidi through Lampou the deacon (sol.) $\frac{1}{8}$

(margin)

(1) Cf. chapter VI.

(2) Pektēs is probably a place-name; it recurs here 321¹.

(3) Pateron is probably a place-name; alternatively divide επατηρ on and translate: 'for Pater again', but this seems unlikely.

(4) Apa Petros the superior recurs elsewhere in this collection, cf. index; for νοδ'ηρωμε (superior), cf. chapter V p.33.

(5) See 114 note 3.

(6) Thōmas the deacon recurs elsewhere, see index.

(7) The word for 'receipt' here is the Arabic word رِشَاءَة, see Crum: Dic-tionary p.267 and 'Additions and Corrections' p.20. To the re-ferences given by Crum add V.C.115⁹ ταλπαρα . β λογκωτει, also B.M.Or. 6201 A 94 ταλπαρα μανογ, ταλπαρα μεξδακε, B.M.Or.6201 A 178 νεπαρα φυλακη ντερωτ, P.Lond.IV 1513⁸]παρα ασει ετοστ νογ ειχων. It is to be noted that in the present document the word is once(line 29) masculine, and once(line 5) feminine.

(8) See 114 note 4.

(9) For ἀνδρισμός see 130 Appendix note 6 and cf. chapter VI.

(10) The name Palan only here, but cf. παλενη Krall LVI, 8.

(11) Tōhe, this place again in line 24, 292^{3,4} and a small fragment

d 108c Δ]ΗΜΟCΙΟΝ ΝΤΩ[εε. Tōhe is hardly identical with τογω, a locality occurring frequently at Wadi Sarga; cf. however B.M.Or.6201

A 24b πρωὶ ἄνωεε Ν[α]λολογ ζμπτωγ νωμογν τοπολι μνημοφς.

- (12) Theodōros the fisherman recurs in the next line, also 303¹⁷ and 321¹.

(13) For the word ετρίμ see Crum: Dictionary p.430b.

(14) Nerēbe, this place again in line 18, also P.Lond.IV 1460⁹⁵, 1460¹⁷⁰ (Lycopolite pagarchy), and Ν]ερεβε here 321¹²; cf. τηρε 156³ note.

(15) For the title 'my brother' i.e. 'the monk' see chapter V n.

(16) περόφςεε seems unusual here.

(17) Achillitēs the deacon recurs elsewhere; see 197 note 8 and cf. index.

(18) Apa Hello recurs elsewhere, see index.

(19) The 'mount of Tahnout[.]' probably refers to a monastery; this place recurs on one of the stelae found at Bala'izah, see W.M.Fl.Petrie: Memphis vol.I plate LIV ηρεμταζνον[τ].

(20) Cf. chapter VI.

(21) Pshonte, this place recurs several times in P.Lond.IV (see index), in an unpublished text from Wadi Sarga (B.M.Or.9035,66) τκοινο]της τηρε^(sic) πτιμε πυοντ[ε, and in Grohmann: Arabic Papyri in the Egyptian Library vol.III 167⁷⁶. Grohmann suggests سهن in the district of Achmim.

(22) Padēr for Patēr; this word is rarely found, as here, as a proper name, it recurs here 388⁵, W.S.79 and B.M.Or.6201 A 3; Preisigke: Namenbuch cites only P.Lond.IV. Except for B.M.Or.6201 A 3 all references are from this neighbourhood.

(23) For ταγερ see Crum: Dictionary p.453a, 'meaning unknown'.

(24) George the deacon recurs elsewhere, see index.

(25) On this title see chapter V p.35.

TAX AND GENERAL MONASTIC ACCOUNT

(e 75) Probably part of 291, see 291 introduction.

Recto: (same hand as 291, first hand) (broken)

↑ ⲁⲧⲧⲉⲙⲉ ⲛⲡⲁⲓⲁⲕⲱ ⲛⲉⲧⲣⲟⲥ ⲙⲛ ⲟⲩⲉⲛⲟⲃⲉⲣ ⲙⲁ ⲧⲕⲉⲙⲁ []
 ⲑⲱⲛⲟⲩ ⲙⲁ ⲁⲡⲁⲛⲙⲟⲥⲓⲟⲛ []
 ⲁⲡⲁⲛⲙⲟⲥⲓⲟⲛ ⲛⲧⲱⲥⲉ ⲥⲓⲧⲟⲟⲧⲓ ⲟⲛ []
 [ⲧⲱⲥⲉ ⲥⲓⲧⲛ ⲁⲭⲓⲕⲓⲧⲓ ⲛⲁⲓⲁⲕⲱ ⲙⲁ ⲧⲕⲉⲙⲁ] ⲙⲁ ⲧⲕⲉⲙⲁ []
 5 [ⲧⲁⲛⲥⲧⲓ ⲉⲣⲟⲛ ⲥⲓⲧⲟⲟⲧⲓ ⲟⲛ] ⲙⲁ ⲧⲕⲉⲙⲁ []
 (broken)

Verso: (same hand as 291, verso) (broken) →

7 ⲁⲧⲧⲉⲙⲉ ⲛⲡ []
 8 ⲁⲡⲧⲉⲙⲟⲥⲓⲟⲩ ⲙⲡⲁⲙⲁⲱⲧⲟⲥ ⲥⲓⲧⲛ []
 (broken)

Translation:

Recto: (broken)

For the fare of the deacon Petros⁽¹⁾ and Quenober as
 far as Tkema⁽²⁾.

solidi]

Thoth 24, indiction 10. For the land-tax(δημόσιον) [..... sol.]

For the land-tax(δημόσιον) of Tōhe⁽³⁾ through him again [sol.]

[For the land-tax(?) of] Tōhe through Achillitēs the deacon⁽⁴⁾ sol. $\frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{4}$

[.....]...? [...] for us through him again sol. $\frac{1}{4}$

(broken)

Verso: (broken)

For the fare of [..... sol.]

For the land-tax(δημόσιον) of Pamaōtos⁽⁵⁾ through [..... sol.]

(broken)

(1) The deacon Petros recurs elsewhere, cf. index.

(2) Tkema⁽²⁾ is probably a place-name, apparently only here; alternatively read τ-κε-μα⁽²⁾, but the word μα 'place' is always masculine and no other Coptic word beginning with μα⁽²⁾ seems to be suitable here.

(3) See 291 note 11.

(4) Achillitēs the deacon recurs 291 and elsewhere, see 197 note 8.

(5) This place-name apparently only here.

293

TAX-ACCOUNT

(d 22; d 137a) 9½ by 9 inches, width complete. Ligatured, probably same hand as 294.

(broken)

↑	/	πετρ[ος]	∇]
	/	πδιακ ^ω σευηρος εαπεχρ ^ε ειτην ανα εηλιας	∇	8
	/	μ εδ απολλω παυνηκος εαπηαν ^α	∇	8
	/	παμουνη παψηον ^ε εαπηαν ^α ειτην διομητης	∇	8
5	/	ομ ανα διομητης εαπεχρ ^ε ημμοη ειτην αχιλλ ^ι		
	/	μη ανα πα ^α μη πετρος πδιακ ^ω / ελωτος	∇	8g
	/	ιερηνιας λαβης εαπηαν ^α ειτην ανα φωκα	∇	α
	/	απ[α ιω]ανη[ς] παλαεμ ^η εαπεχρ ^ε ειτην ανα φωκ ^η	∇	8
	/	ανα ισαακ μη θεοδωρος εαπεχρ ^ε	∇	8
10	/	ανα κυρι μη σαχαριας πεβροβ μη ανα κυρι εαπεχρ ^ε		
	/	ειτοοτ ^η ναπα ιωεανης	∇	α
	/	ιωεανης μη φιλο ^θ μη ηyson εαπευ ^(ω) ειτην ανα ιωσχη	∇	α
	/	μαρκος εαπεεαν ^(ω) ειτην διομητης	∇	8
	/	ιωσχη πκασε εαπεχρ ^ε ειτοοτ ^η ηπανικυρος	∇	8
15	/	απολλω ψιογρ εαπηαν ^α ειτην θαμας πδιακ ^ω	∇	8

(margin)

- 1 ff.. The stroke (/) at the beginning of each line, except line 5, presumably indicates that the entries have been checked, see 290² note. The same stroke is found on a small fragment d 103a written by the same scribe: ↑ ρ ηχο[εβολ] / πδιακ^ω[.....] /[.....]
2. χρ^ε presumably for χρεος, again in lines 5, 8, 9, 10, 14; cf. note 1 below.

3. μ^x for $\mu\epsilon\chi\acute{\epsilon}$.

$\alpha\tilde{\nu}$ for $\alpha\tilde{\nu}\rho\iota\varsigma\mu\omicron\varsigma$, again in lines 4,7,13,15, and elsewhere.

5. $\omicron\mu\gamma$ for $\delta\mu\omicron\acute{\omega}\varsigma$.

$\mu\omicron\tilde{\nu}$ for $\mu\omicron\tilde{\nu}\alpha\varsigma\tau\eta\rho\iota\omicron\tilde{\nu}$.

12. $\epsilon\alpha\tilde{\nu}\epsilon\gamma^{\Delta}$, presumably a mistake for $\epsilon\alpha\tilde{\nu}\epsilon\gamma\alpha\tilde{\nu}^{\Delta}$ cf. line 3; alternatively for $\epsilon\alpha\tilde{\nu}\epsilon\gamma\Delta(\iota\alpha\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\omicron\tilde{\nu})$ which is sometimes found side by side with $\alpha\tilde{\nu}\alpha\rho\iota\varsigma\mu\omicron\varsigma$, cf. 303B²³ and 24.

Translation:

(broken)

Petros [.....

solidi ..]

The deacon Sevēros for the debt(? $\chi\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\varsigma$) (of the monastery)⁽¹⁾ through Apa Hēlias⁽²⁾

sol. $\frac{1}{3}$

Mechir 14. Apollō the son of Kyros for his poll-tax
($\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\epsilon\iota\sigma\mu\omicron\varsigma$)

sol. $\frac{1}{3}$

Pamoun from P(e)psone⁽³⁾ for his poll-tax($\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\epsilon\iota\sigma\mu\omicron\varsigma$)
through Diomētēs⁽⁴⁾

sol. $\frac{1}{3}$

Likewise($\delta\mu\omicron\acute{\omega}\varsigma$). Apa Diomētēs for the debt(? $\chi\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\varsigma$) of
the monastery($\mu\omicron\tilde{\nu}\alpha\varsigma\tau\eta\rho\iota\omicron\tilde{\nu}$) through Achillitēs⁽⁵⁾
and Apa Psha⁽⁶⁾ and Petros the deacon⁽⁷⁾ and
El(i)ōtos⁽⁸⁾

sol. $4\frac{2}{3}$

Jerēmias (the son of) Labēs⁽⁹⁾ for his poll-tax($\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\epsilon\iota\sigma\mu\omicron\varsigma$)
through Apa Phōka⁽¹⁰⁾

sol. 1

Apa Johannēs from Lahmef⁽¹¹⁾ for the debt(? $\chi\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\varsigma$) (of
the monastery) through Apa Phōka

sol. $\frac{1}{3}$

Apa Isaac and Theodōros for the debt(? $\chi\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\varsigma$) (of the
monastery)

sol. $\frac{2}{3}$

Apa Kyri and Zacharias (the son of) Peğroğ⁽¹²⁾ and Apa
Kyri⁽¹³⁾ for the debt(? $\chi\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\varsigma$) (of the monastery)
through Apa Johannēs

sol. 1

Johannēs and Philotheos and his brother for their poll-

tax ⁽¹⁴⁾ through Apa Jōsēph	solidi	1
Markos for his poll-tax(ἀνδρασημῶς) through Diomētēs	sol.	$\frac{1}{3}$
Jōsēph the shoemaker for the debt(?χεῖος)(of the monastery) through Panikyros ⁽¹⁵⁾	sol.	$\frac{1}{3}$
Apollō the eunuch ⁽¹⁶⁾ for his poll-tax(ἀνδρασημῶς) through		
Thōmas the deacon ⁽¹⁷⁾	sol.	$\frac{1}{3}$

(margin)

- (1) Professor G.R.Driver suggested χεῖος for χε^ε, cf. Preisigke, Wörterbuch and Driver's note on χρεοφύλαξ in JHS XLIII, 55f.; a public debt concerning taxation is probably meant here. Supply '(of the monastery)' from lines 5, 8, 9, 10 and 14.
- (2) Apa Hēlias recurs elsewhere, cf. index.
- (3) P(e)psone, a place-name, only here.
- (4) Diomētēs recurs elsewhere, cf. index; probably the same person as Apa Diomētēs in the following line.
- (5) Achillitēs recurs elsewhere, see 197 note 8 and cf. index.
- (6) Apa Psha is probably the same person who occurs elsewhere as superior, cf. index.
- (7) Petros the deacon recurs elsewhere, cf. index.
- (8) Elōtos, probably the genitive of ἐλλως used as a name, apparently only here.
- (9) Labēs, a very strange name, apparently only here.
- (10) Apa Phōka recurs elsewhere, see index.
- (11) Lahmef, a place name, only here.
- (12) Peğroğ, a strange name, only here; literally: 'the seed'.
- (13) The scribe had evidently forgotten that he had already mentioned Apa Kyri before Zacharias, and thus mentions him here again by mistake.
- (14) See above line 12 note.
- (15) Panikyros, an unusual name, cf. the martyrdom of Panikyros the

Persian who was martyred with Theodōros the Oriental and Leontios the Arab, see Balestri-Hyvernat in C.S.C.O.43 pp.34 - 62, O.von Lemm: Bruchstücke Koptischer Märtyrerakten I, Morgan vols. XXXVIII, XLIX and XL.

- (16) Apollō the eunuch recurs 315² and 363⁸; but perhaps ψιοϣρ is a name here, cf. Quibbell: Sagqara IV 197, C.I.G. III 4990⁸, in that case translate: 'Apollō (the son of) Psiour'.
- (17) Thōmas the deacon recurs elsewhere, cf. index.

294

TAX ACCOUNT

(d 137b,c) Two fragments. Probably the same hand as 293.

↑

(broken)

1 ΠΕΙΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΔΟΥΞ ΖΙΤ[N

(gap)

3 ΜΥ ΧΑΗΛ ΠΝΕΕΥ ΖΑΠΥΑ[N^A

(broken)

3. ΜΥ for ὁμοίως?

ζαπυα[N^A, cf. 293^{3,4,7,12,13,15}.Translation:

(broken) Peinoute⁽¹⁾ the dux⁽²⁾ through [.....] (gap) Likewise(? ὁμοίως) Chaēl the sailor for his poll-tax [.....(broken)]

(1) For this name see 241 note 3.

(2) This entry evidently relates to the expenses of the dux, cf. chapter VI. On the functions of the dux at this period see Bell in J.E.A. vol. XII p.267 and references there.

295

TAX ACCOUNT

(g 14) Same hand as 303A,B and 321. On the Verso, fragment of an

account in the same hand.

↑

(broken)

]εαπα^Δ Ν.....[

]εαβεῖρ [ε]ΙΤΝ θεοδωρος.[

]ογ^Φ ΝΑΠΑ ΒΩΚ εαπ^Δεα^Δ[

]απα ΔΙΟΜΗΤΗΣ [

5 εΙΤ[οοτγ ΝΗΔΙΑΚ^Ω Θωμας[

(broken)

1. α^Δ for ανδριςμος, as elsewhere, cf. index; again in line 3.

Translation:

(broken)]for the poll-tax(ἀνδρισμός)⁽¹⁾[.....]for (a) basket(?)⁽²⁾ through Theodōros [.....]...? of Apa (A)bōk⁽³⁾ for his poll-tax(ἀνδρισμός) [.....]Apa Diomētēs⁽⁴⁾[.....]through the deacon Thōmas⁽⁵⁾[.....(broken)].

(1) For this tax see chapter VI.

(2) εαβεῖρ is very difficult; we should at least have expected εαγβεῖρ; similarly 303B¹⁸ εαβαίρε, cf. note 14 there.

(3) Cf. Crum: Dictionary p.2 b.

(4) This person recurs elsewhere, cf. index.

(5) This person recurs elsewhere, cf. index.

296

GREEK TAX ACCOUNT

(d 96c) Minuscule script. The only interest of this scrap is that it relates to the ἐμβολή (corn-tax), cf. chapter VI.

↑

(broken)

→

(broken)

1]αε[]δω ^{νν}[

4]ικκ[

2]εε σι^Γ[εμ]β^Δο^Δ[

5]ε^ε σι^Γ εμβ^Δο^Δ[

(broken)

6] αθ^ν } ε[

7] +[

(broken)

1. $\alpha\bar{e}$ for ἀετάρβη; $\nu\bar{\nu}$ for ὀνομάτων.

2. $\sigma\bar{\iota}^T[\epsilon\mu]\beta\delta$ for σίτου ἐμβολῆς; similarly in line 5

GREEK TAX ACCOUNT

(Ms Greek Class.f 83) Minuscule script.

For this type of document see P.Lond.IV 1419 - 1420.

(broken)

↑

] \ δ $\alpha\bar{e}$ δ [

] \ δ $\alpha\bar{e}$ δ

]

χ^ε απ. [

5] χ^ε πα[.]σμβοκ [] αἶ φξ οεϛ \ δ τ. [

] ' δγ ῑ ε[

] ' δγ ῑ[

(broken)

(broken)

→

8] υς $\alpha\bar{e}$ β ῑ \ [

].^ε ῑ. [

10] γη^δ πατμοου αἶ εη ῑ αλ [

] οεϛ πανατεμικ [α]ῖ δ ῑ α [

δ/ μενα χειστοφορου ῑ . [

] μεῖ πατσοντε[

14] τοπου [

(broken)

1. $\alpha\bar{e}$ for ἀετάρβη.

4. χ^ε presumably for χωλειον.

πα[.]σμβοκ, the reading not certain, this place apparently only here.

αἶ for ἄρουρα.

οεϛ for ὀρωγων? cf. P.Lond.IV 1419¹³²⁹ note and cf. Preisigke: Wörterbuch; ὀρωγων again in line 11.

10. γη^δ for γήδιον, cf. Preisigke: Wörterbuch.

10. πατμοου, cf. a fragment d 59a (from an account)]α πατεμο ς[⁽²⁾τινου[,
cf. also P.Masp.vol.II index πατεμου 'église (nome Antaiopolis)'
and αχιος πατεμου 'même couvent?'; cf. also P.Lond.IV 1420¹⁹¹
τοπ^{ου} αββ πατμο^{ου}.

11. πανατεμι^κ, this place apparently only here.

[α]ε⁸γ, in view of αε⁸εγ in line 10 and αε⁸φζ in line 4 perhaps read
[αε]⁸εγ here.

13. μεε⁸ for μέεος.

πατσοντε, this place apparently only here, but cf. P.Lond.IV 1420²⁴⁷
μ^ε το^π πατσο^ιε.

298

GREEK TAX ACCOUNT

(g 56) Minuscule script. On the Verso 173, earlier.

(margin)

1	[απο] πετε ^ε αββ ^ε πουλι	επι ^ζ	ν	ο[ε]
2	[απο] κ ^ε ιβιον ^ε		ν	λβ
3	[απο] ιβιον ^ε απολλ ^ε		ν	ς
4	· γγ επι ^ζ ν ε ^ε γ αφ ^ω γ μ ^ε		ν	οε[^ε γ]

(margin)

Translation:

[From] the rock of Abba Pouli ⁽¹⁾	tax-quota ⁽²⁾	solidi	75 ⁽³⁾
[From] .. Ibionos ⁽⁴⁾		solidi	32
[From] Ibionos Apollo ⁽⁵⁾		solidi	6
Total, tax-quota: solidi 113; of these (demanded by the treasury) ⁽⁶⁾			
two-thirds part: solidi 75 ⁽⁴⁾ .			

(1) This monastery recurs elsewhere, see chapter IV p.25; on πέτρα see chapter IV pp.28f..

(2) 'tax-quota' ἐπιζητούμενα, see Bell, P.Lond.IV p.82 '... ἐπιζητούμενα stands not merely for money required for the central treasury, but

also for other purposes, presumably local; it may be translated simply "tax-quota" ...'; p.83 '... but on the whole it is best to suppose that by ἐπιζητούμενα in these papyri is always meant money both required and paid and that the remainder refers to so much of this as was not required by the treasury ...', cf. note 6 below.

- (3) As the total in line 4 is 113, this must have been 75.
- (4) This presents some difficulty; the same is found, though without context in a small fragment d 157b]κ^ϕ ιβιωνο[ε , and in 321⁹ we have βικ^τ ακ^ϕ ιβι^ω where βικ^τ is certainly a name. But as in line 1 here we clearly have a place-name, and in line 3 most probably too (see note 5), this, presumably, is also a place-name, perhaps with 321⁹ to be supplied α]κ^ϕ ιβιωνο[ε. For Ibion(os) as a place-name see A. Calderini in Mélanges Maspero II, pp.345ff..
- (5) Ibionos Apollo recurs as ιβι απολλων in 288¹¹ and from a comparison with lines 1 - 6 and 12 there it seems certain that this is a place-name. It may be noted that in 288, as here, we have Ibionos Apollo in close connection with the rock of Abba Pouli, see 288¹¹ and 288¹². The same place is probably also found on a small fragment Ms. Greek Class. d 89e απο χ^ω ιβι^ω [.
- (6) On ἀφ' ὧν see Bell, P. Lond. IV p.82: '... ἀφ' ὧν refers not to all the money collected but to an amount demanded by the central treasury ...'. Here it is interesting to note that the amount demanded by the central treasury was two-thirds of the tax-quota..

299

GREEK TAX ACCOUNT

(Ms. Greek Class. f 82) Minuscule script, red ink.

—————→

(broken)

]τινιτ. ομ̇ ὶ β κδ̇ ουτως[
]των δ̇ απολ^ε " ὶ α ς β̇ ουτως δ̇[
]. π. τ. τ. α. κ. ι. ω. ν̇ ε. ν. ε. χ̇^ϕ α. π. [ο] β. α. [β. υ.] λ. ω. ὶ κ. α. ν. [

- 4]χλου [δ] ηλι^α ωανν^ν ον^ι σοι^δ βικτωρ κ^ν με^κ [
- 5]ετομ δ^ι σεργου μην^ω απωλ^ε κομη^η ενχ[
-]δ^ι ωανν^ν βελε ον^ι ωαν[ν^ν]λουκ^κ χ[
- (broken)

Verso: (?)

(broken)

- ↑ 8]μ^η ουτ^ω ∴ γ κ^δ ∴ δ μ^η ∴ κ δ μ^η ∴ . . .
- 9 κ δ μ^η ουτ^ω ∴ β λ δ^δ ∴ α λ κ δ μ^η ∴ δ^δ ∴ β γ
- (another 5 similar lines, then broken)

3. ενεχ^θ for ἐνεχ^θέντων?5. Supply ον^ι (ὀνόματι) before απωλ^ε κομη^η, accidentally omitted.6. βελε, for this name cf. P.Lond.IV 1420²³⁴ τοπος πικρ βελε, alsoWorrell: Coptic Texts IV, 25 βελλε.ωαν[ν^ν]λουκ^κ recurs 383² ω[αννου] λουκκ.

300

GREEK TAX ACCOUNT

(d 45) Minuscule script. 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ by 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches, neither complete. Probably from an account-book.

This account is of some interest, as it is an account for the three taxes demanded in the interesting document 130 (q.v.). It is arranged in three columns: the first column contains the amount paid by each person for poll-tax (δῶδεκαφορ), the second column that for the 'expenses for twelve months' (δαπάνη μηνῶν δώδεκα) see 130⁴ note, the third column that which is paid for 'those away from home' (ἐξέδρων) see 130⁴ note. It may be noted that while every person pays the poll-tax, only some pay the other two taxes.

(margin)

	εβιβλ ^ε	δα ^α	μμ[ιβ]
	πεκ ^ο νκεο ^ο	∴ μ ^η	[
	ω ^σ νκεο ^ο	∴ μ ^η	∴ — [
4	θεο ^δ ψεπνου ^θ	∴ μ ^η	∴ — [

5	ιεε̃ γεωρε̃ι	̇ μή	̇ —	[
	διοσκ̃ αντηυ	̇ μή	̇ —	[
	φιβ̃ ιεε̃	̇ μή	̇ —	[
	ενωχ̃ κολλου̃ [†]	̇ μή	̇ —	[
	απολλω̃ ιεε̃	̇ μή	̇ —	[
10	παποστ̃ ^δ βικ̃ ^τ	̇ μή	̇ μή	[
	ον̃ ιεε̃	̇ μή	̇ —	[
	ω̃ τιμοθ̃ ^ε	̇ μή	̇ —	[
	βησα̃ απολλω̃	̇ μή		[
	κολλου̃ [†] ιωαν̃ ^δ	̇ μή		[
15	ψεπνου̃ [†] μερε̃ ^κ	̇ μή		[
	παπνο̃ [†] υ	] ̇ μή		[
17	[	] ̇ μή		[

(broken)

Verso: (?)

(margin)

19	↑ [?]	δικε̃ ^ε	μμ̃ ιβ̃	εζ̃[ε̃] ^δ
20	[μ]η̃ ^κ παυλ̃ ^ι	̇ 5 η̃	̇ κδ̃ μή	̇ μή
	αθ̃αν̃ πισα̃ ^τ	̇ 8 κδ̃ μή	̇ κδ̃ μή	̇ μή
	βικ̃ ^τ θεοδωσι̃ ^ι	̇ 8 κδ̃ μή	̇ κδ̃ μή	̇ μή
23	μηνε̃ μακ̃ ^ι [ι]ωανν̃ ^ω	̇ 8 η̃	̇ 5	̇ ~
(1 line left blank)				
24	φιλο̃ [†] γεε̃μεν̃ ^η	̇ μή	̇ ~	̇ ~
25	ιωανν̃ ^ι δαυιδ̃	̇ μή	̇ ~	̇ ~
	ενωχ̃ παρω̃ ^[2]	̇ μή	̇ ~	̇ [~]
	[] ου̃ πετε̃ ^ι	̇ μή	̇ ~	̇ []
	[] σενο̃ [†]	̇ μή	̇ ~	̇ ~
	[] βικ̃ ^τ	̇ μή	̇ ~	̇ ~
30	[] ω̃...π̃ ^ι []
	[] μη̃ν̃ []

(broken)

1. εβ̃ιβ̃λ̃^ε or εκ̃ιβ̃λ̃^ε, obscure.

1. $\delta\iota\alpha$ for $\delta\iota\alpha\gamma\epsilon\alpha\phi\omicron\nu$, similarly in line 19.
 $\mu\mu\beta$, again in line 19, for $(\delta\alpha\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta) \mu\eta\nu\acute{\omega}\nu \delta\acute{\omega}\delta\epsilon\kappa\kappa$, cf. 130⁴ note.
2. $\pi\epsilon\kappa^{\nu}$ for $\pi\epsilon\kappa\upsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma$, as elsewhere (P.Lond.IV, P.Ross.Geor.IV, al.).
 $\nu\alpha\rho\omicron^{\circ}$, again in the next line and 386¹¹; cf. $\nu\alpha\alpha\rho\epsilon\upsilon\upsilon$ P.Ross.Geor.V 70⁵,
 $\nu\alpha\rho\rho\omega\upsilon\varsigma$ in Preisigke: Namenbuch and the Coptic $\nu\alpha\rho\rho\omega\upsilon$ (Krall, Ryl. etc.).
3. ω for $\omega\sigma\eta\phi$, again line 12.
4. $\psi\epsilon\pi\nu\omicron\theta(\iota\omicron\varsigma)$, again in line 15, Preisigke: Namenbuch only cites P.Lond. IV; cf. also V.C.47¹ and note 2 there.
5. $\iota\epsilon\rho^{\epsilon}$ for $\iota\epsilon\rho\eta\mu\iota\alpha\varsigma$, again in lines 7, 9 and 11.
6. $\alpha\nu\tau\eta\nu$, I cannot parallel this name, apparently only here.
10. $\pi\alpha\pi\omicron\sigma\tau\omicron\lambda(\iota\omicron\varsigma)$, see 161⁴ note.
11. $\omicron\nu^{\nu}$ for $\delta\omicron\nu\nu\omega\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$.
26. $\pi\alpha\rho^{\omega}$, cf. Preisigke: Namenbuch $\pi\alpha\rho\epsilon\upsilon$, this name also CMSS 46, Krall 38⁸, al.; cf. also $\pi\epsilon\rho\omega$ Hall pl.19, B.M.1235.

301

MONASTIC TAX ACCOUNT

(f 52; g 45; d 127a) Ligatured.

(margin)

↑

[$\pi\chi\omicron$ $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ $\epsilon\tau\delta\iota\omicron\iota\gamma\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ $\eta\mu\omicron\nu\omicron\alpha\sigma\tau\eta\rho^{\circ}$

[$\eta\omicron\iota\kappa^{\circ}$ $\chi\iota\eta\eta\tau\alpha\chi\varsigma$ $\eta\gamma\chi\omega\rho\epsilon\iota$ $\eta\alpha\eta\alpha$

[$\eta\epsilon$ $\chi\iota$ $\eta\epsilon$ $\varsigma\omicron\upsilon$ $\chi\omicron\upsilon\tau\eta$ $\eta\alpha\omicron\eta\epsilon$

[$\eta\epsilon$ $+$

5 [\dots $\eta\epsilon$ $\eta\eta\lambda\iota\alpha\varsigma$ $\eta\epsilon$ α

(gap ?)

7 [$\eta\epsilon$ $\eta\eta\lambda\iota\alpha\varsigma$ $\eta\epsilon$ α

[$\eta\eta\lambda\iota\alpha\varsigma$ $\eta\eta\lambda\iota\alpha\varsigma$ $\eta\epsilon$ α

[$\eta\epsilon$ $\eta\eta\lambda\iota\alpha\varsigma$ $\eta\epsilon$ α

10 [$\eta\eta\lambda\iota\alpha\varsigma$ $\eta\epsilon$ α

[$\eta\eta\lambda\iota\alpha\varsigma$ $\eta\epsilon$ α

12	[	]	° γ
	[	] 21TN	
	[	] ° α γ	
15	[	] ... MN	
	[	] ° α	

(broken)

Translation:

[..... the] expenses for the tax-payment (δικοκήσις)⁽¹⁾ of the monastery (μοναστηρίον) [through(?) the] steward (οἰκονομος)⁽²⁾ from the time when he agreed with(?) (συγχωρεῖν)⁽³⁾ Apa [.....] 15th indiction; from the twenty-fifth day of Phaophi [14th indiction(?) until the twenty-fifth day(?) of Phaophi (?)] 15th indiction.

[For through ...] and Hēlias solidi 1

(gap ?)

[For] ... ? [... through ...] and Apa Mēna sol. 5½

[For] through Kōstantine [and(?)] Theodōros sol. 1

[For the expenses of the] governor (σύμβουλος)⁽⁴⁾ through [...] sol. ½

[For] through [.....] sol. 1½

[For through ...] and [...] sol. 1

(broken)

(1) The taxes were levied primarily on the community or a tax-district called δικοκήσις, hence the word came to mean tax-payment, cf. Tor. 21⁵ note, and elsewhere. The word could also mean 'management' etc., but this seems very unlikely here.

(2) On this title see chapter V p.34.

(3) The translation of συγχωρεῖν presents serious difficulties. In Coptic non-literary texts it almost invariably means 'permit someone to do something', 'consent that someone does ...', etc., cf. P.Lond. IV 1528¹⁰; J.74⁹⁶, 79³², 97⁵², 106²⁰⁸; J^{Sch} 6^{29,35}; C.O.108⁴, 111⁵; S.T. 98²⁵; al.pl.. In the present case that translation seems hardly

possible. One might be tempted to translate: 'since the time when he combined with Apa ...'; for this considerable evidence might be cited from Thebes from where we know that monasteries were commonly administered by several superiors, cf. J.75; J.Sch.1 and 2; V.C.7; and especially J.85,107,109,110,111 where the monastery of Apa Phoibammōn is administered by two and three superiors called οἰκονόμοι (!). On the other hand it is questionable whether such a translation would be justified without further evidence.

- (4) It is difficult to see in what connection the governor is mentioned except as here suggested; cf. P.Lond.IV 1446¹⁵ and 26 δ^π τ^ο συμβ^ο, 1462 (i) 9 δαταν τ^ο πα[ν][συμ]β^ο, 1496 δατανε(ς) του συμβουλ(ου) and W.S.p.14.

302

MONASTIC ACCOUNT

(d 145a)

(margin)

↑

1

πχο ε]βαλ ηπμοναστηριον[

2

ανο]κ αμμων[ε

(broken)

2. Ammōne is probably the same person who appears elsewhere as superior, cf. index.

303A

MONASTIC ACCOUNT

- (g 18) Same hand a 295, 303B and 321. It is probable that this was the heading of 303B, but against this it must be noted that the Verso of the present document was re-used to write the list of names 392, and if 303A was part of 303B, it must have been detached from it in ancient times.

↑

(broken)

1

απ]α απολλω 2ιτοοτ ανοκ μι[

- 2 η[ροεστ^ω ΔΙΝΕΠΟΥ ΝΕΟΥ ΕΤΕ[COY
 Μ]ΥΡ ΝΤΙΡΟΜΠΕ ΤΑΙ 5 ς + [
] ——— [
- 5]ΤΥ ΝΙΩΞΑΝΗΣ ΠΔΙΟΙΚ^Τ ΖΙΤΝ ΘΕΟ^Δ ΕΛ[
]C ΜΝΠΑΣΟΝ ΖΑΥCΑ ΜΝ ΔΗ[Δ

(broken)

2. ΔΙΝΕΠΟΥ , see chapter VIII par.153.

4. ς ———, this sign is commonly used for οὕτως , cf. P.Lond.IV, al..

Translation:

[+The expenses of the monastery⁽¹⁾ of] Apa Apollō through me Mi[chaēl
 (?)⁽²⁾ the least priest and] prior⁽³⁾, from today which is the [... day of
 the month ... indiction ... until the ... day of the month] Mechir in this
 year the sixth indiction. +

Thus: (οὕτως)

[For] of Johannēs the διοικητής⁽⁴⁾ through Theodōros [.....]
 [For through ...] and 'my brother'⁽⁵⁾ Hausa⁽⁶⁾ and Apa[.....]

(broken)

(1) For the lacuna cf. 301¹, 302¹ and cf. also 312¹.

(2) Mi[chaēl] or perhaps Mēna; neither recurs elsewhere in this collection
 as superior of the monastery, but there is a Mēna who is a priest
 and βολιθός , cf. index.

(3) For the lacuna cf. 102³ and 103³; on the title prior(προεστώς) see
 chapter V p.32.

(4) For this title see the full discussion in Steinwenter, Studien (cf.
 the Index there), also Schiller, Koptisches Recht II (in Krit.Viertelj.-
 schrift XXVII) p.20 note 19 and references there.

(5) This title merely indicates that the person is a monk.

(6) Hausa is a very rare name; it recurs here 368¹ and as ΔΥCΑ 396¹¹,
 also Ryl.233 ΔΑΥCΑ; cf. perhaps Δ8CΔ 321⁶.

MONASTIC ACCOUNT

(b 9) Same hand as 295, 303A and 321. Probably part of 303A, cf. 303A introduction. 16 by 4 inches, neither complete.

Recto:

(broken)

↑

]Δαμ[ι]α[νος
 δια]κ^w αχιλλιτης]
]ος εαθνε νεβαμουλ ντ[
 ε]ημ^x εταποθηκ^ε]
 5]εαττιμη νουκα^x ειτν απ[α
 ηνο]δ ηρωμε] διουμητης[
]δ'ινε ειτν απα ελλο] οννοφρε^υ. [
]α παροου μν απα κυρε πεκ. [
 ε]αηβεκε μοονε νεσοου]
 10]ωαλιου παταμο^θ εακουⁱ βοα[
]τε ειτν απα ελλο]
]πδιακ^w μν παροου μν μν[να
 ελ]λο [μν .]νε μν απολ^xε
 (faded)]εαηβεκε μο[νε νεσοου
 15 α]πα ελλο]
 απα ελ]λο εαηδιαγ^r νεμον^{αχ} [
]θεοδωρος ποωρε] ηλια ον[
]τλουπας εαβαιρε ειτν θεο[δωρος
 (u)]η ενωχ πδιακ^w]
 20]απα ελλο εαηδιαγ^r]
 απα ελ]λο εαηδιαγ^r]
] (faded)]
 απα ελ]λο εαηδιαγ^r]
 εα]ηγαν^α]
 25]πδιοικ^τ ειτν απολλω ηρ[
 θεο]δωρος[

(broken)

Verso: —→

(on lower part only, margin)

28

21]ΤΟΟΤΨ ΝΑΠ^(sic) ΪΩΞΑΝΝΗΣ ΜΝ ΠΕΝΤΑΥΚ[
]Ν^(sic) ΜΑΞΕ ΕΥΣΗΜ ΖΝΠΠΥΡΓΟC [

30

σα]ψυε ΜΝ σαψυ[ε Ν]λαζη...[
]...ΝΞΗCΤΗC ΝΝΕΖ [
]ερ^τ ΝΒΝΝΕ [
 σα]ψυ^ι Νερ^τ ΝΒΝΝ[ε]ταπα^ι[

34 (added)

]ΜΝΝΝΙΒΤΟΥ^ι...[

35

]οργον ΝΧΟΕΙΤ ΝΝ[

]μεγαριC ΝΧΟΕΙΤ ΝΑΛΑΥ [

]μνουα ΝΝΕCΟΟΥ^(sic) ΝCορ^τ[

38 (added)

]Β^τ ΕCΜΗΖ[

Ν]ταυμοϋ ΕΥΖΗΤΨΜΕΡΙC Α[

40

Ν^(ι)ΤΑ]ΝΤΑΔΥ ΕΠΜΟΝΟ ΑΥΨΙΤ[ΟΥ]ερ^τ ΝCΟΥΟ [

]ερCο ΝCΚΕΥΗ [

]β^ιΝΤΟΥ ΖΝΝΕCΚΕΥΗ ΝΤΑΥΤΑΔΥ ΕΤ[

]ΒΑΛΟΤ Γ ΟΥCΙΝΔΩ[ΝΕ

45

]ψιμον ΝCορ^τ α οΥΟ[

] α πρΗ[ψ

] α οΥΨΟΤ[

]ρΒΕ α CΥΝΤΕ Ν[

]ΚΟΤΕ α ...[

50

] α λωΤ[ΙΞ

(broken)

3. ΝΕΒΑΜΟΥΛ for ΜΝΒΑΜΟΥΛ, similarly line 16 ΝΕΜΟΝ^{αχ}, see chapter VIII par.93.

9. Read ζαηβεκε (ψ)μοονε (Ν)ΝΕCΟΟΥ, see chapter VIII paragraphs 78 and 80m.

10. ζακογι^ι βοα[, difficult; we should at least have expected some article. For the omission of Ν after κογι^ι see chapter VIII par.80d.

34. and 38. Added later, but by the same hand; 34 obscure.

48. CYNTE for CNTE, see chapter VIII par.5.

Translation:

(broken)]Damianos[..... through the]deacon Achillitēs⁽¹⁾ and [.....] for the fare of the camels of[.....]vinegar for Tapothēkē⁽²⁾ [..... - 5 -]for the price(τιμή) of a καχ⁽³⁾ through Apa[.....]the superior⁽⁴⁾ and Diomētēs⁽⁵⁾ [.....]... (?) through Apa Hello⁽⁶⁾ and Onnophrios [.....] Pahoou⁽⁷⁾ and Apa Kyre ... [.....]for the wage of feeding the sheep⁽⁸⁾ [.. - 10 - the]γαλιον⁽⁹⁾ from Tapothēkē⁽²⁾ for (a) small ... (?) [.. ..]through Apa Hello[.....]the deacon and Pahoou and Mēna[..... Apa]Hello [and ..]he⁽¹⁰⁾ and Apollō[.....]for the wage of feeding [the sheep⁽⁸⁾ - 15 -]Apa Hello[..... Apa]Hello for the poll-tax(δωδεκαφον) of the monks⁽¹¹⁾ [.....]Theodōros the fisherman⁽¹²⁾ and Hēlia[.....]the remainder (λοιπός)⁽¹³⁾ for ... (?)⁽¹⁴⁾ through Theodōros [.....]and (?) Enōch the deacon [..... - 20 -]Apa Hello for the poll-tax(δωδεκαφον) [..... Apa]Hello for the poll-tax(δωδεκαφον) [.....] (line 22 faded) [..... Apa]Hello for the poll-tax(δωδεκαφον) [.....]for his poll-tax(δωδεκαφον)⁽¹⁵⁾ [.....] the δωδεκαφον⁽¹⁶⁾ through Apollō[.....]Theodōros [.....] (broken).

Verso: (margin)]through Apa Johannēs and him whom he [.....]flax being pressed⁽¹⁷⁾ in the tower(πύργος)⁽¹⁸⁾ [..... - 30 -]seven(?) and seven 'lahē-measures⁽¹⁹⁾ [.....]sextarion(ξέστης) of oil [.....]artaba(s) of dates [.....]seven artabas of dates ... (?) [.....] (line 34 obscure) [..... - 35 -]orgon-measure(s)⁽²⁰⁾ of olives of [.....]megaris-measure(s)⁽²¹⁾ of white olives [.....]and one of the sheep, the wool (?)⁽²²⁾ [.....]being full [.....]who died, it being in his lot(μέρους)⁽²³⁾ [..... - 40 - which we]gave to the monastery and he took [them⁽²⁴⁾]artaba(s) of wheat [.....]... (?) articles(σκεύη) [..... which were(?)] found among the articles(σκεύη) which were given to⁽²⁵⁾ [.....]skins: 3; a linnen cloth(σινδών)⁽²⁶⁾ [.....]... (?) of wool: 1; a [.....]: 1; cloak(s): [.....]: 1; a pillow-bag [.....]: 1; [.....]: 1; two [.....]... (?) : 1; [.....]: 1; coverlet(s)⁽²⁷⁾: [.....] (broken).

- (11) Cf. 290^{6,9,12,15}.
- (12) Theodōros the fisherman recurs 291^{9,10} and 321¹.
- (13) For λοιπός cf. B.M.1090, 1111¹³, 1122^{vo.9}; Mitt.Rain.V p.50; S.T.174⁵, 179⁴?, 7, 199¹⁸.
- (14) εαβαίρε is very difficult; cf. 295² and note 2, where we have the same difficulty; perhaps βαίρε is a place-name here.
- (15) Although elsewhere in this document we find διαγροφον to denote the poll-tax, here the writer has used ἀνδροεισμός; see 130 Appendix note 6.
- (16) For this title cf. 303A note 4.
- (17) Cf. Crum: Dictionary p.334b.
- (18) This is the only reference to a tower in the present collection; for towers in monasteries cf. Ep.vol.I p.24 and elsewhere.
- (19) Cf. W.S.p.23.
- (20) Cf. W.S.p.25.
- (21) Megaris-measure apparently only here; perhaps cf. μεγα, see W.S. p.24.
- (22) The translation of this line is very difficult and doubtful.
- (23) This line is remarkable; the translation offered seems probable, though one might have expected εϋζντημερις; alternatively it might be translated: 'he being in his region', cf. J.42¹⁵ where μερις is used in this sense, but this seems unlikely.
- (24) Perhaps supply: ['A list of the articles which] we gave to the monastery ...'.
- (25) Perhaps supply: ['A list of the(things) which we] found among the articles which were given to the [...]'. This line is evidently the heading of a list of articles which follows in the next few lines arranged in two (or more) columns.
- (26) For this word cf. Ep.558 note 3; it recurs here 328⁹.
- (27) For this word cf. C.O.242 note (p.61), also Ep.545 notes 5 and 7, Tor.43^{vo.3}, and elsewhere; here again 325² and 327³.

MONASTIC ACCOUNT

(e 20) Ligatured.

↑

(broken)

]κε ς θεοδ[ωρος

]ννειωτ ειτν απολλ[ω

]ν απα κ' ειτν θεοδ[ωρος

αβ]ραγαμ ειτν απα φωκα ια[

5

].φ^τ νπχοϊ απα κ' ειτ[ν

αη]α ελο ς ηλγ πβη[θος

απα] ελο μν απα πογ[

]ερ νειωτ ειτν διο[μνητης

]κ' ειτν απα αβ]ραγαμ

10

α]φρικ^η εντ.[

π]ραετ .[

12

]ειτν α[

(broken)

All the names mentioned here recur elsewhere in this collection, especially in the accounts 290, 291, 293, 295, 303B. For the spelling of Apa Hello see 290 note 13.

10. The mention of αφρικη is interesting; cf. P.Lond.IV 1438¹⁰ ς μισ^φ τεχν^η Αφεικ^ς; 1443²⁹ δ^φ(=δαπανηθέντα) ναυτ Αφρικ^η; 1452² ζ ναυτικ^{ον} καρεβων ο^υτ^τ] εντ Α[φεικ^ς]; 1566⁴ κατα νεεγ νταγβωκ εταφρικη; cf. also 1451¹⁰⁰, 1472.

11. Perhaps supply [.απολλω π]ραετ 'Apollo the cleaner', see 290 note 11.

GENERAL ACCOUNT

(e 41; d 82c; a further fragment is d 156b). Ligatured.

→

(broken)

1

].ρεγροεις ὁ α [

(gap)

7. '[...]the $\beta\omicron\gamma\theta\acute{o}\varsigma$ who died, through [...]; for the title $\beta\omicron\gamma\theta\acute{o}\varsigma$ see chapter V p.35.

(d 151f) This is an unusual account; it relates most probably to offerings on behalf of deceased persons. On these offerings see P.Mon.⁸⁵ note(pp.100f.) and references there, also Ep.vol.I pp.149,161,173(note), 175,184,185 and cf.here 189 note 14.

2. τ^ν for $\tau\nu\beta e$; similarly line 4 μ^x for $\mu e\chi e e$.

(d 135d) The chief interest of this scrap is that it preserves a rare word.

10	[	]	εμογ	ᾱρ	α
	[	]	ᾱρ β παποϊ	ᾱρ	α
			σιμεν̄ε	ᾱρ β	
13			παποϊ	ᾱρ β	
			(space)		
14			απα κυρε σογο	ᾱρ κ	
15			κωσμα σογο	ᾱρ ια οϊ	
			οεϊκ	ᾱρ ιβ	
			οεϊκ	ᾱρ ιγ	
			βογβ	ᾱρ α	βογβ ᾱρ γ
			εογγ	ᾱρ γ	βερσιμ ᾱρ ζ
20			φοι[β] σογο	ᾱρ ιη	(sic) εγ ᾱρ ε
			[	ᾱρ ι	οιπε ᾱρ θ
			[	ᾱρ (sic) ρε οϊ ε	ογρω εγβ ᾱρ (sic) οϊ α
			[	ᾱρ με	σιμεν̄ε οϊ ι
			αρακ[ε]	ᾱρ κα	παποϊ ᾱρ γ
25			[ε]ογγ	ᾱρ ε	[
			(broken)		

Verso:	↑ (sic !)	(margin)			
27	[...]X σογο	ᾱρ μγ	γεωρ.	ᾱρ ια οϊ β	
	ντογ ον σογδ ^(sic)	ᾱρ ε	οεϊκ	ᾱρ γ	
	βογβ	ᾱρ ε	εογγ	ᾱρ α οϊ α	
30	εογγ	ᾱρ ε	σιμεν̄ε	ᾱρ α οϊ [
	εογγ	οϊ α			
	οεϊκ	ᾱρ λγ			
33	σιηογ	ᾱρ γ			
		(margin)			

2,3,4. = ; the significance of this sign is obscure to me, cf. 318 below.

2. οιπε, also abbreviated as οϊ in lines 4, 6, 15, 22, 23, 27, 29, 30, 31. The

'oipe'-measure was one sixth of the artaba, see Bell: P.Lond.V p.

159 - 165.

3. ερτ for ερτοβ (= ἀετ' ἄβη), again in line 4.

κοο 'wheat'. again in lines 14,15,20,27,28; it is to be noted that in each case κοο is preceded by a name.

4. ἀραε , again in line 24, the Greek ἄρακος ; on this word see Preisigke: Wörterbuch 'eine schotenartige Frucht', cf. also W.S.202 note and references there. In the present collection it recurs 318² and 319(passim).

5. οεῖκ 'bread, loaf', again in lines 16,17,28,32; it seems remarkable that this is reckoned in artabas.

ἄρ for ἀετ' ἄβη .

6. ζογγ 'vetch, pulse', again in lines 19,25,29,30,31.

9. βογβ 'safflower, cardamum', again in lines 18,29; also 270³ and 310⁶.

10. ζμογ 'salt'.

11. παμοῖ 'bird, chicken', again in lines 13,24; it seems strange to find παμοῖ in this account and reckoned in artabas; perhaps the word had a different meaning here.

12. cūmenē , again in lines 23,30; perhaps for cū-nez or cūnnez, see Crum: Dictionary p.334a.

19. βερσιμ , perhaps 'clover' (برسيم), cf. Crum: Dictionary p.43b and Worrell: Coptic Texts p.332.

20. εγ , obscure; hardly for αγ 'flesh', but cf. παμοῖ in this account.

21. οῖτε , this can hardly be the measure here, mistake ?

22. ογρω εγβ , not ογρω εγβηβ as cited by Crum: Dictionary p.489a; ἄρ following εγβ is certainly a mistake; perhaps the scribe intended to write ογρω εγγογ cf.310¹.

27. ρεωρ . , obscure; hardly the name ρεωρε .

28. κοα (sic !) for κοο , cf. chapter VIII par.43.

33. cιμογ for σίπιον , σόπιον , cf.W.S.101 note 6, Krall 245^{vo.14,15}, B.M.1128 note 1, Ryl.(index), etc..

FOOD-ACCOUNT

(d 47) $8\frac{1}{2}$ by $9\frac{3}{4}$ inches, complete. Uncials, same hand as 159, 335, 336, 365. Note: The fragment cited in Crum: Dictionary p.673b $\alpha\lambda\beta\iota\epsilon$ and p.675 $\epsilon\alpha\mu\epsilon$ as 'd 47' is 336 here; that fragment, though written by the same hand, is not part of this papyrus.



(margin)

(remains of one line)

2	+ οὐρω εὑcoraj	•	αρ̄ β
	αραῖνι εὑcoraj	•	αρ̄ α
	φασίλε	•	αρ̄ δ
5	βαγβαγ	•	αρ̄ α
	^(mic) βογχ	•	αρ̄ δ
	εογμ̄	•	αρ̄ ε
	βαλ ναῖοκ		οιπε δ
	βυνε		οιπε δ
10	^(mic) θαρογς		αρ̄ β
	νεσογο νῆκε νεμοῦ	•	αρ̄ ε οιπε[
	ειοογθ:		^(mic) λιῖρα δ\
	[	]	: οη
	[	]	: μ
15	κογι νλακον νζαλου	:	β
	νεε ζεστης	:	ιθ

(margin)

9. βυνε for βννε, cf. 335²⁻⁴ (same hand) βυρε for βρε; see chapter VIII par. 86.

Translation

(remains of one line)

Beans ... (?) (1)	artabas	2
Lentils ... (?) (1)	artabas	1
Beans (φάσηλος) (2)	artabas	4

Chicken-peas	artabas	1
Safflower ⁽³⁾	artabas	4
...(?) ⁽⁴⁾	artabas	5
Crow's eye ⁽⁵⁾	oipes ⁽⁶⁾	4
Dates	oipes	4
Lupines(?) ⁽⁷⁾	artabas	2
Wheat as wage for the mill(μυλών)	artabas	5, oipes[..]
...(?) ⁽⁸⁾	litra ⁽⁹⁾	4½
[.....]		78
[.....]		40
Small 'lakon'-measures ⁽¹⁰⁾ of cheese		2
Oil, sextarions(ξέστης)		19

(margin)

(1) On εγγοργ see Crum: Dictionary pp.356b - 357a.

(2) φάσηλος, again S.T.438^{6,12}, Krall 247^{7,9}, cf. also Preisigke: Wörterbuch.

(3) Cf.309⁹ note.

(4) 20γμ here only, cf. Crum: Dictionary p.674b; Crum suggests: 'Cf. ? 20γγ'.

(5) Cf.Crum: Dictionary p.2b, also Till: Die Arzneikunde der Kopten p.51; a kind of bean.

(6) Six 'oipe'-measures were one artaba, see Bell: P.Lond.V pp.159 - 165.

(7) φαρν perhaps for θερμος, cf. V.C.124⁵ φαρμος.

(8) εἰφογθ., obscure.

(9) 'litra', a common measure, cf. W.S.(index), S.T.(index), etc..

(10) For 'lakon'-measure see W.S.p.23; generally a measure for wine, but here for cheese.

(f 62) It is interesting to find the Greek τρεῖς and the Coptic ⲭⲓⲣ,

both meaning 'salt-fish', side by side; for other examples of this see
Crum: Dictionary pp.780b-781a.

↑

(margin)

+ ——— (sic)

ΟΥ ΚΟ[...] ΕΠ[...] ΝΤΑΡΙΧ[Ε

ΟΥΑΝ[ΓΗ] Ν[Ν] ΧΙΡ [

ΒΤΟΟΥ Ν ΧΕΝΩΒ [

5

ΒΤΟΟΥ Ν... [] ΒΑΤ [

(broken)

4. ΧΕΝΩΒ for ΧΝΟΥ 'basket'.

312

WINE-ACCOUNT

(c 12) Ligatured. 14 by 6½ inches, recto complete, verso incomplete.

For this account cf. Crum's note in Petrie: Gizeh and Rifeh (double volume)
p.42 par.105.

↑

(margin)

(sic) Ν

ΠΧΟ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΝΗΡΠ ΝΤΔΙΑΚΟΝΙΑ ΝΤΙΣΕ +

ΒΙΚΥ ΠΑΛΑΥ

ΟΥ ΚΥ^δ η

ΝΕΤΟΥΩΒΠ

ΟΥ η

ΒΙΚΥ ΠΑΛΑΥ

ΟΥ []

5

ΘΕΟ^Δ ΠΒΟΗ[†]

ΟΥ []

ΠΑΜΟΥΝ^(sic) ΠΕΡΥΡΟΕΙΣ

ΟΥ ΚΣ[?]

ΜΗΝΑ ΠΕΤΣΙΡΕ

ΟΥ β

ΤΡΑΠΖΑ^Δ ΝΠΛΟΒ^(sic) ΝΡΩΜ^Ε

ΟΥ δ

ΤΕΚΛΕΣΙΑ

ΟΥ ς

10

ΤΗΤΡΑΠΕΖΑ

ΟΥ δ

ΘΕΟ^Δ ΠΑΥ^(sic)Τ

ΟΥ δ

ΜΑ ΝΒΑΜΟΥΛ

ΟΥ η

ΘΑ[...]Α

ΟΥ ζ

ΔΑΜΙΑΝΟΥ

ΟΥ β

15	παπνοῦς Βικτ ^τ	α[γ]
	θεοῦ παμ	ογ[]
	ΝΚΑΛΑΦΑΤΗΣ	ογ 5
	ΠΥΗΣΝΗΤ	ογ i
	...ΥΤΕ	ογ κδ γ δ
20	ψα μπνειω ^τ	ογ Σε
	κολλοῦ ^φ απο πετ ^δ αββ ^τ ιω	ογ θ
22	ΝΕΡΩΜ ΑΠΑ ΙΕΡΜΙΑΣ	ογ δ

(margin)

Verso: (continued from the recto) (broken) —→

24	α5...[.]ψ ^ε	
25	οι ^ο το5 γ α ογ οδ	
	ις απα αρων τα2ογ επμονο ^τ γγ γ δ δ	
	παμ ^τ ουν δ 5 μηνα πετσιρε δ 5 δαμιανογ γ 5	
	ΙΕΒΟΛ ΝΑΡΩΝ ΑΠΟΠΡ ^ο γγ γ ρ i α λ	
	ΥΝΟΝ ΝΤΙ2Ε γ γ ε δ μ β	
30	ω Ν[] γ η β	

(margin)

1. There is something added above this line, illegible.
8. πμο6 for πνο6; see chapter VIII par.85.
11. παγ^τ, perhaps for π(ν)αγτης, alternatively some name.
21. πετ^τ for πετρογ, cf. 205⁷ εντπετ^τ for εντπετρα.
28. αρων αποπρ^ο, probably for αρων (π)αποπροεστως, cf. below.
29. It is not clear why there are two strokes over the γ and μ.

Translation:

The expenses of the wine of the δακονικα ⁽¹⁾ thus + : (2)	
Biktōr (son of) Palau ⁽³⁾	wine knidia ⁽⁴⁾ 8
.....(?) ⁽⁵⁾	wine 8
Biktōr (son of) Palau	wine [...]
(5) Theodōros the βογηθός ⁽⁶⁾	wine [...]

Pamoun the watchman	wine	26
Mēna (the son of) Pētsire ⁽⁷⁾	wine	2
Table(τράπεζα) ⁽⁸⁾ of the superior	wine	3
The church(ἐκκλησία) ⁽⁹⁾	wine	36
(10) Our table(τράπεζα)	wine	4
Theodōros the sailor(? ναύτης)	wine	4
Camelherd	wine	8
...(?)	wine	7
Damianos	wine	2
(15) Papnouthios (the son of) ⁽¹⁰⁾ Biktōr	wine	[..]
Theodōros (the son of) ⁽¹⁰⁾ Pamoun	wine	[..]
The ship-caulkers(καλαφάτες) ⁽¹¹⁾	wine	16
The smith	wine	10
...(?)	wine	24, sol. $\frac{1}{3}$ ⁽¹²⁾
(20) Feast of our father ⁽¹³⁾	wine	65
Kollouthos from (the) rock(πέτρα) ⁽¹⁴⁾ of Apa Jōhannēs	wine	9
The men (from the monastery) of Apa Jerēmias ⁽¹⁵⁾	wine	3(?)

(margin)

Verso:

(broken)

[...]	[.....(?)]	
(25) [...]	[...(?)] ⁽¹⁶⁾ 376, solidi: 1, wine: 73	
[...]	which(?) [...]	Apa Arōn assigned(?) to the monastery; total
	(γίνονται) solidi: $3\frac{1}{2}$	
[...]	[Pamoun $\frac{1}{3}$; and Mēna (the son of) Pētsire $\frac{1}{3}$; and	
	(17) Damianos solidi $\frac{1}{6}$	
[...]	[from Arōn (the) ex-prior(ἀπο-προεστώς) ⁽¹⁸⁾ total(γίνονται)	
	solidi: $111\frac{1}{2}$	
[...]	[...(?)] thus	solidi: 100 ...(?)
(30) [...]	[...(?)] [...]	solidi: $8\frac{1}{12}$
	(margin)	

- (1) On δ.α.κ.ο.ν.ί.α see above chapter V Appendix.
- (2) For this heading cf. B.M.463.
- (3) Biktōr the son of Palau recurs in line 4; for the name Palau see 252 note 2.
- (4) The whole account is reckoned in κν.δ.δ.α , though this is only mentioned in line 2; for the κν.δ.δ.ο.ν-measure see W.S. p.22.
- (5) νετογωδπ, difficult; hardly 'the things which are broken'.
- (6) For this title see chapter V p.35.
- (7) This person recurs in line 27; the name Petsire is a shortened form of the name Petosiris, cf. Preisigke: Namenbuch; it recurs here 332², also S.T.199³, and as πετσίρ Krall 38^{7,8} and Zoega 24.
- (8) τε.ά.πε.ζ.α may have the special meaning here of 'fund for charitable purposes', cf. Ep.I p.173; it recurs in line 10.
- (9) The reference to 'the church' here is of some interest; cf.189^{20,23} and E.E.F. Archaeological Report 1906-7 p.75.
- (10) The sign ς in lines 15 and 16 is probably the abbreviation-stroke, but it may also stand for κ.α.ί, in that case translate: 'Papnouthios and Biktōr' and 'Theodōros and Pamoun'.
- (11) For κ.α.λ.α.φ.ά.τ.η.ς see W.S.377 and cf. Preisigke: Wörterbuch.
- (12) In this case the expenses are not merely in wine, but also one-third of a solidus; cf. also the verso.
- (13) This probably refers to the feast of the founder of the monastery.
- (14) For this monastery see chapter IV p.24.
- (15) For this monastery see chapter IV pp.22f..
- (16) [α.α.], hardly for ο.δ.ν.ο.ς.
- (17) The three persons mentioned recur on the recto.
- (18) The occurrence of the title ἀπο-προεστώς here is of some interest; for the use of ἀπό with titles in the meaning 'ex-' see Steinwenter: Studien (Stud.Pal.XIX), p.40, also P.Lond.V 1687²³ note and Ryl.p.146 note 3, cf.P.Masp.III 67296;3. Number 100 here is a document in which a prior was appointed for a few days only; cf.

also chapter V.

313

WINE-ACCOUNT

(d 163i) Uncials. This and the next account were written by the same hand and are very similar to each other.

————→

(broken)

]ογ γ α.[

]ογ γ π...[

] ογ β γανδ[

] ογ β πανλε ς[

5] ογ α[

]ανδ κυρ^ε ογ η [

(broken)

Verso: (docket ?)

(margin)

↑ 8]πκαινεμα νουωτ^τ νηρ[π

9]δ... κα φ^π 5 ^ιδ ΝΤΙ26 + cy[

(margin)

1 etc.. ογ for ο²νογ.

8. καινεμα, the Greek γένημα.

314

WINE-ACCOUNT

(d 149c) Cf. the last document.

————→

(broken)

]οι/β πετρ[οc

] τραπετ[

3] κυροc[

(broken)

Verso: (docket ?)

(margin)

↑ 5 πκ]αινεμα μπηρη[

6

] π μ ο ν α σ τ η ρ ι ο [N

7

ρ ο μ π ε] τ α ι ε ι / ε π ι φ [

(margin)

2. τ ρ α π ε τ [, cf. τ ρ α π έ τ κ and τ ρ α π έ τ (ε) in P.Lond.IV.

315

ACCOUNT

(Ms. Greek class. d 89a)

↑

(broken)

[] κ ρ ε π α τ [

α π [ο λ] λ ω ψ ι ο υ [ρ

α π [α] τ ι μ η τ ρ ε [

ο ι [.] . [

5

ο μ ο υ κ ο λ λ α θ [

α π α σ α ρ α π α μ μ [ω ν

π ε τ ρ ε μ ε ρ [

8

ο μ ο ι [

(broken)

2. See 293 note 16.

3. For the κόλλαθον-measure see W.S.p.22.

316

WINE-ACCOUNT

(g 28)

(margin)

↑

1

† π λ ο γ ο ς ᾽ η η ρ η η [

2

λ α κ ο ν ᾽ ε γ ε μ ο ο ς F [

3

λ α κ ο ν ᾽ μ η ῖ ς α [

4

λ α μ ω τ η ς . α [

(broken)

1. η ρ η η for η ρ η , see chapter VIII par.2f.

2. Literally: 'lacon-measure sitting'; cf. 'lager' (Crum).

3. πικ for πικε, 'lacon-measure, boiled(?)'.

4. λαμωτης, λαμωτηρ, could also be read; presumably Greek, unidentified.

317

WINE-ACCOUNT ?

(e 56) Same hand as 340, uncials.

(broken)

[κολθε ποιωζε εα[] $\dot{\alpha}$ \
 ημακ βαρθολομεος νοβ εανρη - $\dot{\alpha}$ γ
 ηαον ισαακ ποικ, εανρη - - $\dot{\alpha}$ α
 απ εηλιας ηνοβ ηρωμε ειτη ηαον ετε
 5 [νε!χ^x ηδιακ[]
 (broken)

4. ετε, corrected; probably ετε|φανος was intended.

Translation:

[....]Kolthe the fisherman for [...] solidi $\frac{1}{2}$
 [.... the son of the]late Bartholomeos (the) elder for wine solidi 3
 [....]'my brother' Isaac the steward(οικόνομος)⁽¹⁾ for wine solidi 1
 [.... Apa Hēlias the superior⁽²⁾ through 'my brother' Stephanos(?)
 [and(?) ...]the least deacon(s)[...]

(1) Isaac the steward recurs 116²¹ and 177¹.

(2) Apa Hēlias as superior only here; cf. index.

318

WHEAT-ACCOUNT

(f 23) Large crude script, uncials. On the verso, Arabic, earlier.

The high figures (200 ? Artabas) should be noted. Cf. also 309.

(margin)

↑
 1 + χανλ соyo - ερτ = ср ер[
 2 араге ерτ πθ οινε[

- 3 $\phi\iota\lambda\omicron\theta\epsilon\varsigma$ ^(sic) $\epsilon\rho\tau = \text{ia}$ [
- 4 $\kappa\omega\varsigma\mu\alpha$ $\epsilon\rho\tau = \text{ia oipe}$ [
- (margin)

1. $\epsilon\rho\tau$ for $\rho\tau\omicron\beta$ (artaba).

For = cf. 309²⁻⁴.

$\epsilon\rho$ (sic!).

2. $\alpha\rho\alpha\epsilon$, see 309⁴ note.

CORN-ACCOUNT

(e 35) Crude script, uncials. On the verso, Arabic, earlier.

→ (margin)

+ $\mu\lambda\omicron\kappa\omicron\varsigma$ $\mu\pi\alpha\varsigma\omicron\eta$ [...]. λ

$\epsilon\iota\tau\mu$ ^(sic) $\varsigma\alpha\rho\alpha\mu\mu\omega\eta$ $\varsigma\omicron\upsilon\omicron$ $\alpha\tau$ ih $\alpha\rho\alpha\kappa\epsilon$ $\alpha\tau$ 5

$\eta\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\omicron\eta$ $\varsigma\omicron\upsilon\omicron$ $\alpha\tau$ i $\omicron\text{[}\pi\text{]}$ B

$\eta\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\omicron\eta$ $\alpha\rho\alpha\kappa\epsilon$ $\alpha\tau$ H N α

5 $\eta\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\omicron\eta$ $\alpha\rho\alpha\kappa\epsilon$ $\alpha\tau$ α $\omicron\text{i}$ B N 5

$\mu\mu\omicron\eta\omicron\chi\omicron\varsigma$ $\eta\alpha\mu\alpha$ ^(sic) $\alpha\rho\alpha\kappa\epsilon$ ^(sic) $\alpha\mu\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omega$ $\alpha\tau$ ϵ N γ

$\alpha\rho\alpha\kappa\epsilon$ $\omicron\text{i}$ Γ

8 $\tau\omicron\upsilon\omicron\text{i}\alpha\mu\alpha$ $\eta\tau\lambda\omicron$ $\varsigma\omicron\upsilon\omicron$ $\alpha\tau$ ϵ $\omicron\text{i}$ ϵ

(margin)

Translation:

+ The account of 'my brother' [...]

Through Sarapammōn, wheat	artabas 18	arak ⁽¹⁾	artabas 6
The same again, wheat	artabas	10 oipes	2
The same again, arak	artabas	8 solidi	1
(5) The same again, arak	artabas	1 oipes	2 sol. ^{$\frac{1}{6}$}
The monk of Apa Apollo, arak	artabas	5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ⁽²⁾ solidi	$\frac{2}{3}$
Arak	oipes	3	
Touoiama(?) ⁽³⁾ (the son of) Phello ⁽⁴⁾ , wheat	artabas	5 oipes	5

- (1) On arak see 309⁴ note.
- (2) It is to be noted that in lines 4 - 6 the amount stated in solidi corresponds to the amount stated in artabas and oipes, though in line 6 we should have expected $5\frac{1}{2}$ for $5\frac{1}{2}$ artabas; six oipes were one artaba, see P.Lond.V pp.159 - 165. Presumably, thus, the solidi indicate the price of arak per artaba, which here is one solidus for 8 artabas. Cf. also 102 above where one solidus is the price for eight artabas and two oipes of lentils.
- (3) $\tau\omicron\gamma\omicron\iota\delta\mu\alpha$ or $\tau\omicron\gamma\omicron\iota\delta\mu\alpha$ seems to be a name, apparently not elsewhere.
- (4) For the spelling of the name (P-)Hello with one λ only see 290 note 13.

320

CORN-ACCOUNT

(f 31) Crude script, uncials. Earlier text washed off.

—————→

(margin)

ρ πλοκος νσογο [
 ιωσνφ πεκωτ = [
 νμααχε [
 φλο πωε μακ [
 5 ουβαινε νσογο [
 παυλε πωε ν [
 ενω[χ
 νφλο π [
 νταβοττε [
 10 μααχε [

(margin)

Verso: —————→ (sic !) (docket ?)

11 ρ πλοκος νσογο

4,8. φλο for π-2λλο, see 290 note 13.

5. βαυνε for βοουνε, see chapter VIII par.50.

3,8,9. The initial ν is strange.

Translation:

‡ The account of wheat [...] Jōsēph the builder [...] Maaje-measures⁽¹⁾
 [...] P-Hello the son of (the) late [...] A sack of wheat [...] Paule the
 son of [...] Enōch [...] For(?) P-Hello [...] ...(?)(²) [...] Maaje-measure(s) [...] (margin)

Verso: ‡ The account of wheat [...].

(1) On this measure see W.S.p.24.

(2) ΝΤΑΒΟΤΤΕ, obscure.

321

WHEAT-ACCOUNT

(d 33) Same hand as 295, 303A and B.

Recto: Wheat account, only partly preserved; most lines end with
 εα σογο; contains:

↑	1	(a)]
	2	(b)	]\epsilon\ \rho\upsilon\epsilon\rho\delta\upsilon\eta\tau \epsilon\alpha\varsigma\omicron\gamma\omicron \quad [
	3	(c)	]\rho\omicron\upsilon\omicron\iota\epsilon \epsilon\alpha[\epsilon\gamma\omicron \quad [

Verso: Lines 4 and 5, uncials as on the recto, the rest in minuscule hand, probably by the same scribe.

→		(margin)
4	ΝΤ]ΑΥΤΑΔΟΟΥ ΕΝΘΕΝΗΥ	[
5	ΠΑΥΛΕ ς ΘΕΩΝΑ	γ [
	αβσα	γ ψοι'..[
	ατρε	κ κολ ⁺ [
8	^(sic) αμωνε	β α.[
	(space)	
9	ΒΙΚ ^τ ακ ⁺ ιβι ^ω	ι ^(sic) λαλ [
10	.....	δ μ.[
	απα κ ^γ ακ ⁺ /ω	δ [
	Ν]ερηβε καμ ^τ	ις [

(2 more lines containing γ and δ, then broken)

1. $\epsilon\kappa\tau^H$; probably read $\eta\epsilon\kappa\tau\eta\varsigma$, a place-name cf. 291 note 2.

Theodōros the fisherman recurs elsewhere, cf. 291 note 12.

2. πυερδυντ or πυερδυντ, probably some title, unidentified.

6. $\alpha\beta\alpha$; for this name cf. 303A note 6.

9. $B_1 K^T \alpha K^\theta B_1^\omega$; see 298 note 4.

λλλ; presumably a name, sic !

11. and $\kappa^y \alpha \kappa^{\theta} \omega$; cf. line 9 here; I am unable to explain the ω .

12. Нѣрнѣ ; see 291 note 14.

καμή; presumably for κάμουλ, βάμουλ 'camel'.

GENERAL ACCOUNT

(b 6; d 113a,b; d 125b) Perhaps 328 written by the same hand belongs to this account. 15 by 7 inches, neither complete. Minuscule script.

This is one of the most difficult papyri in the collection and much has remained obscure; in parts the script is badly faded.

Recto(?): (on upper half only, broken) →

ΤΚΟΥΙ ΝΡΕΙΕ..ΠΓΕΝ[

ТРИСОУЕННН ЕРМС.В2! .[

ΠΙΝΑΞ ΝΩΡΟ Χ ΣΚΟΥΔΕΛ. [

Закоп нарыын. а пароктү ннрп [

5 лзгн ннрп /β лактнр[.]..нбс. [

(gap ?)

$$6 \quad [\quad]_{\tau \alpha \alpha} \beta \dots \alpha [$$

ΚΟΛ ΝΠΑΙΔΤ α

οΥΔΕΝΗ ΝΛΑΤΗ α Γ

$$\mu \cdot \Delta T \quad \beta \quad [$$

10 δ μαρτυροῦντες κορυφαίως ... [

εμρωςυε νβελχε β λακτηρ⁽²¹⁾ βελχε β . β. Γ

λακο.τ' νβελξε β κελοολε β ...]

(2 lines illegible)

10. δ μαρί σοφ , 'through Maria (the daughter of) Sophia'.
 κοογ νμαζε; μαζε is 'flax', but κοογ , or κοογ not in Crum: Dictionary.
11. ευρωγε νβελχε, 'a vessel of clay'; on ευρωγε see Crum: Dictionary p.184b.
12. λακο.τ' νβελχε; perhaps λακοοτ', 'a lakooote-measure of clay'; on lakooote see W.S.p.23.
 κελοολε, perhaps plural of κελωλ 'pitcher, jar', see Crum: Dictionary p.104a, cf. also κλοολε ib.p.104b.
14. Obscure;επυροογνηε could also be read.
15. καβαρ⁸, obscure, reading not certain; μελ⁸, obscure.
16. obscure.
17. κογκογμαν, 'cucum jar', see 249 note 3.
 ciτλε, evidently the Latin 'situla' 'bucket, pail'; cf. ciτλιόν P. Ox.1290⁹.
18. λακοτ'νζομετ, 'a lakooote of copper', cf. note on line 12 above.
 ακωθηκε, evidently some Greek word, unidentified; mistake for αποθήκη?
19.]γτε νβαρωτ, '... of brass'.
 νατ, 'loom'.
20.]εβιω, 'honey'; it seems strange to find honey in a list of utensils and tools, perhaps supply 'a vessel for taking honey'.
21. 'a sack for taking brass'(?).
22. 'a copper candelabra', see Ep. 544 note and references there.
23. 'a brass vessel'.

LIST OF ARTICLES

(e 33) At the end of a letter in different hand (214).



(margin)

1 +[...]ωτην ε , α , παλιν ἄριμε α βορτε γ βατβix θ

- 2 παλλιν γ επωμις α ουγκλκιλ α ου.....
 3 σωμαρες γ ^{4(ω)}γοτ γ β[α]λοτ νεγκοτκ ε
 4 Σογρ ἄχμο ἱβ
 (margin)

1. ατην, 'tunic'.

παλλῆ ἄχιμωε, 'woman's garment'; this item recurs 328⁸.

βορτε, 'knife'.

βατδix; see Crum: Dictionary p.625a.

2. παλλιν (πάλλιον), 'cloak'.

επωμις (ἐπωμίς), 'part of the woman's tunic that was fastened on the shoulder by brooches' (Liddell and Scott).

ουγκλκιλ, 'a bell'.

3. σωμαρες, perhaps the Arabic ^سس ^اا 'urn'; it recurs here 324³, also W.S.144 and CMSS 55(σωμαρι); Crum however in W.S.144 suggests the Greek ^σσ ^μμ ^αα ^ρρ ^εε ^σσ ^ττ ^ρρ ^εε, cf. note 3 there.

γογτ, a measure; see Crum: Dictionary p.611b.

βαλοτ νεγκοτκ, 'sleeping-bag'.

4. Σογρ ἄχμο, 'ring of ...'; for χμο of. Crum: Dictionary p.711b (only here), cf. also B.M.476 ογλοτix ἄχμο[where presumably ογλοτix ἄχμο ought to be read.

LIST OF ARTICLES

(f 54; d 138a,b,c) On the verso letter(268), earlier ?

(broken)

- | | | |
|---|-----------------------|----|
| 1 | [θ. αχων ἄχιμωε] | |
| 2 | [γογτ ε ακωνβ ἄχιμωε] | |
| 3 | [χνεγ ἱβ σωμαρε] | Δ[|
| 4 | [. αψις ἄχιμωε] | Γ[|
| 5 | [. ε μν χωλῆ σναγ] | [|

(margin)

1. Obscure.

2. ΔΚΩΝΒ ΝΤΙΠΔΖΡΕ; '... for healing', ΔΚΩΝΒ a new word, not in Crum:

Dictionary.

3. ρωμάρ̄; see 323³ note.

4. ΔΨΙC ΝΒΑΡΩΤ; for ΔΨΙC see Preisigke: Wörterbuch 'Felgenkranz des Wasserschöpfrades', here of brass.

5. ΧΩΛΗ; presumably for δωλη cf. chapter VIII par.127; '...]and two faggots(?)'.

325

LIST OF ARTICLES

(d 127b) Same hand as 197.



(margin)

1 [ΝΑΙ ΝΕ ΝΕCΚΕ]ΥΕ ΝΤΑΥΒΙΤ[ΟΥ

2]ΛΩΤΗΞ· Δ[

3 ΛΛ]ΚΟΟΤΕ ΝΗΡΠ[

(broken)

1. '[These are the]articles which were taken[...]'; cf. Ryl.239¹.

2. 'coverlet'; on this word see 303B note 27.

3. 'lakootē-measure of wine'; on this measure see W.S.p.23.

326

LIST OF ARTICLES

(g 70) Small uncials; on the verso different hand.



(broken)

1]μΠΛΟΥΜΑ[ΡΙΚΟC

2]Δ : ΒΟΡΤΕ : Γ[

3 ΜΑ]ΝΤΗΛΕ : Β : ΜΙCΤΡ : Β[

(margin)

1. Cf. Ryl.238¹² CO NCINΔΩΝΙΝ ΜΠΛΟΥΜΑΡΙC 'six linen cloths, embroidered (πλουμαρικός)' (Barns).

2. ὄρτε; 'knife'.

3. μανθλε; probably the Arabic *مِنْجِل* 'handkerchief'; it recurs here 334⁵, also Ryl.243^{12,25} and see note 10 there.

μίστρ; for μύστρον 'spoon', cf. Preisigke: Wörterbuch, it recurs here 334⁴.

327

LIST OF ARTICLES

(d 48 fragment) On the verso text in literary uncials of the late rounded Coptic type, earlier.

(margin)

+ NE NE ΝΑΚΟΥΙ Ν[

ΘΩΜΑΣ - ΒΑΛΟ[Τ

ΛΩΤΣ α [

ὄρτε α [

5 ΩΤΗ[Ν

ΩΑΡΜ[

(broken)

1. NE NE for ΝΑΙ ΝΕ, see chapter VIII par.16; 'These are my small [...].

2. 'Thomas, bag (or: skin) [...].

3. 'coverlet 1'; cf. 303B note 27.

4. 'knife 1'.

5. 'tunic [...]'.
[.]

6. Obscure, apparently a new word.

328

LIST OF ARTICLES

(f 55) Perhaps part of 322 written by the same scribe.

(broken)

1]ΒΙΡ CΝΑΥ ΝΒΑΠΙΧΟΥ

2]ΑΥ^λ ΝΩΕΠΑΩ α ΔΟΛΒΕ ΝΒΑ[

3	]	TE	NCOI	θ	αβει[
4	]	οικου		α	[
5	βαλ	οτ	νη	κοτκ	δ β [

(broken)

Verso(?):

(broken)

↑	7			].τι.	β
	8	]	ιπε	α	παιλιν νειμε ε
	9	]	δ		εινδωνε α
	10		]	ωτην νοσκε	νηηε [

(margin)

1. 'two baskets of(?) βαπιχοу-measure'; on βαπιχοу see Crum: Dictionary p.827b.

2. ωειαω, obscure, see Crum: Dictionary p.582a.

6ολβε, 'garment of wool'.

3. coi, 'beam'.

4. Obscure.

5. 'sleeping-bag', cf. 323³.

8. 'woman's garment', recurs 323¹.

9. 'linen cloth', see 303B note 26.

10. 'tunic of ...(?) of purple dye'; οσκε only here, perhaps connected with δεκω Crum: Dictionary p.24b.

329

LIST OF ARTICLES

(f 33)

(broken)

→

....[
 νιμψις[
 αβολτε νσα[
 σωθνηκη νογωε ηρη[
 5 ωλαρ νεεε [

6 εαποрк ѡβамουλ [

7

οἷον οὐκοῦν μανθάλει [

(margin)

2. ΝΙΜΨΙC for νίψις ? 'plough' cf. W.S.123; J.66⁴⁰, 76⁴³; or 'basin for hand-washing' cf. S.T.116¹⁷, 439¹¹.

3. 'cart [...]'.
 4. CΑΘΗΚΗ, perhaps the Greek ἑσθῆκη 'niche, small room', but here 'for storing wine'.

5. 'ox-skin', cf. 332.

6. 'for a camel's foal'.

7. οἷον for ὁμοίως. 'Likewise a small pick'.

330

LIST OF ARTICLES

(f 24) On the verso 266, later ?

↑

(margin)

ΣΗCΤΗ[]

CΑΝΤΑΛ[ION]

CΦΑΛΙC[]

XOONE NN[]

5 ... ΓΓO[]

ΩΤΗΝ α

ΕΒOC α

ΚΕΛΕΒΙΝ ΝΒΙΧ α

[δop]TE ΝΕΟΜΝΤ α

10 ΑΛΑΚ ΝΡΟZTE α

ΕΜCΩBE []

[.]Κ[.]ΟΒΕΝ []

13 []ΤΚΑ[]

(broken)

1. 'sextarion', a measure.

2. 'sandal', the Latin 'sandalium'.
3. Probably σπαλς 'scissors', cf. Ryl.239 note 24; or perhaps σφαλ(λ)ός
'a round leaden plate'.
4. xoonē, probably for βoonē 'sack', see chapter VIII paragraphs 56,127.
6. 'tunic'.
7. 'garment'.
8. 'hand-axe'.
9. 'copper knife(?)'.
10. 'cauldron-ring(?)'; on λακ for ελακ see Crum: Dictionary p.668a.
11. 'large needle'.
12. [κ]οβεν or [η]οβεν, obscure.

331

LIST OF ARTICLES

(g 17) 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ by 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches, complete.

→

(margin)

ουποβε κκαμικε

ουπεπερκοу

οусоок

ητοу кератин

5 οуσαар νεr

ταϊου νλαζη

νηρη

8 ουβοοуне ncoyo

(margin)

1. 'a piece of a shirt', see Ryl.213 and note.
2. Obscure, Greek ?
3. 'a sack'.
4. 'four carats'.
5. ep for ἐλατης; 'a workman's skin'.

6-7. 'fifty lahē-measures of wine'; on this measure see W.S.p.23.

8. 'a sack of wheat'.

332

LIST OF SKINS

(e 52) →

(broken)

1	[^(b) απα] ιερνμια[с] πρμz γααρ[να]zооу	κ	(sic) Γ
2	πετσίρε zαουγααρ ναzооу	δ	(sic) Δ
3	γααρ νβααπε	κ	
4	βαλoт несооу	ς	

(broken)

1. πρμz γααρ[να]zооу, difficult; γααρ[να]zооу seems probable from the next line, hence ρμz presumably stands for ρεμzε, cf. chapter VIII par.20; in that case it probably corresponds to the Greek ἐλεύθερος cf. 152 note 7 and Till in Le Muséeon LXIV (1951) pp.251ff..

'Apa Jerēmias the free man(?)(for an)ox-skin'.

2. 'Petsire for an ox-skin'; for the name Petsire see 312 note 7. It is to be noted in this list that we have γααρ ναzооу and γααρ νβααπε but βαλoт несооу. For the spelling aзoоу see chapter VIII par.21.

3. 'goat's skin'; βααπε for βααμπε, see chapter VIII par.79.

4. 'sheep's skin'.

333

LIST OF CHURCH(?) - PROPERTY

(f 78) On the verso account in different hand, earlier ?(345).

(broken)

ω[ο]μ[ν]τ επλοκμ αγω ω[ο]μ[ν]τ
 νο[δ] ἡσκαλα εσω ἡμ[ν]τ[
 с]нау ἡбор ἡωε натарμ[
]εϣχнк εβολ εϣ!αμεс[
 5]πε ἡμεсα.λωт ερε ο[γ]πлек[

- 6]Ν C̄NTE ερε ουει ρορεϋ ερε ο[υει (?)
]Πμ πατcμoυc νοβ c̄NTE[
]μN ουcαυze nβaρωτ +ω[
 9]νοβ nωκελκιλ μπενιπ[ε
 (margin)

1. λοκμ cf. Crum: Dictionary p.139a citing the first three lines here;
 (meaning unknown).
2. 'great ladder(σκάλα) being ...(?)['.
3. 'two hinges(?) of wood ...(?)[...]'; for δορ see Crum: Dictionary p.
 115a (κονρ).
4. 'being complete ...(?)[...]'.
 5. μεcαλωτ, difficult; μεc perhaps from μice, but αλωτ obscure; πλεκ[
 perhaps πλεκτή 'cord, fishing-basket'.
6. '...']two, one being broken and one[...]'.
 7. πατcμoυc, obscure; cf. Crum: Dictionary p.334a(cιμ).
8. 'and a brass-egg [...]'; cαυze for cοουze, cf. chapter VIII par.50 and
 Crum: Dictionary p.374a.
9. 'great iron bell'.

334

LIST

(f 87)

(broken)

[.]τc[
 [...]αTONIN - - [-] - α[(ε)
 αμελιν nκεεκαω - α[(ε)
 μιστρ - - - [.
 5 μαντηλε - - β[(ε)

(margin)

- 1-3. Obscure; κεεκαω a new word, not in Crum: Dictionary.
4. 'spoon', see 326³ note.
5. 'handkerchief', see 326³ note.

(f 44) Same hand as 159, 310, 336, 365. Not part of 310.



(broken)

ζερκου νταριχε : i

ζηγε νβυρε : x

εαμε νβυρε : β

ααλοο νβυρε : γ

5

ταϊμ[]

(broken)

1. ζερκου, difficult; perhaps for εελκου, but hardly 'sickle', Crum:

Dictionary p.668b. ταριχε (ταριχεον) 'saltfish', cf. 311.

2. ζηγε probably for εβε, see chapter VIII par.65C.

βυρε for βρε, again in lines 3 and 4, see chapter VIII par.102.

'new plough'.

3. 'new peg', cf. 258 note 2.

4. 'new waterwheel(?)', cf. Crum Dictionary p.561a.

(d 163f) Same hand as 159, 310, 335, 365. Not part of 310, see 310 introduction.

(broken)

→ 1]ογε νλακ[

2 (?)]ογεαμε [

3 (?)]ογεαλδic [

(broken)

1. Perhaps λακ 'bowl, cup', measure for oil, see Crum: Dictionary p.138a, but might be λακ[ον].

2. 'a peg', see 258 note 2.

3. εαλδic, see Crum: Dictionary p.673b (here only), obscure.

LIST

(d 163b; d 120a; further fragments are d 130a and d 162a) On the verso different hand, later. (broken)

↑

1] $\overline{\mu\eta}$ πεστρι..[

(gap ?)

3] α

] λευνιασε α

5] .. ουτε φιαλ[η

6α] λαετ : ουγαλαεωλ[

7] βαβουεορ [

(broken)

1,4. Obscure.

5. 'three bowls (φ'αλη?)'

6. βαλαετ, 'pot'; γαλαεωλ, see Crum: Dictionary p.672b.7. See Crum: Dictionary p.844b.

LIST

(d 41) Crude uncials.

Recto(?):

(broken)

↑

] γαπηηε ηηρωτ α [

] ημαεμητ $\dot{\nu}$ β [

] α. μ. η. ψ. ι. η. μ. ο. υ. η. γ. ε. ι. τ. ο. γ. ε. η. π. δ. α. κ. ω. η. ρ. ι. [

] . παλκαω γεϊτεη [

5] απακίρε .. α [

6] ηωολ ⁽ⁿ⁾ [N] παϊωτ μακροε α [

(margin)

Verso(?):

↑ (sic !)

(broken)

8 [] η

[απα] αμωνε β

10 [η] αυλε η

11	απ[ο]λλω	η
	γεωργε διακ ^ο	ιβ
	απολλω κουι	κδ
	αβ ^(sic) ρηεαμ	κδ
15	ζεϊεζ	η
	κωσμα	κδ
17	χαηλ	5

(margin)

1. 'for the rose-oil'; ηρωτ for ουρτ, cf. Crum: Dictionary p.490a.
2. μαζμυτ, the Arabic name محمد (Mohammet).
3. ψινεμουν, a χωρειον occurring frequently in P.Lond.IV, also P.Masp. 67007^{vo.30,51,69} and 67078^{2,4}, Am.Journ.Phil. XXXIV p.444 (on a mummy-label), Maspero: Bawit p.96 note 1 and V.C.28⁵ and note. ζεϊτοϋ for ζιτοοτϋ, see chapter VIII par.110. Δακων probably for Διακον(ος).
4. αλκαω, the Arabic الجيش 'soldier, army', cf. CMSS index; this item presumably refers to the expenses of the Muslim army in Egypt, cf. chapter VI.
5. ανακιρε presumably follows on ζεϊτεν in line 4.
6. '...]the bundle(?) of(?) my father Makrofe'. For the name Makrofe see 285 note.
- 9 - 17. Several of these names recur elsewhere in the present collection, especially Apa Ammōne and Geōrgios the deacon, cf. index.
15. ζεϊεζ, a strange name, not elsewhere; perhaps for ζεεζ cf. Preisigke: Namenbuch (Crum).

(d 31) 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ by 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches. On the verso Arabic text, earlier.



(margin)

- | | | |
|---|---------------------------------------|------------------------|
| 1 | ΖΙΤΟΟΤ ΑΝΟΚ ΧΩΡΕ ΖΗΣ ΜΕΧΟΜΤΕ ΟΥΒΟΣ Μ[| |
| 2 | + ΑΠΟΛΛΩ ΖΕΝΕΣΤΟΙ | ḡ γ [|
| 3 | ΤΑΣΤΗ.Ε | ḡ γ [|
| 4 | ΠΩΘΕΙΩ | ḡ ^(u) δ γ [|
| 5 | ΟΥΤΕΡ Μ[ΗΣΙΟ]Ν ΖΑΝΕΤΕΗΝ ΠΑΝΑΥ [| |

(margin ?)

1. 'Through me Jōōre; behold twenty-three and a half [...]. The name Jōōre is rare, cf. B.M.337 and Ryl.p.213. ΜΕΧΟΜΤΕ for ΜΗΤΩΜΤΕ, see chapter VIII paragraphs 22 and 116.
2. 'Apollō, crops solidi 3'. For ΖΕΝΕΣΤΟΙ see Crum: Dictionary p.723b.
3. Obscure.
4. 'The dust solidi 4½'. 'Dust' seems strange here, perhaps some earth used for fertilising. ḡ δγ presumably a mistake for ḡ δγ̄.
5. 'A trimesion for those in Panau'. Panau is probably the pagarchy ΠΑΝΟΣ or ΠΑΝΟ which occurs in P.Lond.IV.

340

ACCOUNT

(f 82) Same hand as 317. (broken)



- | | |
|---|----------------------------|
| | ΖΙΤΝ ΑΠΑ ΔΑΜ[ΙΑΝΟΣ |
| |].....[|
| |]ΝΑΝΤΙΝΟΟΥ ΖΙΤΝ[|
| |]ΝΠΟΙ[...]ΜΝ ΑΠΑ[|
| 5 |] ḡ [|
| | (gap) |
| 7 |]ΟΥΜΝ.....ΝΤΙΣΕΤΙΩΣ[Ε |
| | ΝΤ]ΑΥΟΛ̄Σ ΖΙΤΝ ΑΒΡΑΔΑΜ Π[|
| 9 |]·Υ·ΜΝ ΠΕΥ[Ε]ΙΩΤ· ḡ ~ [|

(broken)

5. ΣΕΤΙΩΣΕ, 'a measure of tilled land', see Crum: Dictionary p.89b.

ACCOUNT

(d 43) Account of articles which were set upon a ship; cf. B.M.1088.

→

(margin)

- | | | |
|---|------------|-----------------|
| 1 | πλογοσ(?)] | ἡνσκευε |
| 2 | [N] | τὰνταλοοῦ ἐπχοι |
| 3 | |]λε |
| 4 |] | ἡ αλ i |

(broken)

4. ἡ αλ i, the i obscure.

ACCOUNT

(d 65c; d 150f) Very small script. On the verso different hand, later.

↑

(broken)

- | | | | | |
|---|------|---------|------------|---------|
| 1 |]ΝΑΥ | ἡτὰπχοι | βακ | 2[N |
| 2 |]ΤΕ | ΝΑΥ | οὐστράμ.β[| |
| | | | | |
| 4 |]ΟΥ | ΕΝΟΒῚ | οὐπρηω | 2α ἡ γ[|
| 5 |]Τ | ΣΥΝΤΕ | οὐπωρῶ[| |

(broken)

1. '... the]time when the ship went from(?)[...]'.
2. Obscure.
4. '...[Wenober, a cloak for 3 solidi[...]'.
5. '...[two(?), a coverlet [...]'; *συντε* for *εντε*, see chapter VIII par.
- 5.

ACCOUNT

(d 114a) Same hand as 152. (broken)

→

+ ΝΑΙ ΔΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΣΕΕΙΡΕ ΜΜΑΥΩΜΤΕ Ν[

(margin)

'+All these make thirty-three [...]'.

MONASTIC ACCOUNT-BOOK

(e 36) Written below a protocol(400) dated A.D.685 - 705.

(margin)

→ 1 + ΠΜΕΡΥΤΟΥ ΝΚΟΝΤΑΚΕ ΜΠΕΙ ΕΖΟΥΝ
 ↑(sic!) 2 ΖΙΤΟΥΤ ΑΝΟΚ ΟΥΕΝΟΒΡ ΠΕΙΛΑΧΙΣΤΟΣ
 ... ————— ...
 3 [] κορτ ἡ ε

(broken)

Verso: (different hand) (margin)

→ 5 + ΠΜΕΡΥΤΟΥ ΝΤΟΜΑΡ^ο ΜΠΕΙ ΕΖΟΥΝ[
 (broken)

Translation:

+The fourth book⁽¹⁾ of the income⁽²⁾ through me Wenober⁽³⁾ this least one.

[....]wool solidi 5(?)

(broken)

Verso:

+The fifth book⁽¹⁾ of the income[..... (broken)

(1) On the recto the name for 'book' is ΚΟΝΤΑΚΙΟΝ, on the verso (different hand!) it is τομάριον; cf. Ep.vol.I p.187, esp. note 7, this is the fragment cited there.

(2) εἰ εζΟΥΝ 'income', see Crum: Dictionary p.72b where this is cited.

(3) Probably the prior of the monastery by whom such accounts were normally issued, cf.301,302 and 303. Wenober as prior occurs elsewhere, see index.

(f 78) Obscure account; on the verso 333. Probably in Greek.

(margin)

↑

- 1 $[+]$ ^(?) CYN λογ, ταεμβα παρα [
 2] NTNOO ογ σαγ ... [
 (broken and illegible)

2. Perhaps $[A] \text{NT} \text{O} \text{NOOY}$. ογ for οἶνος.

346

ACCOUNT

(d 131c; d 143c) Obscure account. Probably in Greek.

→

(broken)

+ κοσμ[α

+ κοσμα διακ, [
 [
 (sic) § 1α[

5

μν πευ[

+ φαρμ⁺ κ χιαχ^δ [
 + φαρμ⁺ κ χιαχ^δ [
 § κολο⁺ φανε [
 9 χχιαχ^δ αρ⁺ ν̄ ημ[

(margin)

Verso(?):

(margin)

↑

10

]] εν^χ μον^χ.] + φαρμ⁺ η χ[αχ^δ (?)] § γεωρ⁺ αν[]] § χια[χ^δ (?)

14

] Διανομ[

(broken)

6,7,9,13. χιαχ^δ obscure; place-name ?

8. φανε ; this name recurs W.S.129; probably a short form of the name

Stephane, cf. Stole for Apostole, Chaël for Michaël etc..

9. αρ⁺ ν̄ for ἀρίθμια νομίσματα, cf. 130³ note, etc..

(d 129a) contains \uparrow 1 $\tau\epsilon\tau\eta\sigma\omega\gamma\epsilon$ [$\epsilon\sigma\gamma\eta$

Verso: (address) \longrightarrow 3 $\mu\omicron\gamma\tau$ $\alpha\pi\omicron\lambda\lambda\omega$ δ $\alpha\pi[\alpha$

1. Cf. a fragment d 96g $\eta\epsilon\iota\omega\tau$ $\epsilon\tau\tau$ $[\quad]$ $\sigma\omega\gamma\epsilon$ $\epsilon\sigma\gamma\eta$ $[$

3. The monastery of Apa Apollō recurs on yet another small fragment d 106

a, \uparrow $[\phi\alpha\gamma$ $\alpha\pi\omicron\lambda\lambda\omega$; see chapter III.

348

(g 83)

(broken)

\uparrow

1	$[\quad]$ $\omega[\cdot]$ $\lambda\omega\eta$ $\alpha\eta$ $[\cdot]$
2	$\eta\lambda\gamma\epsilon$ $\eta\alpha\tau\omega\epsilon\eta\omicron\gamma$ $\alpha\eta$ $[$
3	$\kappa\omicron\lambda\lambda\omicron\gamma$ $\sigma\iota\omicron\gamma\sigma\iota\omicron\gamma$ $\alpha\eta$ $\circ[$
4	$\phi\iota\lambda\omicron$ $\epsilon\gamma\sigma\iota\kappa$ $\alpha\eta$ $[\cdot]$
5	$\phi\epsilon\alpha\mu$ $[\quad]$ $\tau\eta\eta$ $[$

(broken)

$\alpha\eta$ probably for $\alpha\eta^{\Delta} = \alpha\eta\delta\epsilon\sigma\mu\omicron\varsigma$ (poll-tax).

$\eta\alpha\tau\omega\epsilon\eta\omicron\gamma$, $\sigma\iota\omicron\gamma\sigma\iota\omicron\gamma$, $\epsilon\gamma\sigma\iota\kappa$, probably all place-names, but none of these seem to recur elsewhere.

349

(d 111g) Minuscule.

(broken)

\longrightarrow

1	$[\cdot]$ $\chi\alpha\epsilon$ δ
2	$[\cdot]$ $\alpha\pi\omicron$ $\pi\tau\eta\gamma\epsilon$

(broken)

$\pi\tau\eta\gamma\epsilon$ recurs elsewhere as a place-name, but the references in Preisigke Wörterbuch are all from the Fayyum.

350

(d 84a)

(broken)

\longrightarrow

1	$[\mu\eta\lambda\omicron\gamma$ $\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\omicron\gamma$ $\tau[$
---	---

- 2 [μν ἀραβικῶ ἀρι οὐν]α
 3].. ναρκωγτ[
 (broken)

351

(d 73b) Contains → τ[ογρω τπολις[

On τογρω see W.S.133 note 3(p.118); cf. also Bell, Journal of Hellenic Studies XXVIII, pp.105f.,119.

352

(d 96a)

(margin)



- 1 Ν[μ τιγινε εη[
 2 πε]κνα ἀνπαρδ[καλει
 3 ε[ν βαβυλ[ων
 (broken)

353

(d 152a) Contains ↑]ανοκ ουρμτμ[.

On the use of the indefinite article here see 138¹ note.

Perhaps supply τμ[ουμνη cf.119⁴, 124², 127¹ or τμ[ον, cf. W.S.(index), Ryl.
 (index), cf. J&C 1920¹ τμου ὑπαγωγ.

354

(d 68a,b) Minuscul. Contains the name of an unknown χωρίον:

→] . δοῦ^λ ^(sic) δ' χ^ω μελελαει +

355

(Ms.Greek Class.d 87) Minuscul. Probably a Tax-account. On the
 Verso, Arabic, earlier. (broken)

→ 1 αττρυου δ' Ν[

2	χελεως	ῥ	ηλ
	βερεκυ	ῥ	κδ
	πολεως	ῥ	λδδδλ
5	[]	ῥ	κ
	(gap)		
7	ψωβδ ^θ	ῥ	λδ
	πεννη	ῥ	μδ
9	(sic) δλ		δλ φν[] κδ
	(margin)		

1. Presumably the nome-capital ἀντινοου.
2. Cf. χελεω P.Lond.V 1684⁵ (from Aphrodito, VIth century).
3. Recurs P.Ox.1720² (A.D.614) ἀποκωμης βερκυ (same ?).
4. πολεως is strange; perhaps for ἐρμόπολις.
7. Cf. ψωβδ^θ, see Preisigke: Wörterbuch.
8. Cf. S.B.4669 ἀπο πέννη του [θεοδο]σιουπολιτου νομου.
9. The high total (over 550 solidi) is to be noted.

356

(Ms.Greek Class.d 89b) Minuscule. Contains two place-names:

πανκκμ | μηντανι

For πανκκμ cf. P.Cair.Masp.67139a (a τόπος) also P.Cair.Masp.vol.II (index) 12 examples; cf. also P.Lond.IV 1419¹³¹⁸ τοπ^{ον} πανδαμ.

357

(d 88a) Minuscule. Contains:]το^π τελοολε ῥ[

Cf. Rossi N.Cod.90 μαντελοολε; P.Lond.IV 1419⁹¹⁶ μ^ε το^π πατελοολε,
1419¹²⁷⁶ τοπ^{ον} πελοολε, 1419⁶⁸⁰ τηλοολε.

358 - 394, Lists of names.

(d 32) On this papyrus also two other texts in different hands: 205 and 291(earlier). Most of the names here recur elsewhere in this collection, especially Lampou the deacon(cf.114 note 5), Geōrgios the deacon, Apa Ammōne, and Apa Jōhannēs, cf. index.

	(margin)	11	απα ιωσαννης
↑			
1	λαμπου διακ ^ο		απα αβρααμ
	γεωργε διακ ^ο		απα μακαρε
	απολλω ^(sic) πδιακ ^ο		απα κολλου
	ιωσαννης πρ ^ε	15	απα νωγε
5	σενου [†] πρ ^ε		απα μωσнс
	απα αμμωνιο ^(sic)		απα χανλ
	απα κοσμα		απα περ[]
	απα βικτωρ	19	...[]
	απα [θω]μας		(margin)
10	απα δαυειδ		

It is remarkable that the first five names have the titles of deacons or priests, but not απα ; the other names have απα but not the titles.

(f 96a; d 76b; a further fragment is d 76c)

→

(broken)

	]z s μακαρε ..[
	]z s ενωχ νωε[
	]! απα ραυε [
	]νοz s ιουσταс [
5	]απα κ.[
	(gap)
7	]πετροс ..δα[
	]πετροс πνοб[

9

α[πα ἰω2[α]νηε[

(broken)

3. ἀπα ραγε, this name recurs Ryl.252, cf. P.Lond.IV p.221 note, Ep.667 note, C.O.116; cf. also τραγε 192¹⁰.

4. ἰογεταε for ἰογετοε; cf. κολλονθαε for κολλονθοε 214¹³.

8 - 9. Cf. the Bala'izah inscriptions in Petrie: Memphis I, plates LIIIff..

360

(d 89c) Same hand as 100,111. Contains: ↑ ἀπα]κυρ^ε παιοικ^τ

361

(d 168a) From a tax-account. The solidi are the amount paid in poll-tax(δίδραχμον), the artabas the amount paid as corn-tax(ἐμβολή).

→

(broken)

1	ταμ[
2	παυλο ^ο να ^τ	ῥ	α	αε	κβ[
3	ἰωαν ^ρ ο διακ ^ο	ῥ	λ	αε	η[

(broken)

2. να^τ stands for ναότης.

362

(d 163h) →

(margin)

1	πετρε ψαῖν
2	ἀπα βα ^{νε}

(broken)

1. πετρε ψαῖν recurs as πετρε^ο ιατρε^ο in 290⁶.

2. For the name βα^{νε} cf. Kr.(index), Ryl.(index) etc..

363

(e 38) On the verso 224, earlier. Very difficult to read.

→

(broken)

πεγ[]

παμογ[N]

ισακ φηβαμων πγα ωολκ

στεφν παυλε κολθε κογ[i]

5 απα αδαμ κεωρκε τωδ.με (sic)

κεωρκε φον.β.αμαϊ

κολθε κογi μηνα τηρτη τ

8 παματ πεβαν απολλω πψi[ογr]

(margin)

3. ωολκ, a strange name, not elsewhere.

5. τωδ.με, a name ?

6. φον.β.αμαϊ, obscure; not φοιβαμων.

8. παματ πεβαν, obscure. For απολλω πψiογr see 293 note 16.

364

(d 131 d and e) Cursive script. (broken)

↑

1]ρπωγ — α

2]...αβρ ciβ^e — α3 σε]γνρ^o ψαννει — α

(gap)

5]φωκα — α

απ]α κυρε κεραμ̄

] ελο — α

8 φ]ιλοθεος — α

(broken)

2. ciβ^e, a name ?

3. ψαννει not elsewhere.

6. κεραμ̄ for κεραμεύς. ελο in line 7 belongs to this line; ελο was presumably the father of απα κυρε κεραμ̄. On ελο for ελλο see 290 note 13.

(d 47 fragment) Same hand as 159, 310, 335, 336.

↑	1	απο]λλω πι[
	2	δε]λεμν [
	3	αβρ]αγαμ πρ ^ε [

For δελεμν see 270 line 2 note.

366

(d 79a)	↑	1	ιω]εαννη[ε
		2	]πε.ταϊ [
		3	]απα δαμασα[

δαμασα is a rare name in Coptic documents.

367

(f 86) Uncials.

↑	1	ΝΣΟΝ παθουλογμαῖος Γ
	2	] Β παθουλογμαῖος ἸΒ
	3	]ανουη Β ἰακκωσ [

1,2. παθουλογμαῖος for βρεθολομαῖος; cf. παθωλιεος BM 545.

3. ἰακκωσ, not elsewhere; perhaps for ἰακωβος.

368

(d 62 d) Contains: —→ εαγσα. [| μονοβλε [(broken).

For εαγσα see 303A note 6.

μονοβλε presumably stands for μονοβλεπτος used as a name, cf. περιβλε^ε 273⁷
and note.

369

(g 37) Obscure fragment; perhaps names. —→

(broken)]... | κωρι^(sic)ας | βακ^Tανεας | (margin).

- | | |
|---|-----------------|
| 1 | μακρ]οβιος ει[|
| 2 |]γραφε σαμου[ηλ |
| 3 |]ψατε πων ιω[|
- (broken)

(d 42 etc.) On the verso 204, earlier.

From an account; the following names occur: ιωσηφ, ΒΙΚ φοι, ΒΙΚ ιω, παυλε, σηφ.

ΒΙΚ for ΒΙΚτωρ; φοι for φοιβαμμων(?); σηφ for ιωσηφ.

(d 135e) Contains: ↑]ανσθα νδιδυ[με. For the name διδυμε cf. Preisigke, Namenbuch.

(d 146 f) Contains: ανα λμωνε, ανα ταυρινε, [απο]δημητριος, ανα πακυρε. For the name πακυρε see 149² note.

(d 76 f) Minuscule, contains: ↑]απιπα.

This name again P.Ox.I 157⁶; presumably the Arabic حبيب.

(d 79 b) Minuscule, contains:]ν δαυδ[.

δαυδ is the Arabic form of the name داود (داود); so again Kr.143¹³, 203⁵, CMSS Appendix, cf. BM 638.

(d 146 e) Contains: ↑]πα σαpanion.

(d 92 c) Contains: → $\pi\Delta\iota\alpha\kappa^{\circ}\ \mu\alpha\rho\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\rho\ \eta\gamma$.

$\mu\alpha\rho\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\rho$ is a rare name, cf. Preisigke, Namenbuch, also VC 52⁵.

378

(d 71 j) Contains: → $\lceil\sigma\omicron\eta\ \eta\iota\omega\sigma\tau\epsilon\ \lceil\ \lceil\eta\mu\omicron\eta\eta\chi\omicron\sigma\lceil$.

$\eta\iota\omega\sigma\tau\epsilon$ again 197¹⁰, 202¹⁶, cf. $\eta\epsilon\omega\gamma\alpha\tau\epsilon$ 118⁷, $\psi\alpha\tau\epsilon$ 370³. The name $\eta\epsilon\alpha\tau\epsilon$

(and its variants) is common at Thebes, but rare elsewhere.

379

(d 92 e) Contains (docket): → $\lceil\epsilon\iota\tau\eta\ \delta\alpha\mu\omicron\upsilon\lambda\ \eta\gamma\omega\eta\rho\epsilon$.

380

(d 163 c)

(broken)

↑	1	$\alpha\mu\omicron\kappa\rho\epsilon$	$\alpha\lceil$
	2	$\alpha\eta\alpha\ \iota\omega\gamma\alpha\eta\eta\eta\eta\sigma\lceil$	
	3	$\kappa\omicron\lambda^{\circ}$	$\alpha\lceil$

(broken)

1. $\alpha\mu\omicron\kappa\rho\epsilon$ is a strange name, not elsewhere.

381

(Ms. Greek Class. f 84) From a tax-account. (broken)

↑	1	$\alpha\pi\sigma\alpha\ \iota\omega$	$\cdot\ \delta\ \iota\beta$	$\delta\alpha\mu\ \varsigma\ \alpha\delta\epsilon\lambda\phi^{\circ}$	$\cdot\ \delta\ \iota\beta$
	2	$\alpha\pi\omicron\lambda\lambda^{\omega}\ \delta^{\tau}$	$\cdot\ \delta\ \kappa\delta$	$\delta\epsilon\omega\epsilon^{\delta}\ \eta\epsilon$	$\cdot\ \eta$
	3	$\chi\alpha\eta\lambda\ \eta\epsilon$	$\cdot\ \iota\beta$	$\kappa\omicron\epsilon\ \alpha\kappa^{\circ}\ \delta^{\tau}$	$\cdot\ \iota\beta$
	4	$\alpha\pi\alpha\ \omega\epsilon\ \alpha\kappa^{\circ}$	$\cdot\ \iota\beta$	$\epsilon\beta\epsilon\ \alpha\lambda\omicron\upsilon\lambda\iota\delta$	$\cdot\ \varsigma$
	5	$\eta\lambda\alpha\upsilon\delta$	$\cdot\ \kappa\delta$	$\phi\iota\lambda^{\circ}\ \alpha\beta\epsilon$	$\cdot\ \gamma\ \eta\ \varsigma$
	6	$\alpha\kappa\omicron\epsilon\ \eta\epsilon$	$\cdot\ \gamma\ \eta\ \varsigma$		

(margin)

1. $\alpha\pi\sigma\alpha$, a strange name, not elsewhere.

$\delta\alpha\mu$ for $\delta\alpha\mu\iota\alpha\upsilon\sigma$.

2. δ^{τ} , presumably a title in view of the parallel $\eta\epsilon$, for $\delta\iota\omicron\kappa\eta\tau\eta\varsigma$?

3. $\kappa\theta\epsilon$, presumably the Arabic name $\kappa\theta\epsilon\alpha$ (قرّة), but perhaps read $\kappa\theta\epsilon$ (κρεε).
 $\alpha\kappa\epsilon$, again in the following line, presumably the same as $\alpha\kappa\epsilon$ in line 6 below.
4. $\epsilon\beta\epsilon$ $\alpha\lambda\omicron\upsilon\lambda\iota\delta$, clearly an Arab; $\epsilon\beta\epsilon$ probably the Arabic form of the name $\alpha\beta\rho\alpha\gamma\alpha\mu$ (أبراهيم), $\alpha\lambda\omicron\upsilon\lambda\iota\delta$ the Arabic name الولين .
5. $\eta\lambda\alpha\upsilon\delta$, a remarkable name, not elsewhere.

On the verso there are traces of an earlier account, washed off.

382

(e 72)	(margin)	7	...[
↑ 1	$\psi\alpha\epsilon\ \delta\iota\delta\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\ \pi\epsilon\iota\epsilon$[	8	$\dot{\iota}\varsigma\alpha\alpha\kappa\ \pi\epsilon\alpha\omega\tau\kappa\Delta$ [
2	$\alpha\pi\omicron\lambda\lambda\omega\ \psi\alpha\epsilon\ \delta\iota$[	9	$\alpha\pi\alpha\ \kappa\upsilon\tau\epsilon\iota\ \eta\alpha\pi\alpha\ \varsigma\iota$ [
3	$\pi\Delta\iota\alpha\kappa\ \beta\iota\kappa\tau\omega$ [p	10	$\tau\iota\mu\omicron\theta\epsilon\ \eta\alpha\pi\alpha\ \tau$ [
	(gap)	11	$[\alpha\pi\omicron]\lambda\lambda\omega\ \pi\ldots$ [
5	$\alpha\pi\alpha\ \iota\omega\gamma\alpha\eta\eta\eta\varsigma$[		(broken)
	(gap)		

1. $\delta\iota\delta\omicron\upsilon\epsilon$, apparently not elsewhere; cf. $\tau\epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\epsilon$ 248^{2,3,22}, but there a woman's name.
8. $\pi\epsilon\alpha\omega\tau\kappa$, an unknown name or title.
- 9,10. The κ before $\alpha\pi\alpha$ should indicate that $\alpha\pi\alpha\ \varsigma\iota$ and $\alpha\pi\alpha\ \tau$ refer to monasteries.

383

(d 110 c,d) Contains: —→

1	$\delta\epsilon]\omega\epsilon\delta\iota\omicron\upsilon\ \varsigma\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\delta[\omega]\epsilon[\omicron]\nu$[	$\dot{\iota}\varsigma]\ \alpha\ \iota\beta$
2	$\iota\omega]\alpha\eta\eta\eta\upsilon\ \lambda\omicron\upsilon\kappa\alpha\ \varsigma\ \beta\iota\kappa\tau\ \alpha\eta\omega$[	$]\dot{\iota}\ \alpha\ \kappa\delta$

2. $\iota\omega]\alpha\eta\eta\upsilon\ \lambda\omicron\upsilon\kappa\alpha$ recurs 299⁶.

384

(e 39, d 163 e, d 166 b) On the verso 139, earlier. 4 fragments.

(a) 1	[... αη]τωνε	̇ 5	(c) 8	[αη] κ[ρ]ε	[]
→ 2	[] .τα	̇ 8	9	σευηρος	̇ δλ
3	[] δια	̇ 8	10	κολομων	̇ 8
(b) 5	ζελαρε[]		11	παυλ[ε]]
6	[μ]ακ[α]ρε[]		(d) 13	εατρε	̇ αλ

385

(e 51, etc.) On the Recto 276, earlier.

→	(margin)	10	Ἰσαακ ζαχ
1	] αηοκ . [	11	κοσμη αρων
2	] ̇ ΒΙΚΤ[ωρ	12	Ἰωανν ^ς αβρααμ
	(gap)	13	παππουτε απολλα
4	Διοσκορος[	14	ἰω σαμουηλ
5	πετρος κοσμη	15	φιλοθε ἰω
6	μαρκος απολλα	16	ἰω ^ς κοσμη
7	σευηρος ζαχαρ[ιδε]	17	παμουνη απακυρ[ε]
8	παυλε πετρε	18	σεργιος [
9	χανηλ Βικτωρ		(margin)

386

(f 22) Cursive script, see plate V, 8. This account was continued on the verso, but only the numerals are now visible. On the verso also 57, probably later.

(margin)

1	σευ ^ς τβανης	̇ 5
2	ικκ ^ω τβανης	̇ \
3	ιω ^ς ικκ ^ω φ.	̇ 8
4	ζηθ ^ς αβε ^ς φ.	̇ 8
5	παυλ ^ς αεβα	̇ ̇ 8
6	[] ωσ ^ς	̇ \
7	πετρου βικ ^ς	̇ \
8	τωμ ^ς θεο ^ς	̇ 8

9	κολλ ^υ πκουι	(?) $\dot{\nu}$ ~
10	ισι ^δ πεκ ^υ [ι]	$\dot{\nu}$ δ
11	ναροου απετ ^υ	$\dot{\nu}$ ~
12		$\dot{\nu}$ δ γ

(margin)

1. σε^υ for σενηροσ.

τβανης, again in the next line; I cannot find this name elsewhere,
but cf. βαρε.

3. φ^τ, again in the next line; this ought to be a title, perhaps for
φύγων 'fugitive', cf. 289 above.

4. ζηθ, this name again CMSS Appendix^{vo.40}, VC 125⁶, Saq. IV, 15, 27, al.,
cf. ζηθος in Preisigke, Namenbuch.

5. κεβα, a strange name, apparently not elsewhere.

9. πκουι, lit. 'the small one', as name only in this neighbourhood, see
VC 46² note, and cf. ηκου WS 212.

10. ισι^δ for ισιδωροσ.

11. ναροου, see 300² note.

απετ^υ, I cannot find this name elsewhere.

12. $\dot{\nu}$ δ γ, this is evidently the total; hence the doubtful $\dot{\nu}$ γ in line 1
is correct.

387

(d 163 a, d 74 a) From a tax-account; for similar documents cf. P.Lond.
IV 1552 - 1563, P.Princeton III, 140, al..

(broken)

1	δ/ απ[
	δ/ κοσμ ^τ σινοβλ ^ε [
	δ/ σενο ^τ φοιβ ^τ ομ[αως (?)
	δ/ αγαρ ^ε ναρσες ερμ ^ο π[
5	δ/ ι[ω]σηφ σενο ^τ [
6	δ/ ισιδω ^ε πε[τ]ρο[υ]

(broken)

4. $\alpha\chi\epsilon^{\epsilon} \nu\epsilon\sigma\varsigma$, both these names are Persian names and are found in Justi, Iranisches Namenbuch. I have found $\alpha\chi\epsilon$ again in BMOr.6201 A 3 $\tau\alpha\upsilon\pi\iota\nu\omicron\varsigma \alpha\chi\epsilon$, also in P.Princeton III, 140 p. 2^{vo.8} $\alpha\chi\epsilon\epsilon$. $\nu\epsilon\sigma\varsigma$ occurs in P.Masp.67005²⁹ , 67031¹ , P.Flor.III, 292¹ , 293¹ in all these it occurs as $\nu\epsilon\sigma\eta\varsigma$.

(Ms. Greek Class.g 56) Minuscule. (broken) →

(broken)

5,6. $\nu\alpha\beta\epsilon\rho$, cf. $\nu\alpha\beta\epsilon\rho^2$ BM 1020 (see correction ib.p.522 and note there);
cf. also Ep.240⁸ and note 3; it corresponds to the name $\nu\alpha\beta\epsilon\rho\omega$.

(d 105 c) Minuscule. (broken)

↑ 1 δ[εωρ^δ ν^αυ^τ [
πισκτε σευη^ελου
πε[ιλι^τ σε^ερου^τ [
4 πατο^ε ψ^αυ^υ [
↓

5 $[\delta] \omega \epsilon^{\circ} \phi \alpha \beta [$ 6 $[\quad] \beta \alpha \mu^{\pi} [$

(broken)

1. $\nu \alpha \sigma^{\pi}$ for $\nu \alpha \sigma \tau \eta \varsigma$.3. $\pi \epsilon \lambda \iota^{\circ}$, this name again as $\pi \epsilon \lambda \iota \theta \epsilon \omicron \varsigma$ in 119^{2,24,32}, cf. Ryl.235; not in Preisigke, Namenbuch.4. $\pi \alpha \tau \omicron \theta \epsilon$, only here; cf. Preisigke, Namenbuch $\pi \alpha \tau \omicron \delta \epsilon$, $\pi \alpha \delta \omicron \tau \epsilon$, $\pi \alpha \tau \omicron \beta \epsilon$ (all eighth century). $\psi \alpha \upsilon$, see Preisigke, Namenbuch ($\psi \alpha \upsilon \omicron \varsigma$).

390

(f 38) Minuscul.

(margin)

\uparrow 1 $+ \iota \epsilon \epsilon \eta \mu [\dots] \psi^{\circ} \mu \alpha \nu^{\circ} [$
 2 $\pi \epsilon \beta \epsilon \epsilon \pi \iota [$
 3 $\pi \epsilon \tau \rho \omicron \iota \omega \alpha \nu \nu \omicron \sigma [$
 4 $\phi \iota \lambda \omicron^{\circ} \alpha \pi \alpha \kappa^{\nu} [$
 5 $\alpha \beta \rho \alpha \mu \phi \iota \lambda \omicron^{\circ} [$

(margin)

1. $\psi \alpha \upsilon$, I can only explain this as the Coptic π -con 'the brother'.2. $\pi \epsilon \beta \epsilon$, again in Ryl.191, BM 1075(p.449), 1030; cf. $\pi \epsilon \beta \omega$, common at Thebes.

391

(d 119 c) Minuscul. \longrightarrow

(broken) $\sigma \alpha \mu^{\circ} \epsilon \nu [\quad | \epsilon \nu [\omega] \chi [\quad | [\quad | \iota \omega [\sigma] \eta \phi \alpha \theta [\quad | \eta \lambda \tau \beta \iota \kappa^{\pi} [\quad |$
 $\sigma \epsilon \nu^{\circ} \sigma \alpha \mu [\quad | \alpha \nu \omicron \phi \mu \omega [\upsilon \sigma \eta \varsigma$ (margin).

392

(g 18) Minuscul. On the recto 303A, earlier. \longrightarrow

(margin) $\tau \omega \mu \eta \nu \alpha [\quad | \dots \tau \omega [\quad | \tau \omega \alpha \beta \epsilon [\quad | \mu \alpha \rho \kappa^{\circ} \alpha \pi \alpha \kappa^{\circ} [(5) \pi \epsilon \tau \rho \kappa \omicron \sigma \eta \mu [$
 $\psi \omicron \tau \epsilon \pi \epsilon \delta \omega \omega [\quad | \tau \omega \eta \lambda \iota \alpha \varsigma [$ (margin).

1,2,3,7. $\tau \omega$ for $\iota \omega \alpha \nu \nu \eta \varsigma$ (cf. index).

5. πετε^ε κοσμη recurs 385⁵.

6. ψοτε, for this name see 132 note 3.

393

(d 105 d, d 111 e) Minuscule. ↑

(broken)]ησκι^υ κωστ^τ α[|]σε^τ χαηλ β[|]φ...λ^ο δαυειδ[|
]δωρ^ο θεοδ[|]...[(broken).

394

(d 135 f) Minuscule. Red script. —→

(broken) μουσα^ο[| στεφ^ν φ.[| ισακ^κ φοιβ[| φιλο^ε[(broken).

395 - 399 Varia.

395

(f 66, d 108a, a further fragment is d 89 d) Writing-exercise; probably all by the same hand.

(a) (margin)

1 παυλε γ ανδρεασ γατρε απολλω δ[]ω λαμπου διακ^ω

2 γεωργιος διακ^ω φωκα πρ^ε βικτω[ρ]ωγ ανουη

(margin)

(b) Above (a), upside down (margin)

3 α]πα ιωζα^νης πνοβ

4 απα]ιωζανης πνοβ να^ρμα^ς

5]πα^ιωτ απα ιωζαν^ηης

(margin)

(c) On the verso. (margin)

6 ανουη κοι απα διμητριος απα κυρς []βικτωρ ζηρ^ο

7 σοπ^ι εχ^ν π^ι νουηρητε μεν^ιωτ ε[τογαδβ

8 λογιμενον^{ον} μη πκοουζ ερου^ν [

(broken)

1,2. Many of these names recur elsewhere in the collection, see index.

- 3-5. It is interesting to find three descriptions of a superior here side by side: $\pi\eta\sigma\delta$, $\alpha\rho\chi\iota\mu\alpha\lambda\alpha\delta\rho\iota\tau\eta\varsigma$, $\iota\omega\tau$, cf. chapter V above. Apa Johannes occurs also in the following document.
6. $\beta\iota\kappa\tau\omega\rho$ $\epsilon\eta\rho\acute{\omega}$ is upside down and does not belong to the rest of the line.
7. For this salutation formula see 189 note 2; π^x stands for $\pi\text{-}\iota\chi\eta\sigma$.
8. $\epsilon\gamma\lambda\omicron\gamma\iota\mu\epsilon\lambda\omicron\eta\omicron\eta\omicron$, see 265 note 1.

396

(f 30) Writing-exercise. Several hands. It contains among others the following:

- (a) \uparrow 1 + $\epsilon\pi\tau\epsilon\upsilon\eta\omicron\upsilon$ $\epsilon\kappa\eta\alpha\chi\iota$ $\eta\tau\iota\epsilon\pi\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\lambda\eta$ $\mu\pi\epsilon\rho\omicron\zeta\epsilon$
 2 $\eta\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ $\epsilon\iota\mu\eta\tau\iota$ $\eta\kappa\pi\omega$. $\epsilon\rho\iota$ $\eta\omicron\omicron\sigma\upsilon\tau\eta$ $\mu\eta$ $\omicron\upsilon$.
 3 $\iota\omicron\lambda\omicron\kappa\tau$ $\eta\eta\rho\tau$ $\epsilon\eta\alpha\eta\omicron\upsilon\beta$
- (b) 4 $\pi\epsilon\chi\epsilon$ $\mu\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ $\eta\alpha\iota$ $\chi\epsilon$ $\eta\tau\omicron\kappa$ $\pi\epsilon$ $\pi\alpha\psi\eta\rho\epsilon$ $\alpha\eta\omicron\kappa$
 5 $\alpha\iota\beta\pi\omicron\kappa$ $\eta\pi\omicron\omicron\upsilon$ $\epsilon\iota\mu\omicron\iota$ $\tau\alpha\tau\iota$ $\eta\alpha\kappa$
- (c) 6 $\epsilon\eta$ $\omicron\eta\omicron\mu\alpha\tau\iota$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\pi\alpha\tau\rho\omicron\varsigma$ $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\gamma\iota\omicron\upsilon$
 7 $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\pi\eta\alpha$
- (d) 8 $\tau\iota$ $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\kappa\upsilon\eta\epsilon\iota$ $\alpha\gamma\omega$ $\tau\iota\alpha\varsigma\pi\alpha\zeta\epsilon$ η .
 9 $\kappa\omicron\lambda\lambda\omicron\upsilon$
- (e) 10 $\theta\omega\mu\alpha$ $\iota\omega\alpha\eta\eta\omicron\upsilon$ $\mu\epsilon\iota\epsilon\chi$ $\eta\pi\rho$ $\pi\rho$ $\varsigma\tau\chi$
- (f) 11 $\delta\epsilon\delta\omega\kappa\epsilon$ $\delta\epsilon\delta\omega\kappa\epsilon$ $\alpha\gamma\varsigma\alpha$ $\alpha\pi\omicron$ $\mu\omicron\tau$ $\alpha\beta\beta$ +
- (g) \longrightarrow 12 $\tau\iota$ $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\kappa\upsilon\eta\epsilon\iota$ $\alpha\gamma\omega$ + $\tau\iota\alpha\varsigma\pi\alpha\zeta\epsilon$
 13 $\pi\epsilon\chi\epsilon$ $\mu\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ $\eta\alpha\iota$ $\eta\tau\omicron\kappa$ $\pi\epsilon$ $\pi\alpha\varsigma\omicron\eta$
 14 $\alpha\eta\omicron\kappa$ $\alpha\iota\beta\pi\omicron\kappa$ $\eta\pi\omicron\omicron\upsilon$ $\epsilon\iota\mu$
 15 $\omicron\iota$ $\tau\alpha\tau\iota$ $\eta\alpha\kappa$ $\eta\epsilon\zeta\epsilon$ θ θ

(h) The following names occur:

- 16 $\lambda\alpha\mu\pi\omicron\upsilon$ $\delta\iota\alpha\kappa$, $\alpha\pi\alpha\kappa\omicron\lambda\lambda\omicron\upsilon$, $\kappa\omicron\lambda\lambda\omicron\upsilon$, $\kappa\omega\varsigma\mu\alpha$ $\delta\iota\alpha\kappa$,
 17 $\iota\omega\alpha\eta\eta\omicron\upsilon$, $\phi\iota\lambda\omicron$, $\varsigma\epsilon\upsilon\eta\eta\omicron\upsilon$ $\pi\rho$, $\mu\alpha\rho\kappa$, $\mu\alpha\mu\omicron\upsilon\eta$ $\kappa\omicron\upsilon\iota$,
 18 $\alpha\beta\rho$, $\theta\omega\mu\alpha\varsigma$ $\eta\alpha\upsilon\tau$, $\mu\alpha\rho\kappa$
 (i) 19 $\alpha\eta\omicron\kappa$ $\tau\epsilon\omega\rho\tau\epsilon$ $\pi\iota\epsilon$
 20 $\lambda\alpha$ $\eta\alpha\iota$

- 1-3. ΝΚΜΩ. ΕΡΟΙ ΝΟΟCΥΤΩ in line 2 no sense; the rest reads: '+Immediately you receive this letter, do not delay to read it except(?) ... and a solidus' worth of good wine'.
- 4,5. This is repeated in lines 13-14. It is a quotation from Psalm II,7: 'The Lord said unto me: Thou art my son, I have begotten thee to-day'; but in both cases this is followed by the obscure ΕΙΜΟΙ ΤΑΤΙ ΝΑΚ (ΝΕΞΕ ΘΘ). ΘΠΟΚ in lines 5,14 for ΧΠΟΚ, see chapter VIII par. 124.
- 6,7. Greek: 'In the name of the Father and the Son and the Spirit'.
- 8,9. Repeated in line 12 (but ΝΚΟΛΛΟΥ^Θ omitted there) 'I worship and salute Kollouthos.
10. 'Thōmas, (son of ?) Jōhannēs this least priest (ΠΡΕCΒΥΤΕΡΟC) (and) prior (ΠΡΟCΕCΤΩC) (I) assent (CΤΟΙΧΕΙΝ)'.
11. Greek: 'Given, given, AUSA from the monastery of Abba' (sic !); for the name AUSA see 303A note 6.
12. See note on lines 8-9.
- 13-15. See note on lines 4-5.
- 16-18. Several of these names recur elsewhere in the collection, see the index.
- 19,20. ΔΙ for ΔΕΚΚΟΝΟC; Geōrge the deacon recurs several times in the present collection, cf. index; much of the present text is clearly in his hand.

397

- (g 25) Obscure fragment. (broken)
- | | | |
|---|---|----------------------|
| ↑ | 1 |]ΘΕΟΔΩΡΑ ΚΕΙΝΕΙΚΤΑΙ[|
| | 2 |]ΡΕ' ΜΝ ΠΝ ΜΑΙΝΟΥΤ[Ε |
- (rest faded, then broken)

398

- (d 163 d) From an account. Perhaps place-names, cf. ΤCIN6ωp6 BM 1040.

(margin)

↑ 1 .] // β TZINZopa[
 2] [TZINφpεc[
 (broken)

399

(f 92) Spelling-exercise. For similar school-texts cf. Kammerer, A Coptic Bibliography numbers 1832 - 1839; cf. also especially Tor.48 which is very similar to the present text, but the words there are in alphabetical order.

(margin)

↑ 1 χλα — i
 2 κολ — oc
 3 λαν — H
 4 φop — i
 (margin)

400 and 401 Two Protocols.

For these two protocols see Corpus Papyrorum Raineri vol.III, Series Arabica ed. A. Grohmann, vol. I part 2: A. Grohmann, Die Protokolle. There are many more small fragments of protocols in the present collection, especially Ms. Arab. d 92, d 94, d 102, e 74, e 78, f 29, and Ms. Copt. c 13, d 47.

400

(e 36) Cf. Grohmann's numbers 1 - 11. Abd-el-Aziz b. Marwan was governor from A.D. 685 - 705. On this papyrus 344.

After vertical strokes: ↑ αβδελαζιζ [γιοc]
 μαροvan [cγυB/]

401

(d 30) Cf. Grohmann's numbers 13 - 61. This may be dated between A.D. 705 - 714. On this papyrus 241.

- 1 ΦΝ W W W W ΕΝ ΟΝΟΜΑΤΙ []
 2 ΕΛΘΗΜΟΝΟΣ []
 3 الرحمن الرحيم [بسم الله]
 4 [ΟΥΚ ΕΣΤΙΝ ΘΕ ΕΙ[ΜΗ Ο ΘΕ ΜΟΝΟΣ]
 5 [ΜΑΔΜ[Ε]Τ ΑΠ[Ο]ΣΤΟΛΟΣ ΘΥ]
 6 محمد رسول الله [لا اله الا الله وحده]
 7 [αβδελλα α]λογαρι[α]

402 - 412 Additional Texts.

402

(f 107) Probably a notification of a tax-assessment, see above numbers 130f.
 (margin ?)

- ↑ 1] α ε' ΕΤΕ ΝΑΙ ΝΕ ΟΥΖΟΛΟΚ' ΜΝ
 2] ΜΕΝΤΑΙ. Ε ΔΕ ΕΡΕ ΠΕΝΤΑΚΤΑΔ[Υ]
 3] . ΧΕ^υ ἰ α η'
 4] ι^χ α π ι / [...] .. []

Below this a seal:



Seals occur also in the following document and in number 225.

403

(g 91) A fragment of a financial document preserving a seal:



404

(d 86 a, etc.) On the verso 250, later. From a legal document.

(broken)

- 1] ι ε
 2] ΝΤΑΔC ΤΑΙ'
 3 μ]μoс ζμ π τ ρ [ε] η ε ι Δε α κ ω ! Ν Ε
 4 ζ Ν β ι χ ε] β ι β ^(sic) ΕΥΔC ΦΑΛΕΙΑ ΝΑΚ ΨΔΕΝΕ
 5] Ν Τ Ο Κ Ι Ω Ζ Α Ν Η Η C (broken)

(d 171 a) Probably signatures to a contract.

(broken)

→

1 (first hand)	] ΤΕΝΩΗΤΕ ΜΝ[
2	] ^c + [
3 (second hand)	] ἀπο ^{λλ} ἀπολλω[
4 (third hand)	] ἐλεω θυ ἐπικ ^η [

(margin ?)

4. See 107 note 1.

(e 78) Heading of an account.

(margin)

↑

1	+ ΝΑΙ ΝΕΝΟΥΒ ΝΤΑΪΩΑΤ ΝΕCΝΗΥ ΜΜΟΝΑΧΟC ΜΜΟΟΥ
2	εζραῑ ΕΝΕΥΧΡΕΟC

(broken)

Translation: '+These are the (pieces of) gold which I demanded of the brethren, the monks, for their need(s).'

(d 122 a) From an account. (broken)

↑

1	] ψΑΕΙΝ	̇	α [
2	α] ΝΕΙ ΕΡΗC	2Ν	ΑΝΤΙ[ΝΟΟΥ
3	]	̇	ν[

(broken)

(d 97 a) Minuscule. From an account, contains:

↑

αμπελικων δ^τ τερ̄.

(d 72 b) From an account, contains:

→ 22]NECINCYOTE ZITOOTY ON [

For cinyote cf. WS p.94 note 5.

410

(d 159) Letter. For the background of this letter cf. 186 introduction.
On the verso 136, later. (broken)

↑ 1	[	]	ΠΕΡΚΑΛΟΥ
	ΖΗΤ ΕΥΖΟΕ ΧΕΔΥΤΝ[ΟΥ		Π]ΝΟΥΤΕ ΟΥΩ[Υ]
	ΑΥΚΑΔΝ ΖΝΝΕΥ[		]ΝΩΑΤΝΕΒΝ
	ΡΩΜΕ ΕΒΝΗΥ [Ε]Ε[ΗΤ		]ΤΑΥΚΑΔΤ
5	ΕΒΟΛ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΠΟ[		]ΤΑΤΝΟΟΥΣ ΝΕ
	ΑΛΛΑ ΝΩΔΕΙ Ε[]
	ΝΕ ΤΙΩΙΝΕ ΠΑΜ[]
	ΜΝΝ[Ε]ΥΩΗΡΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ Ν]ΔΜΕΡ[ΑΤΕ]
	ΖΜΠΑΖΗΤ ΤΗΡΥ[	]	ΣΙΜΕ ΜΝΝ[ΕΚ] ^(?) ΩΗΡΕ ΔΥΩ
10	ΚΑ ΠΕΚΖΟ ΖΝΗ[	ΜΠ]ΕΡΚΑΔΥ	ΝΟΥΣΔΖ ΕΜΒΔ
11	ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΩΨΥ[]....

(broken)

3. (N)ΩΑΤΝΕ-, see chapter VIII par. 140.

6. ΝΩΔΕΙ-, see chapter VIII par 79A.

9. ΝΟΥ for ΝΟΕ-, see chapter VIII par. 138.

411

(f 76, d 167e) Obscure fragment.

(broken)

1 (large letters)	+++ ΔΝΟΚ Λ[
2 (small letters)	ΟΥ ΤΑ ΝΖΔΘΩ[Ρ
3	ΔΝΟΚ ΠΠΔ ^(sic) ΙΩΖΔ[ΝΝΗC
4	ΟΥ ΙΖ ΝΖΔΘΩ[Ρ
5	Δ[ΝΟ]Κ ΠΠΑΠΔ ΙΩ[ΖΔΝΝΗC
6 (large letters)	[+++ ΔΝΟ]Κ Λ. ΝΖ[

(broken)

Small fragment (d 167 e)

(broken)

8 (small letters)

cov[

9 (large letter)

++ α[ΝΟΚ

(broken)

412

(f 64) Literary fragment, rounded uncials. From a manuscript of prayers, cf. number 30 above.

→ (broken)		↑ (broken)	
1	αυω παυ[σοοϣτν .[ννεμκεετ[νταεϣχαριστα	16	]λια[]]κε τα.. κ]αταρος θε]τρентολο
5	ενμανηη[τ ετσοοϣε ε[ροϣν εβετββο[τβ[β]ο μ[ξε ερε νε[	20	]νοϣτεετ].τετενημ] ————— η]εσνοϣ μηχοις]μμε πετρα..
10	πεκμονο[γενης χοεις . π.[νακ νσμ[οϣ ϣαενεζ.[25]κα εϣ[.]ε]ϣ... κν ετο]γααβ τηρε τλ]νηνοηρε ν]νιμ αυω
14	с ϣ с —[(margin)	30	ξε]καας ερε]ντεκχαρις
		32]πνοϣτε (margin)

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e 72	382	f 24	266	f 60	160

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	3	37		19	52		34	49		49	46
	4	2		20	16		35	22		50	44
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	6	43		22	17		37	11		52	4
	7	30		23	19		38	17		53	40
	8	30			146		39	17		54	31
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	10	---		25	6A		41	17		56	12
	11	47		26	6B		42	3		57	38
	12	20		27	14		43	53		58	36
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	14	18		29	---			61		60	4
	15	---		30	37		45	---		61	42
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65	---	86a	399	104	188	120a	362
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66	297	88	100	105	119	121a	353
67	288	89	254	106	132	122	233
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67b	387	90a	226	108	138	123	272
68	117	90b	273	109	124	123a	252
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70	115	91	180	110	276	125	186
71	60	92	156	111	249	125a	155
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(f = father, s = son, w = wife, br = brother)

[αβ]Δελλα s. γαζουαν 122 ⁵	παπα αβρααμ 151 ⁸	αγαθον 388 ⁴ + n.
αβδελαζιζ s. μαρογαν 400 ¹	αβρααμ (monk of αναμνησ) 119 ⁷	αγριπιτος 42 ²⁰
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(πρ ^ε , βοηθος) 102 ³¹	f. ? 289 ²	αθανασε (αθαν 300 ²¹ αθανσι ^ο
(πρ ^ε) 102 ³⁵ , 365 ³	— 187 ¹ , 194 ³ , 248 ⁴ , 304 ⁴ , 338 ¹⁴ , 340 ⁸ , 396 ¹⁸ .	287 ²)
(γραφεις) 120 ¹¹	αβσα (φ. αυσα) 321 ⁶	s. πισατ ^υ 300 ²¹
(Διακ) 228 ^{2,18} , 276 ¹⁷	(αβωκ) απαβωκ ? 295 ³	f. Βι]κτ 287 ²
— 195 ⁴ , 304 ⁹ , 358 ¹²	αχ... 286 ⁷	— 143 ¹ , 192 ¹⁷ , 252 ⁵ , 291 ¹³
		αϊουλε 104 ⁵ + n.

αἶρε s. μακ[154⁴+n.6
 αἶτρε 214¹²+n.2
 ακ^φ (?) 321^{9,11} (φ. 298²n)
 ακυρ^ε (πρ^ε) 381⁶
 κκ^υ φ. κορ 381³
 κκ^υ φ. απα ωρ 381⁴
 αλεξανδρος 55²
 [αλ]ογαλιδ 400⁷
 αλογλιδ φ. εβρ^υ 381⁴+n.
 αμινλ (?) 62⁴
 αμοκρε 380¹
 απα αμρου (παγαλιου) 102³⁷+n.4
 αμμωνε (αμμωνιν^ω 100⁶,
 (αμμων 147², αμμωνε 188¹⁰,
 (αμμωνε 244⁷, 321⁸, 338⁹,
 (αμμωνιν^ω 288⁴⁴, αμμωνιν^ω 350⁶)
 απα - (αμρειον, αμρ 30, 41 φ.)
 100^{3,6}, 190⁶
 (πρ^ε+πρ^ο) 159²¹, 302³
 απα — 102³³, 103⁴⁴, 142¹, 147²
 149¹, 188²⁰, 242^{2,10}, 249⁷,
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 — 321⁸
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 αναστου 192⁹+n.3
 ανδρεας, απα — 280^{2,5}
 — 395¹
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 ανθυρια 152⁴+n.5
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 αντωνε 384¹
 ανω[φ. βικ^τ 383²
 απα κυρε (απαγρε 102³,
 (απα απκρε 102⁴, απα
 (πακρε 149²+n, απα πακυρε
 (373², απα κρε 156³, 338⁵, 388³,
 (απα κυρι 293¹⁰, απα κ^υ 130¹,
 (304^{3,5}, 321¹¹, 390⁴, 392⁴)
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 (Διοικ^τ) 360¹
 (πχοιθος) 149²
 (πρ^ε) 104², 119²⁷
 (Διακ^ω) 266³
 (σα2) 215⁵
 (κεραμ^υ) 364⁶
 (πρμ-τηρε) 156³
 s. (ε) ακ^φω 321¹¹
 s. ιω 288¹⁰
 s. μηνα 154⁴
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φ. κολθε	135 ¹
φ. ον ^ο	300 ¹¹
φ. φιβ	300 ⁷
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ΙΟΥΣΤΑΣ	359 ⁴
ΙΟΥΣΤΑΝ	252 ³ + n. 5
ΙΟΥΣΤ ^ο	272 ¹⁰
ΙΟΥΤΑΦΕ	159 ²
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(ΠΝΟΒ ΝΑΡΧΑΔ ^ς)	395 ^{3,4,5}
(ΠΑΙΩΤ)	
(Πρ ^ε , Πρ ^ο)	
(Πρ ^ε , ΒΟΗΘΟΣ)	136 ^{14,17} + n. 2

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An asterisk (*) in front of words indicates that the word is unusual in its meaning, rare, or otherwise unknown.

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*ακωνβ	324 ² + n.	ανδ-, p -	απικε, βn-	188 App. ⁵
αακ	330 ¹⁰	ανay (imper.)	αϥωιν	102 ^{13,25} , 115 ⁵ , 259 ⁹ , 310 ³ , 322 ⁴
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*αμελιν	334 ²	ανον	ατ-	163 ³ , 166 ⁴ , 188 ^{3,18} , 202 ⁹ , 229 ⁸ ,
*αμνα	246 ⁴ + n.	ανay		267 ⁴ , 274 ³
αμαρτε αβ.	162 ⁴ , 187 ⁷ , 281 ²	ανε	*αταρμ[(ε)	333 ³
αμαρτε αβ.	188 ⁸ , 225 ¹	απηγε	αϥ	32 ¹⁸ , 44 ²² , 48 ⁴ , 52 ⁴⁸ , 249 ⁴ , 261 ³⁽⁴⁰⁰⁾

αυαί	202 ^{8,20}
[αυβηλ	p. 208]
*αυ) : εϥ	309 ¹⁹
*αϥτο φ. απτο	273 ¹
αεο	36 ³⁴
*αεκω ε) οεκε	328 ¹⁰
αξν	307 ⁹ , 152 ⁸ , 247 ⁴
αβολτε	329 ³
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βω	46 ¹⁹³
βηβ	38 ¹⁵
βωκ υβ. 32 ¹⁶ , 34 ⁴ , 35 ³⁴ , 36 ⁶⁰ , 37 ^{29,58} , 41 ⁵ , 51 ²⁵ , 155 ⁴ , 158 ⁴ , 187 ⁵ , 192 ² , 229 ⁸ , 231 ⁷ , 240 ³ , σαί, of ship	342 ¹
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— εξν	189 ³⁰ , 190 ³
— εινξν	44 ²⁰
— εεοϥν	46 ^{47,58} , 248 ¹²
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— εαετн	179 ²
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εβολ χε	32 ⁵⁶ , 47 ¹⁸ , 49 ⁴ , 189 ¹⁶ , 190 ³
αβολ	240 ⁶
ετειβολ	27 ¹⁹
υαβολ	52 ⁸⁹
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υoт ηβαλoт	263 ⁵
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βααμπε	214 ¹⁹ , 256 ³
βααπε	332 ³
βωων, ρ-εieρ βωων	47 ⁴⁰
βηηε	303B ^{22,33}
βυηε	310 ⁹
ααβυηε (= αανβηηε)	291 ¹⁵
βip	233 ⁵ , 244 ¹¹ , 249 ⁸ , 272 ⁷ , 295 ² , 328 ¹
βαipε (= βip)	303B ¹⁸
*βεpсηη	309 ¹⁹ + n.
βppe	46 ²⁰⁷ , 214 ¹⁶
βηpe	335 ² n.
βυpe	335 ^{2,3,4}
βαpωт	322 ^{21,23} , 324 ⁴ , 333 ⁸
βαpωт	322 ¹⁹
(βесηηт) ηηсηηт	312 ¹⁸
βηт	258 ¹² , 260 ⁴
εαμeηβηт	258 ¹¹
μoyp ηβηт	229 ⁵
*βoтe) χi βoтe) ε)	236 ⁷

βαтбix αη ηωтe	
βαχipe	328 ²
<hr/>	
εβiω	102 ²³ , 322 ²⁰ (?)
εβω (ε)	216 ⁸ + n.
εβiηη	49 ³⁹ , 264 ²
(εβpa) εϥpa	206 ⁸
εβoт	102 ¹³ , 112 ⁵ , 114 ⁸ , 165 ⁵ , 246 ⁷
(ελoολε) μaηeλoολε	46 ¹⁵⁰
εμηт	120 ¹
εμpωye	322 ¹¹
εμcωβε	330 ¹¹
εηε2	47 ¹⁰¹
εη2	161 ⁹
εηε2 ηηηε2	35 ⁸³
υαeη(ε)2	28 ⁴ , 36 ³¹ , 159 ¹⁰ , 404 ⁴ , 412 ³
υαeηε2 ηηηε2	30 ^{29,65,82,111}
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εpηт, тi η-εpηт	51 ²⁶
εpηυ, μηηηεpηυ etc.	36 ⁵ , 42 ⁷ , 46 ¹²⁷ , α, 119 ¹¹ , 180 ²⁰ , 197 ³ , 250 ⁶
μηηηεpγoγ	152 ⁵
εcηт, εпeсηт	31 ⁴⁴ , 32 ⁴⁴ , 36 ¹⁰² , 223 ⁵
αпeсηт	122 ³
εиeсηт	241 ⁷
εcooy	58 ⁵ , 143 ⁶ , 303B ^{9,37} , 307 ² , 332 ⁴
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 — ΕΒΟΛ 2Ν 37⁶
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 ordinary sense:
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 46^{3, 173}, 57⁴, 58⁸, 110 n.1, 152¹⁰,
 161³, 190⁶, 197¹⁴, 198², 200¹,
 202^{27, 13}, 223^{12, 12}, 237³, 243²,
 245¹⁶, 258⁴³, 260⁴, 280³, 285²,
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ΜΝΤΙΩΤ	202 ¹
ΕΙΩΤ ('barley')	291 ¹⁷ , 304 ^{2,8}
ΕΙΩΕ υβ.	49 ¹³
ΙΩΖΕ	156 ⁹
ΕΤΙΩΛΕ	340 ⁷
<hr/>	
ΚΕ	102 ²⁶ , 128 ³ , 139 ⁵ , 165 ³ , 186 ^{16,40} , 187 ¹⁴ , 188 ⁹ , 189 ⁵ , 202 ^{8,20} , 268 ⁸ , 277 ¹² , 292 ¹
ΚΑΙ	175 ¹ , 199 ³ , 214 ¹⁵ , 223 ⁷
ΠΚΕ-(3)	196 ³
ΖΕΝΚΟΥΕ	46 ²⁰⁶
* ΜΝΤΚΕ ΔΕ (?)	102 n. 17
ΚΟΙ (?)	158 ⁵
* ΚΟΙΕ (?)	240 ² + n.
ΚΟΥΙ	30 ²⁶ , 50 ³ , 51 ¹⁵ , 55 ²⁵ , 118 ⁴ , 154 ⁴ , 160 ⁸ , 186 ¹⁸ , 189 ¹⁰ , 197 ⁸ , 218 ⁴ , 223 ⁶ , 227 ⁷ , 233 ⁵⁽⁸⁾ , 241 ⁴ , 245 ⁸ , 249 ^{5,9} , 253 ³ , 258 ^{7,9} + n., 269 ³ , 278 ³ , 285 ¹ , 303B ¹⁰ , 310 ¹⁵ , 327 ¹ , 329 ⁷ , 338 ¹³ , 363 ^{4,7} , 395 ⁶ , 396 ¹⁷
ΚΟΥ	284 ¹ + n.
ΚΟΥΙ m.(1)	249 ⁹
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ΚΩ	44 ^{24,32,36} , 48 ³⁴ , 186 ²⁸ , 188 ⁸ , 197 ⁵ , 216 ¹¹ , 230 ⁵ , 233 ²⁽¹⁾ , 235 ^{1,8} , 249 ⁸ , 269 ² , 272 ²² , 275 ² , 277 ¹³
ΚΩ ΕΒΟΛ υβ.	48 ^{2,37} , 55 ²² , 186 ^{13,31} , 187 ^{1,10,12} , 199 ⁵ , 202 ^{8,20} , 410 ^{3,4,10}
ΚΩ ΕΒΟΛ m.	48 ^{38,44}
— ΕΙΒΟΛ	234 ² + n. 1

(ΚΩ) ΕΖΟΥΝ	188 ¹¹
— ΕΖΡΑΙ	43 ⁵
— ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΣΝ	30 ⁴⁶
— ΝΤΟΟΤΕ	32 ⁶⁵
— ΖΡΑΙ	249 ³
ΚΑ ΟΥΜΑ ΕΖΡΑΙ	35 ¹⁶ , 45 ¹⁵
ΚΩ ΖΑΖΤΝ	35 ⁴⁵ , 259 ⁶
ΚΑ ΠΖΟ	230 ⁵ , 248 ¹⁷
ΚΑ ΠΖΟ ΖΙ-	215 ²
ΚΑ ΠΖΟ ΖΝ-	410 ¹⁰
ΚΩ Β υβ.	117 ⁹
ΚΩ ΚΑΖΗΥ υβ.	31 ⁹⁰ , 52 ³
— m.	41 ¹⁴
ΚΑΚΕ	27 ¹⁹
* ΚΛΙ	48 ²⁸ + n. 7
ΚΕΛΕΒΙΝ	330 ⁸
* ΚΕΛΟΟΛΕ	322 ¹² + n.
* ΚΟΥΛΚΑ (?)	107 ⁴ + n.
ΚΛΟΜ	30 ⁶⁰ , 48 ⁶
(ΚΛΑΥΤ) ΚΛΑΤΥ	263 ⁵
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ΚΝΤΕ, ΤΒΩ Ν-	46 ¹⁹³
ΚΑΠ, ΧΙ-	249 ⁹
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ΚΩΡΥ	223 ⁹
ΚΑC	145 ³
ΣΟΥΡ	323 ⁴
ΚΩΤ υβ.	35 ²⁰ , 45 ¹⁰
— ΕΣΝ	241 ⁶
ΚΩΤΕ υβ. ΖΝ-	31 ⁷
— m.	28 ¹²

ΜΝΤCΑΝΚΟΤC	30 ¹²⁸ , 40 ³⁵
ΚΤΟC ΕΖΟΥΝ	32 ⁶⁰
ΚΑΩ m.	49 ¹⁵
* ΚΟΟΥ (?)	322 ¹⁰ + n.
ΚΩΥΤ υβ.(2)	350 ³
ΚΑΖ	35 ⁴⁵ , 44 ²¹ , 49 ¹²
— ('district')	155 ² + n.
ΒΑΙ-ΚΑΖ	260 ⁶ + n.
]ΚΟΔΖ (?)	26 ⁹
* ΚΕΖΚΑΩ	334 ³ + n.
ΠΩΖΤ	26 ³
* ΚΑΧ	128 ² + n., 303B ⁵
<hr/>	
ΛΑ m.	186 ³⁷
ΛΟ υβ.	202 ¹¹
ΛΑΚ	336 ¹
* ΛΟΚΜ	333 ¹ + n.
ΛΑΚΑ.Τ (?)	322 ¹²
ΛΑΚΟΤ	322 ¹⁸
ΛΑΚΟΥΤΕ	322 ¹⁹
ΛΑΚΟΟΤΕ	325 ³
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 επλa 124³
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 *yαπεyλa 50²²+n.
 *λa (imper.), μλeic 269⁶+n.
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 *μoyι (adj.) 276¹¹+n.
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μoyкz 36⁴⁷
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 (μλz) μepεz (z) 118⁴+n.
 μN οβ. 153², 188¹², 202³, 215⁷, 216¹¹,
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 μN ... NTOT 223⁶
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 *μN (unusual) 265⁴+n.
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 — ερδαι σβ. 47⁶⁹, 217⁹
 — ερδαι nn. 216¹⁴ + n, 218⁶, 219³,
 220², 221¹
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 226³, 246^{9,12}, 249^{10,11}, 261³, 280⁶ⁿⁿ,
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[ζα- verbal prefix pp. 204, 215,
 222, 225, chapter VIII (pp. 150)]

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 124⁶, 126¹⁰, 152⁵, 175², 188¹¹,
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 πρoс θε 173³, 197², 219¹, 238¹,
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 μπαρθε 152⁷
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(C) Coptic words

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(2HT) 276³, 282¹, 410¹⁹
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 192², 217³, 246⁹, 247⁵
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 166⁸, 180^{3,5}, 183¹, 186⁴⁰, 188¹⁷,
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2Bcw 30⁵¹, 49²²
 (2ακ) ερ 2ακ (?) 256¹
 2ωκ 187^{14,24}, 260⁷
 (2Ηκε) πCON 22Ηκε 21, 116²² 215⁵
 (2αλ) ρ-2αλ 45¹⁰⁰
 2ωλ εΒoλ 223⁴
 2λλο 32^{25,49}, 35³⁹, 50¹
 2λο (cf. 2λλο name) 319⁸
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2αλωμ 310¹⁵
 2αλατε 41³²
 *2αλα2ωλ 337⁶ + n.
 2λοб 186^{2,47}, 202¹, 210¹
 *2αλбic 336³ + n.
 *2ογμ 310⁷ + n.4
 2αμε 335³, 336²
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 2Ημε 291³, 292^{1,7}, 3038³

2μα (?) 291¹⁵
 2με 55^{3,6}, 260⁴
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 2μμε 41¹⁶, 235²
 ερ-2μμε 202²¹
 2ομNT 339⁹
 2ομεT 322^{18,20}
 2μοoc 316²

[2α- verbal prefix pp. 204, 215,
 222, 225, chapter VIII (pp. 150)]

2αH 52⁸⁶
 2αl nm. 45⁴⁶
 2ε nm. 165¹⁰, 186¹⁶, 188⁹, 223⁸, 247⁹, 267³

Kα-π20 21- 215²
 (N) Nα2PN- 40²⁷, 42³, 46^{55,57,166}
 2ωω 152^{7,9}, 244⁷, 245¹, 259⁷, 260⁸,
 275³
 2ωB, 2ωγ 30^{14,31}, 40⁵¹, 47^{3,75}, 61³

χ=2N? 248¹¹ + n.
 2μπTpe- 100⁴, 152⁴, 223², 230²,
 240³, 404³
 (2ωγN), N2ογN 183²
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2WN ub.	41 ⁹ , 152 ⁶ (?)
2WN E20YN	189 ¹⁰
2WN E700T	188 ⁴
2INH B un.	49 ^{38, 45}
2NadY	41 ¹⁹ , 323 ³
2AΠ, AT-2AΠ	163 ³ + 163 introduction
200T	31 + p 416 n.3
2WΠ ub.	40 ⁴⁴ , 52 ⁴⁰
2AΠC	32 ²⁸
(2pa1) 212pa1	241 ⁸
2Pε	41 ³²
2WpB	333 ⁶
*2PKOY (NTAPIXε)	335 ¹ + n.
2OYPI T	52 ⁵⁶
[2PTE	p208]
2OPW N2HT ub.	47 ⁶⁸
2APε2 ub.	30 ^{15, 29, 24, 54, 78, 94, 328⁶}
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— un.	30 ⁹³
2ICE ub.	180 ⁵ , 202 ¹³ , 229 ⁹ , 245 ⁹ , 259 ³
	279 ⁵ , 410 ²
2ICE 2A	187 ¹⁵
*2ICE E2XN	282 ² + n.
2ICE un.	48 ⁵² , 190 ³ , 243 ⁸ , 246 ⁴ , 275 ²
	278 ³
T1-2ICE	191 ⁵
2AT	41 ¹⁹ , 160 ⁴
2HT	30 ^{22, 43} , 31 ⁴² , 32 ²⁴ , 47 ³⁷ , 51 ^{5, 9}
	154 ¹⁵ , 186 ^{14, 15, 18} , 187 ^{0, 15} , 192 ⁹
	197 ⁴ , 202 ^{4, 10} , 212 ³ , 216 ¹² , 226 ³
	228 ⁹ , 241 ⁴ , 245 ² , 259 ³ , 275 ²

(2HT) 276 ² , 282 ¹ , 410 ^{1, 9}	
2YT	261 ⁴ , 278 ⁵
KOYI N2HT	55 ²⁵
YN-2TH =	202 ⁵
YN-2TH = 2A	47 ⁶⁵ , 202 ¹³
YANA2THCY 2A	51 ¹³
YAN2THY (un)	47 ⁶³ , 202 ⁶
+ 2TH =	46 ¹⁹⁰ , 52 ⁶⁰
2HT (norths)	188 ¹³ , 215 ^{3, 6} , 226 ¹ , 230 ⁹
	231 ⁸ , 235 ³ , 240 ³ , 246 ⁵ , 248 ⁹
CA2HT	188 n.11
2OTE un.	31 ³⁸ , 249 ⁷ (?)
P-2OTE	37 ⁴⁸ , 48 ⁷
2OITE	223 ⁶
2WTB ub.	52 ⁴⁹
2WTP ub.	55 ⁴
2WTP	152 ⁵
2TWAP	42 ⁵
2TOOPε	244 ^{2, 17}
2TWP (pl)	291 ⁸
2TOI	339 ²
2OY	35 ⁶² , 41 ⁴⁰ , 47 ⁸⁹ , 50 ³⁵
	100 ¹⁴ , 218 ⁶ , 235 ²
NE2OY	209 ³
NE12OY	267 ⁵
μΠOY	32 ⁶⁴ , 37 ^{27, 32} , 40 ^{17, 45, 30}
	46 ¹⁷⁶ , 102 ¹¹ , 133 ² , 134 ⁴ , 283 ¹
	396 ^{5, 14}
ΠOY	62 ⁵
μΠOY N2OY	102 ¹² , 111 ⁴ , 112 ⁴
	116 ⁵ , 155 ⁵ , 159 ⁴

ΣINEΠOY	165 ⁴
ΣINEΠE2OY	202 ¹⁸
ΣINEΠOY N2OY	303A ²
2OY N4Y	31 ⁶⁸
2OY ub.	50 ¹⁴
2OY	245 ⁸
2AY (Fayy.)	38 ⁷
ΠE2OY	269 ³
ΠE2OY (un)	231 ⁷
NE2OY	46 ¹¹⁹
2OY E2XN	49 ¹⁴
2OY	228 ¹⁶ , 241 ⁵ , 265 ⁶
N2OY	47 ⁶² , 188 ⁸ , 266 ⁹
EΠE2OY	34 ¹ , 50 ³⁴
N2OY XE	47 ⁶² , 282 ²
P-2OY E-	241 ⁹
E2OY E-	259 ⁹
2OY EITE	27 ⁷
2OYT (un.)	45 ⁴³
2W4Y	214 ¹⁸
2OY4	309 ^{6, 19, 25, 29, 30, 31}
2H4E	288 ⁶
2A2	28 ¹¹ , 30 ⁹⁵ , 187 ¹⁴ , 197 ⁷
2A2TN	166 ³⁽⁶²⁾ , 202 ¹⁹ , 214 ⁴ , 226 ²
	230 ⁹ , 242 ⁴
2OX2E X	202 ^{6, 11} , 228 ⁸
2W6B, AT2W6B	30 ⁶¹
XE ('whether')	192 ²⁰
XE (final)	30 ^{17, 123} , 41 ¹ , 48 ⁸
al.	

<p> $\Sigma 1 \text{ ub.}$ 31⁶⁵, 32⁸⁰, 46^{74,95}, 48⁶, 131¹, 132², 133¹, 138², 180³, 187^{11,91},³ 202¹³, 214⁷, 216⁶(1), 229¹, 240⁶, 245⁹, 249^{1,9}, 257¹, 262^{2,5}, 265⁴, 266⁶, 322²¹, 396¹ $\Sigma 1 \text{ NTOT} =$ 36¹², 244⁹ $\Sigma 1 \text{ 2A}$ 41²⁶ $\Sigma 1 \text{ 2N}$ 46⁶⁴ $\Sigma 1 \text{ EBO} \lambda \text{ 2N}$ 52²² $\Sigma 0 \text{ ub. ("som")}$ 201³ $\Sigma 0 \text{ (?)}$ 48²⁶ $\Sigma 0 \text{ EBO} \lambda \text{ ub.}$ 101⁴ $\Sigma 0 \text{ EBO} \lambda \text{ n.}$ 293ⁿ, 301¹, 302¹, 312¹ $\Sigma 0 1$ 37⁴⁰, 223⁴, 233²(1), 235¹, 304⁵, 341², 342¹ $\Sigma \omega \text{ ub.}$ 31²³, 32^{6,24}, 33⁵⁸, 122¹, 35^{41,63,67}, 37²⁶, 40^{50,91}, 41^{7,22}, 42³³, 43¹⁰, 45⁴², 46^{210,94,114,181}, 188¹, 46¹⁹⁸, 48^{43,46}, 52²⁵, 55^{57,69}, 186¹¹, 17²⁶, 202⁴, 246⁷, 247^{3,5}, 261⁹, 269⁴, 274², 277⁶ — 2A 156⁴ $\delta 1 \text{N} \Sigma \omega$ 42¹⁵ $\delta 2 \text{IC} -$ 32²⁹, 43²² $(\Sigma \omega \text{ n.})$ $\text{E} \Sigma \text{N} -$ 192⁵, 202¹⁹, 215⁶, 236⁴, 249³, 258¹², 395⁷ $\text{E} \Sigma \omega =$ 349⁶ $\Sigma \Sigma \text{N} -$ 189⁹, 195¹, 197⁴, 199⁵, 241¹⁴ $\Sigma \omega \text{K ub. (1)}$ 62⁵ $\Sigma \omega \text{K EBO} \lambda \text{ ub.}$ 30⁹⁷, 36^{14,26}, 45⁶, 51¹⁹ </p>	<p> $(\Sigma \omega \text{K EBO} \lambda)$ 52^{38,68}, 186⁹, 189⁶, 202¹², 223², 226², 235⁶, 333⁴ $\Sigma \omega \text{K n.}$ 227⁶ $\Sigma \omega \text{K} \lambda \text{ ub.}$ 41^{7,12} $\Sigma \alpha \text{K} \mu \text{E}$ 185⁹ $\Sigma \text{EK} \alpha (\alpha) \text{C}$ 30⁴², 31⁷¹, 47²⁵, 232³, 42³⁰ $\Sigma \omega \omega \lambda \text{E}$ 115⁵, 116⁹(1) $* \Sigma \omega \lambda \text{IT} (?)$ 324⁵ $\Sigma \text{E} \lambda \Sigma \lambda$ 276¹³ $* \Sigma \mu \text{O n.}$ 313⁴ + n. $\Sigma \mu \mu 1 \text{ ub. (BOH.)}$ 60⁵ $\Sigma \omega \omega \mu \text{E}$ 35⁶⁹ $\Sigma 1 \text{N}$ 27², 165³, 202¹⁰, 217², 245⁵, 301^{2,3}, 303A² $\Sigma 1 \text{NTE}$ 45⁴⁶, 55⁷ $\Sigma \text{OONE} (= \delta \text{OONE} ?)$ 330⁴ $\Sigma \text{NOY ub.}$ 52^{44,50}, 138⁸, 139⁵, 186^{12,29,31}, 188⁹, 189²⁷, 246⁶(bin), 249^{6,7}, 249¹², 267⁶, 272^{19,21}, 276^{4,19,17} $\Sigma \text{EN} \omega \text{B}$ 311⁴ ΣNOY 235¹, 249⁹(6) $\Sigma \omega \omega \text{N} \eta$ 250⁶ $\Sigma \text{NA} 2, \text{N} \Sigma \text{NA} 2$ 32³ $\Sigma \text{PO ub.}$ 46^{13,34,48}, 48²⁸ δPO 249⁵, 396^{5,14} $\Sigma \text{PO EBO} \lambda \text{ 2N} -$ 46⁷⁷ $\Sigma \text{PO n.}$ 55¹² $* \Sigma \text{HTE}$ 157^{6,11} + n. $* \Sigma \text{PAEIT}$ 102^{19,20,27} + n. 14 ΣIP 311³ $\Sigma 1 \text{OOP}$ 291³ </p>	<p> ΣHPE 103⁸ + n. 9, 217¹(1) $\Sigma 1 \text{EIPe}$ 273^{4,3} ΣPO 37¹⁸, 47⁵⁷ $\Sigma \omega \omega \text{PE}, \mu \text{NT} - \Sigma \omega \omega \text{PE}$ 30⁵⁵ $\Sigma \alpha \text{P[K]} (?)$ 276⁴ $\Sigma \omega \text{PH}$ 250¹ ΣOEIC <i>God</i>: 28¹(1-2) 30³⁵, 46², 68, 87, 30^{89,94,109}, 33^{20,27}, 35^{21,37}, 37^{23,52}, 49⁴², 50²¹, 55^{11,10n,1}, 178⁵, 191², 206⁸, 211², 215⁴, 217³, 231⁸, 241¹⁵, 244¹², 246¹¹(1), 247⁹, 248²¹, 250⁷(1), 259¹³, 264⁷, 265¹², 396^{4,13}, 412^{11,23} <i>Father, Superior</i>: 121⁵, 186^{2,49}, 189^{24,32}, 190^{1,6}, 191⁸, 200¹, 202¹³, 205⁴, 211¹, 217¹¹, 223¹², 238¹, 239⁸, 243², 249^{15,16}, 260⁴, 269¹, 278³ $\Sigma 1 \text{COOYE}$ <i>Superiors</i>: 189³³, 226⁴ <i>Government</i>: 120³ <i>deceased fathers</i> 189⁹ $\mu \text{NT} \Sigma \text{OEIC}$ 28⁸, 144³(1) $\mu \text{ET} \Sigma \text{OEIC}$ 202⁷ $(\Sigma 1 \text{CE}) \mu \text{ET} \Sigma \text{OCE}$ 46³⁰ $\text{NET} \Sigma \text{OCE}$ 28⁴ $\mu \text{NT} \Sigma \alpha \text{CIEHT}$ 27^{13,21,23} ΣOIEIT 3038³⁵ $\Sigma \text{OIEIT} \text{N} \lambda \lambda \alpha \gamma$ 3038³⁶ $\Sigma \text{Ooy ub.}$ 51², 186⁵¹, 189²⁸, 202^{11,14}, 276¹⁴, 277¹¹ $\Sigma \text{Ooy EBO} \lambda$ 206⁵ </p>
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ΧΟΥΥ ΕΥΟΥΝ	261 ²
ΧΟΥΥ ΕΥΡΑΙ	277 ⁴
ΧΟΥΥΤ	156 ⁶ , 194 ⁶ , 146 ⁹ , 257 ³
ΧΟΥΤ	132 ⁵
ΧΟΥΤΑΥΤΕ	208 ²
ΧΟΥΤΗ	301 ³
ΧΟΥΤΕΕ	118 ²
ΧΟΥΧΜΗΝΕ	55 ¹⁰
ΧΟΥΧΟΜΤΕ	55 ¹⁴
ΧΩΖ	57 ³
ΧΩΖΗ ΟΒ.	31 ⁴⁷
— ημ.	30 ⁸⁰ , 46 ³⁷
* (ΧΩΧ) ηλ. ΧΩΧΕ	253 ⁷⁴ + η.
ΧΑΧΕ, ρ-ΧΑΧΕ	46 ¹²⁹
ΧΗΒΕ	328 ¹⁰
<hr/>	
[β, form of letter	α235 η. 3]
ΒΑΙΗ, ΕΡΒΑΙΗ ημ.	237 ⁵
ΒΩ ΟΒ.	165 ⁹ , 186 ³⁴ , 189 ¹⁸ , 148 ⁶ , 229 ⁸ + η. 5
— ΖΑΖΤΝ	36 ¹ , 223 ^{9,10}
— ημ.	50 ²⁶
ΒΩΒ, ΜΝΤΒΩΒ	32 ^{63,87}
(ΒΩΛ) ΧΩΛ ΕΒΩΛ	223 ⁵ + η.
ΒΑΛΕ, ΜΑΝΒΑΛΕ	329 ⁷
ΒΟΛΒΕ (?)	328 ²
ΒΩΛΠ	40 ³²

ΒΑ]ΛΑΖΤ	337 ⁶
*ΒΑΛΒΕ	244 ¹¹ + η. 7
ΒΟΜ	28 ⁹ , 30 ⁸⁰ , 45 ¹⁰⁶ , 46 ³⁰ , 47 ⁷⁴⁹⁸ , 52 ^{14,26} , 111 ⁸ , 114 ¹³ , 119 ²² , 132 ⁷ , 153 ³ , 165 ¹⁵ , 170 ⁷ , 179 ¹³ , 188 ^{12,18} , 189 ¹⁷ , 224 ² , 228 ³ , 240 ⁴ , 249 ⁵ , 257 ²⁸²
ημ ΒΟΜ η-	259 ⁵ (ημ)
ΤΙ ΒΟΜ	202 ¹⁵ , 227 ¹⁰
ΑΤΒΟΜ	46 ¹⁵⁶
ρ-ΑΤΒΟΜ	40 ²⁶
ΒΑΜΟΥΛ	24 ¹⁷ , 249 ¹¹ , 230 ⁶ , 288 ¹² , 303 ⁸³ , 329 ⁶
ΜΑΝΒΑΜΟΥΛ	312 ¹²
ΒΙΝΕ ΟΒ.	48 ^{14,24} , 102 ^{22,23} , 186 ²⁴ , 187 ⁹ , 215 ¹ , 252 ¹ , 265 ³ , 276 ⁸ , 303 ⁸ , 440 ³
ΒΙΝΕ ΖΑΖΤΝ	247 ⁸ , 259 ¹¹
ΒΝΘΕ	186 ¹⁶
ΒΟΝC ημ.	50 ¹⁹
ΒΕΠΗ	42 ¹⁶
ΖΝΟΥΒΕΠΗ	37 ⁶³
ΒΩΠΕ	187 ⁸ , 188 ⁴
*ΒΑΠΙΧΟΥ (?)	328 ¹ + η.
ΒΟΡ	333 ³
ΒΟΡΤΕ	323 ¹ , 326 ² , 327 ⁴ , 330 ⁹
ΒΩΡΒ	322 ³
ΒΡΟΒ (?)	293 ¹⁰

ΒΟC	55 ⁶ , 132 ⁴ , 134 ² , 339 ¹
ΒΟΤ	30 ²⁹ , 40 ¹¹
ΒΩΤΠ ΟΒ.	40 ¹
— ΕΒΟΛ	48 ⁴⁹
ΒΟΤΠC ημ.	40 ⁴
ΒΟΟΥΝΕ	322 ²¹ , 331 ⁸
ΒΑΥΝΕ	320 ⁵
ΨΑΖΒΟΟΥΝΕ	169 ⁵
ΒΑΥΟΝ, ΕΡ-ΒΑΥΟΝ	223 ⁸
ΒΩΥΤ ΟΒ.	32 ¹¹⁰ , 37 ³⁸ , 47 ⁹⁷ , 202 ⁸
— ΕΠΕCΗΤ	42 ¹⁶
— ΖΑ-	103 ⁸
— ΖΗΤΕ	216 ¹¹
ΧΩΥΤ ΕΒΟΛ ημ.	192 ¹⁹
ΒΩΥΤ ημ.	31 ¹⁰
ΒΑΥΒΑΥ	310 ⁵
ΒΙΧ	30 ¹⁵ , 46 ¹⁶ , 79 ¹ , 41 ⁴⁴ , 48 ¹³ , 51 ³ , 131 ⁴ , 138 ⁸ , 140 ⁴ , 169 ³ , 197 ³ , 205 ⁴ , 216 ¹⁴ , 217 ⁹ , 219 ³ , 220 ¹ , 222 ² , 233 ⁸ , 260 ⁵ , 244 ⁴ , 330 ⁸
ΒΙΒ (ημ)	189 ¹⁶ , 404 ⁴
ΧΙΒ (ημ)	138 ⁸
ΒΟΥΒ	270 ³ , 309 ⁹ , 18 (ημ), 29
ΒΟΥΧ	310 ⁶
ΓΒΑΒ ΟΥΖΟΡ (?)	337 ⁷

αγαθος	202 ¹⁵ , 260 ²	(αλλα) 192 ⁴ , 197 ² , 202 ⁵ , 209 ⁸ , 235 ¹ , 247 ⁵ , 250 ² , 271 ⁴ , 410 ⁶	ΑΝΤΙΚΕΙΜΕΝΟΣ	305 ⁸
ακαθος	57 ⁵⁴	(αλλαγη ε) αλλαλη 120 ²⁴ n.1	αξιογ	117 ¹²
μντακαθος	202 ⁶	αμελια 48 ³⁰	απα, αββα	passim, cf. 358 n.
αγαπη	52 ⁴³	αμελει 49 ³¹	απαντα	49 ²⁶ , 254 ¹ , 261 ⁵
αριταγαπη	55 ²⁴	αμελιν 334 ³	απαρχη	253 ³
ρ-ταγαπη	197 ^{6,8} , 248 ⁷ , 253 ⁴	αμην 122 ¹ , 204 ³	(απατη) απατε m.	196 ⁵
ρ-τακαπη	253 ⁴	αμην 30 ³⁹ , 66, 82, [112], 36 ^{8,16} , 43 ² , 46 ⁵ , 58 ⁹	απατη οβ.	154 ¹³
μντακαπε	228 ⁶	4φ 59 ²²⁻¹	απλωс	46 ²⁰⁷
(αγγελιον) αghn	322 ⁸	αμπελικων 408 ¹	απο	130 ² , 148 ¹ , 180 ¹ , 203 ³ , 274 ⁶ , 287 ^{2,9,5} , 312 ²¹ , 396 ¹¹
αγγελος	27 ¹ , 37 ⁷ , 45 ¹⁰⁵ , 46 ^{20,45,93} , 47 ¹³	αμφιβοулиδ 117 ⁸	απ ^ο	113 ³
αγιος	56 ¹ , 102 ² , 125 ² , 152 ³ , 200 ² , 201 ² , 210 ¹⁰	αμφιβали (m) 151 ⁷	απ ^π	130 ⁵ , 299 ²
αγι ^ο	204	αμφιβολια 163 ⁴	αφ ^ω (298 n.6)	288 ⁹ , 298 ⁴
αγιος	152 ¹	αμφιβολια 166 ⁴	αποδειξις	131 ¹ , 138 ⁶⁽⁸⁾
αγια	152 ¹	αναγκазе 154 ¹³	απογτακεισεν	132 ⁷
αγων οβ.	48 ⁵ , 127 ⁴	αναγκη 44 ³⁶	αποτακειс	132 ⁸
αγωνизе	30 ⁵⁶	τι αναγκη ε-	αποδεχομαι	123 ²
αδελφ ^ο	381 ¹	[ανκложка 102 App. n. 9]	απο ^δ	130 ⁶
κινητος	29 ⁸	αναλαωμα 160 ¹¹	αποκροτωс	115 ³
εαιρετικός	40 ³⁷	αναστασιс 30 ⁶⁹ , 50 ¹³	απολογize	49 ²⁸
εραϊτικός	48 ⁴²	αναφορά 183 ²	(αποπροεστωс) αποпр ^ο	312 ²⁸ + n.18
αιτητής	120 ¹²	αναχωρηтис 36 ¹¹	αποria	40 ³⁸
(αιτιδ) etid	152 ⁸ , 186 ²⁸	ανδριсμος (pp. 42 f., 130 App. n. 6), 291 ⁷	αποστολικον	237 ²
αιων	28 ³ , 36 ² , 49 ⁴³	αν ² 149 ¹ , 293 ^{3,4,7,13,15} , 294 ³ , 295 ^{1,3} , 3038 ²⁴	αποστολος	44 ⁵
αιωνος	204 ³	αν ² (same?) 348 ^{1,2,3,4}	αποταссe	319 ⁸
(ακκτων) ακтy	181 ²	— ² (απεν ²) 293 ¹²	αpαγε	309 ⁴ + n., 318 ²
αλαссe	248 ⁶	ανιχe 41 ¹⁴	αpake	309 ²⁵ , 319 ^{24,7,6,7}
αλφ (ε)	287 ³		αpoc	31 ^{20,24}
αλλα	33 ¹³ , 36 ⁶¹ , 40 ⁵⁵ , 47 ⁶⁰ , 48 ⁴⁴ , 49 ¹⁰ , 50 ^{6,8,11,33} , 51 ¹² , 52 ^{17,30} , 186 ³⁹		(κριθμικ νομισμатe) apc ²	130 ³

(D) Greek Words

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$\alpha\rho^{\theta\theta}$	346 ⁹
αΡΙΣΤΟΝ	45 ³¹
αρνα	52 ⁵⁵
(κρουρεκ) αρε ^θ	297 ^{7,10,11}
(κετυβη) α ρ το β	
$\overline{\alpha\rho}$	309 ¹⁰⁰ , 319 ¹⁰⁰⁰
αρε ^τ	1304 ⁷
$\overline{\alpha\rho}$	297 ^{1,2,8} , 310 ¹⁰⁰⁰ , 361 ^{2,3}
αρχαγγελος	45 ^{8,11,33}
αρχναγγελος	37 ⁵⁰
αρχει	216 ⁶
αρχει εχιν	116 ¹⁵ , 120 ³ , 157 ⁶
αρχι εχιν	103 ¹¹
αρχ εχιν	119 ²⁰
αρχ εχιν	170 ¹
αρχε εχιν	114 ¹¹
αρχεις θα	52 ³⁶
αρχη	27 ¹⁷⁺ⁿ , 52 ^{37,85}
αρχη ενικοπος	44 ⁷
(αρχιδιακονος) αρχ ^α διακ ^ο	197 ¹⁵
αρχιερευς	40 ¹⁵
(αρχιμανδριτης) αρχ ^α μα ^α	395 ⁴
αρχ ^α	210 ⁹⁺ⁿ , 2
(αρχιπρεσβυτερος) αρχ ^α πρ ^ε	235 ¹⁰ , 249 ¹⁴
αρχων	41 ² , 46 ⁴⁹ , 186 ^{n.1} , 191 ^{n.4}
αρχ	160 ⁴ , 186 ^{14,29} , 191 ⁷
ασιπασε	186 ^{4,46} , 189 ³ , 191 ⁶ (big), 205 ¹ , 209 ³ , 210 ¹ , 216 ¹³ , 229 ¹⁰ , 241 ¹ , 242 ¹ , 249 ¹² , 260 ¹ , 263 ⁷ , 268 ¹⁰ , 269 ¹ , 396 ^{8,12}
ασφαλια	102 ^{28,37} , 103 ^{9,13} , 104 ⁶ , 115 ⁹

(ασφαλια) 116 ²⁰ , 119 ^{23,31} , 128 ⁶ , 167 ³	
ασφαλεια	116 ^{7,18} , 117 ¹⁰ , 125 ⁵ , 404 ⁴
ασφαλι	102 ³⁰
ασφαλε	114 ^{9,14,17}
ασφαλ	115 ¹⁰
ατακτι εχιν	42 ⁶
αυκοθνηκη μι.	322 ¹⁸
αυσανε	36 ⁴ , 27 ^{7,3}
αφορμη	154 ¹⁴
αψις	324 ⁴
ταψις	31 ³³
<hr/>	
Βημα	43 ⁵
βελ ^ε (?)	300 ¹
βιος	35 ⁸ , 36 ⁹ , 39 ² , 40 ⁷ , 50 ⁴ , 51 ⁸
βοηθι	32 ⁵
βοηθια	48 ²⁹
βοηθος	30 ^{11,12}
βοηθος (title, cf. p. 35)	
βοιθος	102 ³¹ , 145 ¹
γοιθος	149 ²
βωθος	132 ¹
βοη ^θ	135 ^{3,14} , 147 ¹ , 305 ⁷
βοη ^θ	312 ⁵
βοι ^θ	291 ²⁷
βου ^δ (same?)	113 ³⁺ⁿ
βουλλιζε	229 ⁶⁺ⁿ , 4
<hr/>	
(ταμος) καμος	152 ⁵
ταρ	202 ^{6,9} , 255 ³ , 254 ¹ , 259 ³
καρ	241 ²

ΓΕΝΕΑ	52 ⁸⁴
(ΓΕΝΗΜΑ) ΚΑΙΝΕΜΑ	313 ⁸ , 314 ⁵
(σηδίου) ση ^δ	297 ¹⁰
(γενετα) γυ	123 ⁶ , 115 ⁴ , 130 ⁷ , 144 ⁷ , 290 ^{14a,22} , 297 ^{5,6} , 298 ⁴ , 305 ⁹ , 310 ^{24,28} , 355 ⁹
γεν ^{εε} μμ	100 ⁶
γεν ^{εε} μμ	110 ⁶
[ΓΕΝΑμ]	158 ⁷
Γνωμη	32 ²²
Γνωσις	52 ³⁸
— (lost)	179 ^{1,3}
ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΙΟΝ	174 ¹
γραφη	40 ¹⁵
(γραφω) εγραφα	103 ¹⁹ , 142 ³
εγραφη	123 ⁷
εγραφ ^α	110 ⁷
ερε ^α	115 ⁷
ερε ^α	111 ¹⁴ , 148 ⁴
ερε ^α	122 ¹ , 131 ² , 225 ⁷ , n.
ερε	217 ¹² , 244 ¹³
ερε ^α	135 ⁴ , 165 ¹⁵
εκ	152 ¹⁰
Γραφευς	120 ¹¹
<hr/>	
ΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΟΝ	46 ¹⁴⁴
ΔΑΚΩΝ (?)	338 ³
ΔΑΠΑΝΗ (cf. p. 43f.)	290 ¹⁰⁰⁰
ταπαλε	239 ⁷
δπ	130 ^{3,4}
δπ, μμ ψβ (μητηρων δωδεκα)	130 ⁴ , n.

$(\delta^{\pi}) \mu\mu\beta$ 300⁹
 $\delta^{\pi} \epsilon \zeta \epsilon^{\delta}$ 130⁴ + n.
 $(\delta^{\pi}) \epsilon \zeta \epsilon^{\delta}$ 300⁹
 ΔΑΠΑΝΗ ΝΑΛΜΟΥΜΕΝΙΝ
 (p. 44), 290³
 ΔΑΠΑΝΗ ΝΑΛΜ^ο 290^{8,11,17}
 ΔΑΠΑΝΗ ΝΑΛΜ^λ 290¹⁴
 ΔΑΠΑΝΗ ΝΑΛΜ^μ 290²⁰
 ΤΑΠΑ[Ν]Ε ΑΧ[ΜΟΥ]ΜΑΝΙ (?)
 187⁷
 (δεικνυω) [ΔΙΚ]ΝΕΥΕ 41²⁵
 δεκτεσσερα 123⁴
 (δεσποτα) ΔΕΣΠΤ^ο 217¹⁰ + n. 3
 ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΝ 210⁴
 ΔΥΜΙΟΥΡΓΟΣ 45²⁸
 ΔΗΜΟCΙΑ, ΠΡΟΕΛΘΕ ΔΗΜΟCΙΑ
 41⁵ + p. 443 n. 1
 ΔΗΜΟCΙΟΝ (public) 41⁶
 ΔΗΜΟCΙΟΝ (tax, cf. pp. 42 ff.)
 291^{1,9,24} + n. 9, 292^{2,3}
 ΔΥΜΟCΙΟΝ 102⁹
 ΔΗΜ^ο 111³, 135²
 δημ^ο 130²
 ΤΗΜΟCΙΟΝ 140³
 ΤΕΜΟCΙΟΝ 103⁶, 136^{2,5}, 239⁷
 ΤΕΜΟCΙΟ 292⁸
 ΤΕΜΟCΙΝ 133²
 ΤΕΜΟCΙΝ 138³
 ΤΙΜΟCΙ 151⁶
 (Χρυσικα δημοςικα p. 42)
 ΤΕΜΟCΙΝ ΕΝΤΑΛΕΥΤΗΝ 132²

ΤΕΜΟCΙΝ ΝΤΑΛΕΥΤΗΝ 133¹
 ΤΕΜΟCΙΟΝ ΠCΩΖΕ 134³
 ΔΗΜΟCΙΟΝ ΝΒΡΡΕ 214¹⁶
 ΔΗΜΟCΙΟC ΛΟΓΟC 122⁴ + introduction
 ΔΙΔ 296⁶
 δ, 100⁶, 143⁶, 207⁶, 287^{1,4,5,6},
 288^{pam.}, 299^{4,5,6}, 322¹⁰,
 346^{8,12}, 347³, 387^{pam.}
 δγ εμ^ο 225⁷
 δι μου 103¹⁹
 δ, — (= δεικ του) 299², 408¹
 ΔΙΔΒΟΛΟC 27^{15,29}, 30^{12,7}, 45^{37,69,92},
 47^{17,54}
 ΔΙΔΓΡΑΦΟΝ (pp. 42 ff., 130 App.
 n. 6)
 ΔΑΠΕΚΔΙΔΓΡΑΦΟΝ 211Ν-
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 ΔΙΔΓΡΑΦΟΝ 139³, 290^{6,9,12,15}
 ΔΙΑΚΡ^ο 136², 143²
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 ΔΙΔΓΡ^π 3038^{16,20,21,23}
 ΔΙΔΓ^π 130³, 148³
 διαγ 300¹
 Δγ 135^{2,3}
 Δ (?) 293¹²
 διακρ^π αλμ^ο (app. 43) 287¹
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 ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟC 30¹⁰³
 ΔΙΑΚΩΝ 228^{2,17}
 ΤΙΑΚΩΝ 114¹⁶
 ΤΕΙΑΚΟΥ 248¹⁶ + n.
 ΔΙΑΚ^ο 143¹, 158¹, 168⁷, 186⁵, 225⁷,
 259¹², 263⁶, 291^{7,24,26}, 292⁴,
 361³, 377¹
 ΔΙΑΚ/ο 338¹², 358^{1,2,3}
 ΔΙΑΚω 104⁶, 111¹⁰, 143⁶, 266³, 272¹⁶,
 290⁶, 291^{4,5,11,32}, 292¹, 293^{2,6,15},
 3038^{2(2),12,19}, 396^{16(Lia)}
 ΔΙΑΚω 395^{1,2}
 ΔΙΑΚγ 154^{3,7}, 223³, 252⁵, 272¹¹,
 276¹⁷, 346², 382³
 ΔΙΑΚ 192²³
 ΔΙ (sic!) 291²⁹, 396²⁰
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 ΔΙΑ[Κ 260²
 (ΔΙΑΝΟΜΗ) ΤΙΑΝΟ[ΜΗ] 46¹⁰⁹
 (δικοστασιζειν ?)
 ΤΕCΤΙCΤΕCΤΕ 51⁴
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 31 ff.) 100¹, 106¹, 109¹⁽¹⁾, 125²
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 ΔΙΓΕΟΝ 102¹
 π-ΔΙΚΑΙΟΝ ('right') 250⁴

ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ	50 ^{10,25}
ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣΥΝΗ	30 ⁶²
ΔΙΚΑΙΩΜΑ	43 ¹¹
ΔΙΝΑΡΕ	187 ⁴⁰
ΔΙΟΙΚΕΙ	100 ⁴
ΔΙΟΙΓΕΣΙΣ	301 + n.1
(ΔΙΟΙΚΗΤΗΣ) ΤΙ[ΟΙΚΗΤΗΣ](?)	151 ⁴
ΔΙΟΙΚΤ,	303A ⁵ , 303B ²⁵ , 360 ¹
ΔΙΟΙΚ	154 ³
δ ^τ (?)	381 ^{2,3}
ΔΟΞΟΝ	242 ⁵ + n.4
(δοῦλος) δοῦ	354 ¹
ΔΟΥΞ	294 ¹ + n.2
δου	130 ³
ΔΩΔΕΚΑΤΗΣ	165 ⁶
Δωδεκάτας	143 ⁴

ΕΓΓΥΗΤΗΣ	122 ²
ΕΓΓΥΗΤΙΚΗ	122 ³
ΕΓΚΡΑΤΗΣ	318 ⁹
ΕΓΚΡΑΤΙΑ	30 ²³ + p.41n.1
ΕΓΚΩΜΙΟΝ	40 ⁴⁸ , 45 ¹
ΕΘΛΟΣ αα ΘΟΛΟΣ	
ΕΙΔΕ	165 ²
ΕΙΔΩΛΟΝ	33 ¹⁸
ΕΙΜΗΤΕΙ	214 ⁸
ΕΙΜΗΤΙ	46 ⁴⁹ , 396 ²
ΕΙΡΟΥΘ (?)	310 ¹²
ΕΙΡΗΝΗ	30 ^{21,96,107,118,122} , 35 ^{50,65} , 36 ^{7,27} , 48 ¹
ΕΙΡΗΝΕ	210 ⁸

ΙΡΗΝΗ	214 ¹ , 256 ⁵ , 262 ¹
ΙΡΕΙΝΕ	277 ¹²
† ΡΗΝΗ	35 ^{7,18,22}
ρ-ΕΙΡΗΝΗ	46 ¹²⁶
(ΕΙΣ) ΕΙ ^τ (= ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ) 287 ⁵³	
ΕΙΤΕ - ΕΙΤΕ	206 ^{7,8}
(ΕΚΑΣΤΟΣ) ΕΚ ^τ	130 ⁵
ΕΚΗ (?)	114 ¹⁶
ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ	30 ^{104,120}
ΕΚΚΛΕΣΙΑ	189 ^{20,23}
ΕΚΛΕΣΙΑ	312 ⁹
ΕΚΤΗΣ	131 ⁵
ΕΛΑΧΙΣΤΟΣ	177 ¹
ΕΛΑΧΕΙΣΤΟΣ	124 ⁵
ΕΛΑΧΙΣΤΟΝ	231 ⁴
ΕΙΛΑΧΙΣΤΟΣ	344 ²
ΕΛΑΧ[ΙΣΤΟΣ]	238 ⁴
ΕΛΑΧ	119 ²⁸ , 143 ¹ , 178 ¹
ΕΛα ^χ	191 ⁷
Ελ ^α	205 ⁷ , 396 ¹⁹
Ελ ^χ	103 ^{3,19} , 104 ⁶ , 110 ² , 111 ¹⁰ , 120 ¹¹ , 197 ¹⁶ , 211 ⁴ , 225 ⁷ , 237 ⁵ , 249 ¹⁴ , 267 ⁹ , 396 ¹⁰
ΕΙλ ^χ	317 ⁵
Ελ ^τ	210 ⁹
ΜΕΤΕΛΑΧΙΣΤΟΣ	216 ²
ΕΛΕΟΣ	350 ¹
ΕΛΕΩ	405 ⁴
ΕΛΕΗΜΩΝ	401 ²
ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΟΣ (cf. ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΟΣ)	152 ^{5,7} + n.7
ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΟΥ ΟΥ.	202 ⁵

ΕΛΠΙΖΕ	197 ² , 254 ^{1(?)} , 266 ¹⁰ , 272 ³
Εμβολή (cf. pp. 42, 44)	130 ⁴ n.
ΕΜΒΟΛ ^Η	135 ⁵
ΝΒΟΛΗ	291 ⁷
Εμβολ ²	296 ^{1,7}
Εμβ ²	130 ⁴
ΕΝΔΕΚΑΤΗΣ	170 ³
ΕΝΔΟΞΟ ^τ	183 ³
ΝΔ	184 ¹
(ΕΝΕΧΟΜΑΙ) ΕΝΕΧ ^θ	299 ³
ΕΝΕΡΓΕΙ	47 ⁴⁶
ΕΝΕΡΓΙΑ	30 ^{57,130} , 45 ⁹⁴
ΕΝΩΩΝΕ	43 ⁷
ΕΝΝΑΤΗΣ	123 ³
ΕΝΩΟΟΝ	32 ²
(ΕΝΤΑΓΙΟΝ) ΕΝΤΑΓΙΝ	244 ^{9,10}
ΕΝΤΑΚΝ	185 ⁴⁵
ΕΝΤΑΓ[ΙΝ]	144 ⁸
ΕΝΤ ^{αδ}	130 ⁶
ΝΤΑΓΙ ^ο	125 ¹⁰
ΕΝΤΟΛΗ	36 ¹⁸ , 43 ²⁹ , 188 ³
† -ΕΝΤΟΛΗ	36 ⁵⁹
(ΕΞΕΘΕΩΝ) ΕΞΕ ^δ	130 ⁴ , 300 ¹⁹
ΕΞΩΡΙΖΕ	45 ⁴
ΕΞΩΡΙΔ	44 ¹²
ΕΠΕΙ ('απκε') 215 ⁶ , 223 ^{6,10} , 225 ³ , 244 ⁹ , 259 ⁵ , 282 ³	
ΕΠΙ	202 ² , 245 ⁸ , 250 ³ , 277 ³
ΕΠΕΙΔΗ	47 ⁷⁵ , 52 ¹⁸ , 100 ³ , 113 ² , 206 ⁵ , 217 ⁸ , 244 ⁷
ΕΠΙΔΗ	102 ⁷ , 103 ⁵ , 159 ² , 253 ⁵

ΕΠΙΤΗ	161 ⁶
ΗΠΙΤΗ	114 ³
ΕΠΙΔΥ	152 ⁴
ΕΠΑΙΔΗ	119 ¹⁰
ΑΠΙΤΑ	139 ¹
(ἐπισητούμενα φ.ρ 45) ἐπι	
	298 ^{1,4} + n. 2
ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΗ	231 ³
ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΣ	308 ^{5,9,100} , 345 ⁴ , 41 ⁴ , 45 ³ , 238 ⁴ (?)
ΕΠΙΣΚ[	233 ¹
ΕΠΙΣΚ ^π	111 ⁷ , 166 ⁵ , 405 ⁴
ΕΠСК ^ο	118 ¹
[Ε]ΠΙСК ^γ	167 ²
ΑΝΤΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΣ	333 ²
ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ	413 ^{9,43} , 248 ⁸ , 229 ² , 239 ⁴ + n. 3, 396 ¹
ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΕΙ	187 ⁶
ΕΠΙΣΤΟΥΛΗ	187 ¹¹
(ἐπιτρέπειν)	
ΕΠΙΤΡΟΠΗ	115 ⁸
ΕΠΙΤΡΟΠΗ	167 ⁵
(ἐποικιον) ἐποικ ^ο	181 ¹
ΟΙΚΚ ^γ	156 ¹
ΕΠΗΓΙΟΝ	124 ²
ΕΡΠΟΚΟΥ	180 ¹
ΕΠΩΜΙΣ	323 ²
(ἐρχεται) ἐρ ^ο	286 ^{3,5,7,9,10} , 331 ⁵
ΖΕΡΜΗΝΙΑ	46 ¹⁰³
ΖΕΡΜΗΝΕΥΕ	50 ^{28,45,69,79}
ΕΤΙ	308 ⁶

ΖΕΤΟΙΜΟΣ	115 ⁴
ΖΕΤΕΜΟΣ	102 ¹⁵ , 118 ³ , 140 ⁵
(ετος) ΕΤ ^ο	287 ¹
ΕΤ ^γ	130 ⁵
ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ	46 ⁶⁹
(ευκλεεστκτος) ΕΥΚΛ ^ε	122 ⁵
ΕΥΛΟΓΙΜΕΝΟΝ	205 ¹ , 395 ⁸
ΕΥΛΟΓΕΜΕΝΟΝ	265 ¹ + n. 1
ΕΥΣΕΒΗΣ	45 ⁷⁷
ΕΥΦΡΟΣΥΝΗ.	255 ²
ΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΑ	102 ¹⁶ + n. 9, 227 ⁵ , 412 ⁴
ΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΕ	248 ^{5,8a}
ΖΗΤΗΜΑ	40 ²⁴
(συροσκτης) συρ ^ο	287 ^{4,6} + introd.
ῥ ^ο	287 ⁵
Ἠ	31 ⁷⁰
(ηγούμενος) ΖΙΓΟΥΜΕΝΟΣ	235 ¹⁰
ΖΗΓΥ	205 ⁷
ΗΓΟΥΝ	122 ⁴
ΖΗΔΑΝΕ ΝCΑ-	42 ¹⁴
ΗΜΟΥΚΡΑΝΙΟΝ	61 ⁶ + n.
ΗΜΙΣΟΥ	123 ⁴
ΣΟΥ	130 ⁴
ΗCΥΧΙΑ	35 ³⁸
ΘΑΛΑCΑ	290 ⁵
ΘΑΛΛΙC	191 ⁴
ΘΑΡΟΝC (ε=θερμος)	310 ¹⁰ + n. 7
(θαρρει) ΘΑΡΕΙ	29 ² + n. 1

ΘΕΟC	152 ¹ , 180 ¹
ΘC	401 ⁴
ΘΥ	36 ¹⁷
ΘΥ	405 ⁴
ΘΕΟΤΙΜΑΤΟC	190 ⁶
ΘΕΟΤΙΛ ^ε	260 ¹⁴
ΘΕΟΤΟΚΟC	236 ⁶
ΘΕΟΦΙΛΙCΤΑΤΟC	190 ¹
ΘΕΟΦΙΛ ^ε	235 ¹⁰
ΘΕΟΦΕΙΛ ^ε	180 ³
ΘΕΟΦΙΛ ^γ	204 ⁴
ΘΕΦΦΥΛ ^τ	121 ⁵
ΘΕΟΦΙΛΙΑ	197 ¹
ΘΕΟΦΙΛΕΙΑ	235 ⁹
ΘΕΟΦΟΡΟC	44 ³ , 190 ⁶ + n. 1
(θολοC) ΕΘΛΟC (sic!)	44 ⁸
ΘΡΟΝΟC	288 ⁸ , 60 ¹
ΘΥCΙΑ	46 ¹³³
ΘΥCΙΑCΤΗΡΙΟΝ	61 ⁶
ΙΔΤΡΟC (φ. cαειη)	290 ⁶
ΙΝC	130 ⁵
ΙΝΖΙCΤΑ (?)	193 ⁵
(ΙΧΝΟC) ^x _i	395 ⁷
(ΚαδοC) ΚΑΤΟΥC	116 ^{4,11}
ΚΑΘΑΡΩC (και αποκροτωc)	115 ² , 117 ⁵
(ΚΑΙ) ΓΕ	152 ¹
Σ	148 ¹ , 181 ² , 207 ⁶ , 287 ⁵ , 288 ⁹ , 290 ^{Ραν} , 291 ^{Ραν} , 303 ^{Ραν} , 304 ^{2,6}

(καί, s) 359^{1,2,4}, 383^{1,2}, 395¹
 καιπερ 232¹
 (καίρος) κέρος 103², 116⁹
 κατηρος (= κατά καιρος) 114¹²
 καλαφάτης 312¹⁷ + n. 11
 κάλως 210⁷, 245³, 249^{10,12}, 254²⁽¹⁾,
 267⁷
 κάμ^λ 321¹²
 κάμις 331¹
 ΚΑΝ - ΚΑΝ 31^{49,51,53}, 188^{13,14},
 115¹⁶⁽²⁾
 κενων (?) 130³
 (κερκβιον) κερρ^α 181²
 καρπος 48²⁵, 102¹⁷, 115¹², 123², 157⁵
 καρπων 115⁵
 † - καρπος 48²¹
 ρεϋ† καρπος 307¹
 κατά 40⁴, 120³, 187⁴, 188^{6,17}, 191⁸,
 206², 223¹, 243⁴, 257⁷, 268⁷
 κ^γ 299⁴
 π-καταροσι 250³ + n.
 καταθε 40^{3,46}, 40, 66, 67, 92, 113, 26,
 102
 κατηρος (= κατά καιρος) 114¹²
 καταβαλε 240⁵
 καταβαλ^ε 240⁷
 καταλαλιδ 315⁰
 κατκπεμπω 29²
 καταφρονι 32²⁹, 43¹⁷, 152⁷
 κατ^εχε 223⁹
 κατηγοριδ 315¹
 κελεγε 194⁵, 223⁸, 275⁴

κελη, τ- 272⁶ + n.
 (κερκμευς) κεραμ^υ 364⁶
 κερατιδ 123⁴
 κερατιν 331⁴
 κ^τ 123⁶
 κ^γ 115^{4,12}
 (κερεκπτεριον)
 κερесаπτιν 322²² + n.
 κιβωτος 52²²
 κιθαριζε 42⁸
 (κινδυνος) κτηνος 51²⁰
 (κλασματκ) κλας^μ 287¹
 κλ 287⁴
 κληρονομει 47³³
 κληρονωμιδ 36²²
 κληρος 49⁴
 (κοινοτης) καινοτης 113² + n.
 καινωτης 156¹
 [κοινωβιον] p. 30
 κοινωνια 30¹⁹
 κοιτον 45⁶³
 κολαθ 315⁵
 (κολασις) κολασις 44¹⁷
 κολλατωρ αη κουρατωρ
 κολος 399²
 κοντακε 344¹ + n.
 κοσμησις 45⁸⁰
 κοσμος 32³², 45⁸⁴, 46¹²⁵
 (κουκουμιον)
 κουκουμαν 322¹⁷
 κουκουμοου 249⁷

κουλκα αη κουλκα (?) 107⁴
 (κουρατωρ) κολλατωρ 45⁸⁷,
 φ. p. 455 n. 2
 κρινε (?) 249¹⁶
 κρισις 50¹⁶
 κτισις 27⁸
 κτισιμα 55¹⁵
 κυριακη 306⁷
 (κυριος) κ^υ = κυριου 123⁸
 [κωμη] p. 27
 (λαρχανω) ελ^χ (= ελχε) 130²
 λακον 310¹⁵, 316^{4,3}, 322⁴
 λακτηρ 322^{5,11}
 λαμωτης (αη λαμωτηρ) (?) 316⁴
 λανη 399³
 λαος 30²⁶, 36^{25,44}, 46^{86,151}, 151¹²
 λαοστηρ (φ. pp. 2, 34) 188¹¹,
 192¹³, 230⁷, 244⁶, 249¹⁰
 λεβιτον 263³
 λιβιτ[.]ε (?) 41⁹
 λιψανον 193⁷, 196⁶, 197¹²
 (λιτρα) λιτρα (πι!) 310¹²
 λογικον 52^{14,24}
 λογισμος 40⁴³
 λογος 153¹, 243⁹, 307¹, 316¹
 λοκος 319¹, 320^{1,11}
 λογ^γ 345¹
 λογος επνουτε 188¹⁰ + n. 6
 παρ[α]σχ, λο]γω 181²
 λογχη 49²⁰

(λοιπας) λαιπας 291⁹λουπας 303B¹⁸ + n. 13λοιπον 186¹³, 209², 214^{3/4, 14}, 223⁵,225², 234¹, 236², 245⁶, 249¹²,256¹, 259^{6, 9}, 276¹λεπον 177¹⁰, 228⁴, 241^{8, 10}, 242⁵ληπον 264⁴ελοπον 188¹³, 189^{14, 17, 21, 27}φ 189¹⁴ n.λυπει 41⁴λυπη (υβ.) 272²λυχνια 40²¹λωτξ 303B⁵⁰ + n. 27, 327³λωτηξ 325²(Μαγος) μντμαγος 474⁷μαθητης 328¹⁷, 35⁶⁶μακαριος 35^{1, 4, 5, 6, 60}, 37³⁴, 38¹¹,45^{2, 13}, 124¹, 125¹, 128⁴,306^{3, 4, 5}μακ[110¹⁰, 174⁵μακ^o, 174⁶μακ^o 300²³μακ< 154^{13 (40), 48, 11}μακ, 317²μαρτυρος 35¹⁰μεγαρις 303B³⁶μελετα 50²

(μεντοιγε δε) μντκετε (?)

με 102³⁴ + n. 17μεριμνητης 32³⁴μερις 303B²⁹(μερος) μερ^o 286⁸, 297¹³μ^e 298⁴μερος (?) 132³(μετα) μ^x 123⁸

(μεταληψις)

μνταλμψις 34²⁸μετανοια 48⁴⁰μετανοι 44¹⁶, 47⁹⁶με. x [(?) 299⁴μη 46¹⁸⁰, 52⁸¹εμη (sic!) 52⁵⁶μηδεν 130⁵(μηνος) μνη, 167⁶μⁿ 135^{3, 4, 9}μ^o 122¹, 166⁶μ^u 131², 136⁶, 142³, 152¹⁰, 170³, 217¹²

μμβ (μηνων δωδεκα)

130⁴, 300⁹(μισθος) μισθ^o, 308¹

μοναστηριον (cf. pp. 23, 27)

100¹, 102^{15, 9}, 112¹, 157⁴⁴,188¹³, 210⁹, 302¹, 314⁶μονοστηριον 138⁷μονατυριον 152³μοναστιριον 157³μοναστηρ^o, 301¹μοναστηρι 299³μοναστη 100^{3, 14}μοναστ, 119⁸μοναστ< 159³μονα^{CT} 201²μονο^T, 103¹⁶, 215¹³, 312²⁶μονο^T 108¹, 158³, 199⁶μονο^o 109¹, 303B⁴⁰μονο^o 125³μονα^T, 193⁶μον^T, 243¹μον^T 110⁶, 111³, 188^{9, 17}, 197⁹, 244²μον^o 148¹μον^o 100⁶, 203³, 293⁵μοτ 103⁴, 125⁵μν^T, 182²μονογενης 29⁴, 412¹⁰μονοχη 45³⁹μονοχος 32^{26, 36}, 116^{19, 23}, 157⁴,158³, 214¹², 216¹, 285¹, 319⁶,378²μοναχος 406¹μονναχος 44³μονα^x 235³μον^x 303B¹⁶μον^x 148², 290^{16, 9, 12, 15}, 346¹⁰μον^o (?) 390¹μονον 154¹³, 231⁶, 235⁷μ>> 148²μονοχης 276⁸(μουλον) μου^λ 310¹¹(μυστηρ) μιστρ 326³, 324⁴μυστηριον 27⁶, 52³⁹μυστηριον 34^{9, 30}, 234²

(D) Greek Words

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(ΝΑΥΤΗΣ) ΝΑΥΤ 312¹(?), 361², 389¹396¹⁸(ΝΑΥΤΙΚΟΣ) ΝΑΥΤΙΚ 181²ΝΗCΤΙΑ 48¹⁵, 19, 35ΝΗCΤΕΙΑ 40⁶³ΝΗCΤΗΥΕ 2α- 202¹⁴ΝΙΜΦΙC 329² + n.ΝΚΑΖΕ (?) 238²ΝΟΕΙΝ 245^{6,8}ΝΟΙ 122⁴, 259³, 275³ΝΗΤ-ΑΤ-ΝΟΕΙ 154¹⁴ΝΟΕΡΟΝ 52³²ΝΟΗΜΑ 40⁴⁰ΝΟΜΟC (law) + ΝΟΜΟC 47⁵⁹ΑΤΝΟΜΟC 163³Ρ ΝΟΜΟC ΜΝ 47⁴ΝΟΜΟC (nomē) 100¹, 103², 119⁵,
152^{3,4,8}ΝΟΝΟCΤΙΟΝ (?) 129³ + n.(ΝΟΥΤΕΡΟC) ΝΟΥΤ^α 179⁶ΣΗCΤΗC 303B³¹, 330¹ΣΕCΤΗC 310¹⁶ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΑ 236⁷

(ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΟC φ. p. 34)

ΕΚΟΝΟΜΟC 116²¹ΚΟΝΟΜΟC 177²ΟΙΚ^ο 301², 317³ΟΙΚΟΥΜΕΝΗ 32¹¹ΟΙΝΟC (φ. ηριπ) 315⁴ΟΥ 115¹², 312^{pass}, 313^{pass},314¹, 345²

ΟΙΠΕ see Coptic Index

ΟΚΤΟΝ 139³ΟΚΤΩC 138⁴ΟΟΛΩC 267⁶ΟΟΛΟC 188¹⁶ΟΟΛΛΟC 246⁷ΟΩΛΟC 276⁹ΟΟΛΟΚΟΤΤΙΝΟC 116², 140³ΟΩΛΟΚΟΤΕΝ 132⁴ΟΟΛΟΚΟΤΝ 115³ΟΟΛΟΚΟΤΤΝ 127²ΟΑΛΑΚΟΥΤΕ 114⁴ΟΑΛΑΚ[138³ΟΩΛΩΚΩΤCΙ 258⁷ΟΟΛΟΤ^Ν 134²ΟΟΛΟΚ^Τ 102⁸ΟΟΛΟΚ^Τ 102²¹, 103⁵, 108³, 124⁴,130⁴, 135^{8,11}, 139⁴, 152⁹,156⁸, 160^{10,11}, 12, 165⁸,190⁴, 246¹², 268⁶, 396³,402¹ΟΟΛΟΚ^Τ 141²ΟΟΛΟΚ^Τ 281²ΟΟΛΟΚ^ο 152⁶ΟΟΛΟΚ^ο 119¹⁵ΟΟΛΟΚ^Τ 291²⁹ΟΟΛ^ο 102¹⁶ΟΟΛ^Τ 124³, 245⁹ΟΟΛΟΚ 189²¹ΟΟΥΚΟΧΙ (Boh.) 151⁵(ΟΟΟΙΩC) ΟΟΟΙ, 315^{5,8}ΟΟ^ο 299¹ΟΟ^ο 291¹³ΟΟ^ο 329⁷ΟΟ^ο 288¹⁴, 293⁵ΟΟ[387³ΟΟ^ο 294³ΟΟΟΟΟΟΟΟΟΟ 40², 119¹⁶, 154¹²ΟΟΟΟΟΟΟΟΟ 51²⁷ΟΟΟΟΟΟΟ 103⁷ΟΟΟΟΟΟΟΟ 114^{4,6}ΟΟΟΟΟΟΟ 102⁸, 175²ΟΟΟΟΟΟΟΟ 240³ΟΟΟΟΟΟΟ 158⁷ΟΟΟ^ο 100²ΟΟΟ^ο 100⁶, 110⁶ΟΟΟΟΟΟΟΟΟ 224³, 226⁴

(ΟΟΟΟΟ)

ΕΝ ΟΟΟΟΟΑΤΙ (φ. ΕΜΡΑΝ -) 62¹,180¹, 396⁶, 401¹ΟΟΟΟ^α 255⁷ + n.ΟΟ^ο 299^{4,6}ΟΟ^ο (ΟΟΟΟΟΟΟ) 296⁶ΟΟΟΟΟΟΟ 42¹⁰ φ. p. 446 n. 1ΟΟΟΟΟ (universal) 303B³⁵ΟΟΟ^ο (distinct) 297^{4+11,11}ΟΟΟΟΟΟΟΟ 238⁴ΟΟΟΟΟ 268³

ΟΟΟΟC φ. p. 27)

ΟΟ^ο 286⁶

ζωσιωτάτος	238 ¹ +n.1
ζοσιοτ[	208 ¹⁰
ζωσιω	271 ¹ +n.
ζοσιω	223 ¹²
ζοσον, ενζοσον	32 ²
ουδε	41 ¹³ , 152 ⁸
ουτε	187 ⁹ , 247 ⁷ , 275 ⁵
ουδε-ουδε	154 ^{13,14}
ουσια	188 ⁷ +n.3
ουτως	299 ¹²
ουτω	130 ³ , 299 ^{8,9}
ο	303A ⁴

(Παγαρχια) παγρ^x 125¹⁸⁰²
 (παγερχος) παγαρ^x 211⁴
 παγρ^x 182², 186¹², 287^{24,56}
 φ αμια

παις	29 ⁵
παλλατιον	45 ⁷⁶
(παλλιον) παλλιν	323 ³ , 328 ⁸
παλλιν	323 ¹
πανατιον	191 ⁸ +n.2, 214 ²
παντοκρατωρ	30 ^{88,116} , 55 ²³ , 119 ¹⁹ , 165 ¹³ , 167 ¹
παντωκρατωρ	118 ⁵
παντωκρατορ	116 ¹⁴
παντουκρατωρ	138 ⁵
παντουκρατων	114 ¹¹
παντως	31 ^{43,91} , 229 ⁸
παπα	138 ⁶ , 157 ³⁸ , 192 ¹¹ , 411 ⁵
ππαπα	115 ⁹ , 119 ²⁹ , 126 ¹¹ , 197 ¹⁰

(ππαπα) 205 ³ , 247 ⁴ , 309 ⁵	
ππα	189 ¹⁹⁽⁶¹²⁾ +n., 411 ³
π (same?)	291 ⁸
παπα	34 ²² , 50 ³² , 153 ³ , 180 ² , 182 ² , 246 ¹⁰ , 345 ¹
παρε	130 ⁶
μπαπαθε	152 ⁷ +n.
παπαβα	46 ⁸⁷
παπαβολη	31 ⁶⁰ , 46 ¹⁸⁹
παπαγε	32 ¹⁰² , 196 ⁶
παπακε	187 ¹³
παπαδιζου	234 ³
παπαδικος	52 ^{19,30}
παπακαλει	30 ¹⁴ , 35 ³⁰ , 102 ¹⁰ , 110 ⁵ +n.1, 111 ³ , 112 ³ , 159 ¹¹ , 173 ³ , 186 ^{28,33} , 191 ⁸ , 201 ⁴ 227 ⁶ , 248 ⁷ , 265 ⁹⁽¹⁾ , 352 ²⁽¹⁾
παπακαλε	114 ³ , 189 ¹⁴
παπακαλι	102 ^{18,19} , 218 ² , 228 ¹⁰ , 278 ⁴
παπακαλι εχων	30 ⁸⁶ , 202 ¹⁹
(παπακλησις)	
παπακλησις	41 ²⁶
παπακκελε	188 ⁵
(παρεμι) παρο[ν]	130 ⁵
(παρεχω)	
παρεσχυ λογω	181 ²
παρεσι (2)	255 ⁴
παρθενος	31 ^{45,100} , 46 ^{11,59} , 50 ¹
παρ ^θ	59 ²²

μπα-παρθενος	30 ¹⁸
παρουσια	49 ⁴¹
παρρησια	48 ¹⁶ +p.467 n.4
παρρησια	43 ¹²
πατηρ (φ πατηρ name)	
(god)	152 ¹ , 396 ⁶
(περιβλεπτος) περιβλ ^e	273 ⁹ +n.
π(ε)θε	119 ¹¹ , 154 ^{11,15} , 232 ²
πελλε	262 ⁴
πεμτης	115 ⁵ , 240 ³
πεντε κε δεκατης	163 ¹
πετε κ[α] δεκατης	136 ⁶
περος (?)	132 ³
πεστρι (2)	337 ¹
πετρα (φ. pp. 24, 25, 27 ff.)	
	117 ²⁽¹⁾ , 212 ² , 213 ²
πετρ ^ρ	113 ³ , 130 ² , 211 ⁵ , 298 ¹
πετ ^ρ	205 ⁷
πετ ^δ	312 ²¹
πιναξ	322 ³
πιστευε	43 ² , 46 ¹⁰⁶ , 47 ⁸⁶
πιστος	175 ¹ +n.
(πιττακιον) πιττακιων	299 ³
πι ^τ υ	287 ¹
πλανε	167 ²
πλαξ	197 ⁴
πλασμα	47 ^{57,66,76,91}
πλεκ[τη] (2)	333 ⁵
πληγη	47 ⁷⁰
πλην	223 ⁷⁸ , 228 ¹² , 251 ³ , 269 ⁴
πλυν	152 ⁸

πληροφορεῖ	216 ⁷
πληροῶ	148 ¹
πληροῦ	229 ³
πλη ⁷	130 ⁵
πληρωμα	52 ⁶⁷
πλουμα[ρ]ικον	326 ¹
(πνευμα) πνῆ	30 ⁵⁰ , 46 ^{26,80} , 396 ⁷
πνῆτος	152 ¹
πνευματικον	45 ⁶⁶ , 50 ³
ποδιον	217 ⁷
πολεμει	32 ¹¹²
πολεμος	32 ⁷¹ , 60 ⁵
πολις (cf. p. 23)	37 ⁵⁵ , 43 ³¹ , 100 ² , 103 ² , 102 ² , 116 ¹ , 119 ⁶ , 127 ¹ , 152 ²⁴ , 162 ³ , 351 ¹
πολ ^ε	287 ³
πονηριδ	47 ⁴³
πονηρευει	47 ⁴¹
πονηρος	47 ¹⁸
ποσω μαλλον	32 ¹⁰⁷
ποταμ[ι]της	308 ¹
πρασις	120 ²¹⁷ , 121 ³ , 168 ⁴
πρεσβια	226 ⁴
πρεσβυτερος	30 ¹⁰¹ , 152 ²
πρε ^ε	102 ²⁹ , 104 ² , 145 ²
πρ ^ε	102 ^{31/5} , 104 ¹ , 119 ²⁸ , 133 ¹ , 135 ^{710/12} , 158 ³ , 162 ² , 178 ¹ , 183 ² , 207 ⁶ , 208 ¹⁴ , 235 ¹⁰ , 267 ⁹ , 291 ²⁵ , 358 ⁴⁵ , 365 ³ , 381 ² , 396 ^{10/17}
πρε ^ε	102 ³

πρ ^ε	109 ³ , 110 ² , 205 ² , 237 ⁵ , 290 ⁹ , 395 ²
πρ ^ε	381 ³
πρ ^ε	381 ⁶
περ ^ε	116 ²⁴ , 159 ¹
ρε	102 ³¹
προελθε	41 ¹ + p. 443 n. 1
προεστως (cf. pp. 32f)	107 ¹
προστος	132 ¹
προεστω	110 ³ , 303A ²
πρ ^ο	200 ¹
πρ ^ο	209 ⁴
πρ ^ο	102 ³⁰
πρ ^ο	103 ^{31/5} , 104 ¹⁽¹⁾ , 115 ⁷ , 207 ⁶ , 274 ⁶ , 312 ²⁸⁽²⁾
πρ ^ο	396 ¹⁰
η[ρ]ο	109 ³
πρ ^τ	232 ⁶
προθεσμα	202 ¹²
(προνοητης ?)	
πρ[ο]νοητης	140 ⁷
προς	102 ²⁴ , 103 ¹² , 111 ⁸ , 114 ¹³ , 119 ¹⁴ , 132 ² , 165 ¹⁵ , 170 ² , 171 ² , 173 ³ , 179 ⁶³ , 240 ² , 249 ⁹
προσθε	102 ²² , 157 ⁹ , 188 ⁹ , 197 ⁷ , 219 ¹ , 238 ¹ , 247 ⁵⁶⁷ , 249 ¹⁷ , 265 ⁴
πρωσθε	262 ⁸
ηπρος (at the rate of')	
	102 ¹⁸ⁿ + n. 12
προσδεξαμενος	29 ¹
προσκυνει (cf. 189 n. 2)	198 ¹ , 202 ²² , 205 ¹ , 217 ⁹ , 227 ¹ , 237 ¹ , 396 ^{8,12}

προσκυνι	202 ¹¹⁸
προσκυνει	110 n. 1, 189 ³¹³¹
προσγινε	242 ²
προσκ ^υ	267 ²
προσκ ^υ	223 ¹
προστιμον	152 ⁹
προσφορα	189 ²³ + n. 14, 291 ²⁵
προσωπον	191 ⁸ , 223 ¹ , 249 ¹³ , 290 ¹⁰⁰
προτρεπει εβουνη	327 ⁰
προφασις	208 ¹ , 267 ¹ + n. 291 ¹¹
προφητης	46 ⁴² , 54 ³
προφητιδ	52 ²
(προχειρις) πρ ^ο	= προχειρισθεντι 288 ¹
πυλη	46 ⁴⁴
πυργος	303B ²¹
σανταλιον	330 ²
σαρξ	46 ⁶⁵
πκατα σαρξ	46 ⁶³
σεμνος	40 ⁷²
(σημεον)	f. 111 ¹² n.
σημιον	115 ⁷
συμιον	115 n. 4, 165 ¹⁸
σημ	111 ¹²
ση(μειωσμενος)	123 ⁸
σιγη	52 ¹⁸
σικλη[	239 ⁵
σικος	290 ⁴
σινδωνε	303B ⁴⁴ + n. 26, 328 ⁹
(στοππεον) σιπου	309 ³³ + n.

СИΤΛΕ (= lat. nitula)	322 ¹⁷ + n.
(СИТОС) СИТ	296 ⁴⁷
СКАΛΑ	333 ²
ΣΚΟΥΛΚΑ (?) or ΚΟΥΛΚΑ	107 ⁴
СКЕНΩΝ	218 ⁵
СКЕΥΕ	126 ³ (8), 263 ¹ , 325 ¹ (1), 341 ¹
СКΕΥΗ	303B ^{42, 43}
(ΣΚΟΥΤΚΛΗ) ΣΚΟΥΔΕΛ	322 ³ + n.
СОΦΙΑ	32 ²⁵ , 33 ⁸
СОΦΟΣ	40 ⁶
(ΣΠΚΛΙΣ?) СΦΑΛΙΣ	330 ³ + n.
СПΑΝΙΟΝ	255 ³
СТАΒΛΟΝ	42 ¹⁷
ΣΤΑΛ ^ο (ΣΤΕΛΛΩ)	287 ¹
СТАΥΡΟΣ	165 ¹⁸
СРОС	49 ¹⁴
СТАΥΡ ^ο	111 ¹²
(СРС	p 255)
СТАΥΡ[ΟΥ] υ.	55 ¹⁶
ΣΤΕΦΕΝΟΣ	29 ⁸
СТ ^χ (?)	288 ⁷
ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙ	111 ⁹ , 120 ¹
ΣΤΟΙΧΙ	103 ^{15, 17} , 104 ^{1, 7}
ΣΤΟΙΧΕ	115 ⁷ , 167 ³
ΣΤΗΧΕΙ	116 ^{13, 18, 19} , 167 ⁴
ΣΤΗΧΙ	103 ⁹ , 104 ^{2, 3, 4, 5}
ΣΤΗ.Χ ¹	114 ¹⁴
ΣΤΗΧΕ	124 ⁷ , 132 ⁶ , 140 ⁸ , 165 ¹⁷ , 168 ⁶ , 171 ^{3, 4} , 177 ²
ΣΔΗΧΕ	133 ³
ΣΤΟΙΧ	102 ³⁰

СТО ^χ	102 ^{19, 32, 34} , 111 ¹¹ , 148 ³ , 149 ² 152 ¹¹
СТΗΧ	116 ²³ , 123 ⁸
СТΗ ^χ	121 ³ , 143 ⁵
СТ ^ο	135 ³
ΣΤΟΥΧ[Ι]	157 ⁸
СТХ	396 ¹⁰
СТРА ^μ .Β[(?)	342 ²
СТΥΛΛΟΣ	59 ¹⁹
(ΣΟΥΧΩΡΕΙ) СНΧΩΡΕΙ	301 ² + n. 3
СΥΜΒΟΛΟΝ	52 ^{32, 41}
Сυμβουλος	180 ¹ , 181 ¹ , 182 ¹
СΥΒΟΥΛΟΣ	301 ¹¹
СЕНΒΟΥΛΑΣ	187 ^{6, 10}
(ΣΥΜΜΕΧΟΣ)	
СΥΜ ^χ	154 ¹¹ + n. 12, 179 ⁶ , n.
СΥΜΦΩΝΙΑ	45 ¹¹
СΥΝΒΟΛΗ	123 ^{5, 6} + n.
СΥΝ ^θ	115 ^{4, n} , 126 ⁴ , 162 ¹ , 345 ¹
СΥΝΑΓΕ	235 ^{5, 8} + n. 2, 236 ^{5, 7}
(ΣΥΝΗΘΕΙΣ?) СΤΕΝΗΘΙ	291 ²⁷
СΥΝΘΗΚΗ	45 ⁸⁸
СΥΝΚΛΗΤΟΣ	34 ¹⁶
(СΥΝΤΑССЕ) СΥΝΤΑΞΕ	41 ²⁷ , 197 ⁷
СΦΑΛΙΣ με ΣΠΑΛΙΣ	
СΩΘΗΚΗ	329 ⁴ + n.
СΩΜΑ	35 ¹⁷ , 45 ²⁵ , 52 ² , 152 ⁷ , 188 ¹⁶ , 189 ¹³ , 192 ² , 249 ¹⁵
СΩΜΑΤΙΖΕ	120 n. 2
ΣΩΜΑΤΙΖΕ	120 ¹¹
СΩΤΗΡ	30 ¹¹ , 59 ²³

ΤΑΛΑΙΠΩΡΟΣ	274 ⁴
ΤΑΛΟΙΠΩΡΟΣ	202 ¹⁸
ΤΑΞΙC	47 ²²
ΤΑΡΙΧΕ	197 ⁸ , 206 ⁸ , 259 ¹⁰ , 311 ¹ , 335 ¹
ΤΕССΑΡΑΣ	136 ³
ΔΕCΑΡΙC ΤΕ ^(sic) ΤΕΚΑΤ[ΗC]	116 ¹⁰
ΤΕΤΑΡΤΗΣ	115 ⁷
ΤΕΤΑΡΤΕC	133 ³
ΤΕΤΑΡΤ (¼)	148 ²
ΤΕΧΝΙΤΗΣ	38 ¹⁶ , 290 ⁵
ΤΙΜΗCΤΗΥΛΕ (?)	132 ³ + n.
ΤΙΜΗ (pina)	119 ^{14, 17}
ΤΙΜΗ	121 ¹ , 187 ⁸ , 303B ⁵
(ΤΟΜΑΡΙΟΝ) ΤΟΜΑΡ ^ο	344 ⁵ + n. 1
ΤΟΠΟΣ (cf. pp. 23, 27)	164 ³ , 187 ⁵ + n. 6, 297 ⁴
ΤΟΠ	257 ¹
ΤΟΥΤΕCΤΙΝ	160 ¹²
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ΤΡΑΠΕΖΑ	312 ⁸
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ΤΡΕΙΑC	257 ⁶
ΤΡΙΜΗCΙΟΝ	125 ⁷ , 136 ⁵ , 139 ⁴ , 147 ³ , 249 ⁶
ΤΡΙΜΥCΙΟΝ	152 ⁶
ΤΡΙΤΙΜΗCΙΟ	142 ¹
ΤΕΡΜΗCΙΟΝ	129 ⁴ , 189 ²⁹ , 339 ⁵⁽¹⁾
ΤΡΜ[	137 ⁵
ΤΕΡΜΗCΗ	160 ^{4, 11}
ΤΕΡΜΗCΗ	144 ²

τρίμηс	136 ²
τρίμ/	143 ² , 146 ³
τοῦμηςс	137 ¹
τρίскайт[εκατης]	117 ⁷
τρίтнс	102 ¹⁴
τροπον (?)	276 ⁵
τροφ (?)	181 ³
τύπος	52 ⁴⁸
<hr/>	
Υιος	396 ⁶
υ ^{εο}	182 ¹
ΝΙΩ (sic!)	152 ¹
(υπερ) s	100 ⁶ , 110 ⁶ , 115 ¹² , 125 ¹⁰ , 130 ⁴ , 287 ^{4,5} , 308 ¹ , 346 ^{4,5,13}
υπερнтєи	41 ¹⁷
υπογραφє	100 ² , 122 ³
υπογραφн	122 ⁴
(υποδεκτης) υπο	130 ⁶
υποποτιον	189 ⁴ + n.2, 242 ²
<hr/>	
φ ^α = ? π-αγιοу	228 ⁶
φ ^α γ ^υ = ? π-αγιοс	347 ¹
φαντασία	47 ⁴⁹ , p.465 n.1
фармагос	207 ⁴
φάσιλε	301 ⁴ + n.2

φθονει	47 ³⁸
φιλ[η] (?)	337 ⁵
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φίλο ^χ	191 ⁶ + n.2, 227 ² , 273 ¹
φορι	31 ^{75,85} , 399 ⁴
φοριεμα	317 ⁴ + p.416 n.4
(φυγοντες) φυγ ^ο	289 ³
φ (same?)	386 ³ n.
φυλακτηριον	60 ¹ , 61 ⁴
<hr/>	
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χαριс	29 ³ , 30 ⁴⁹ , 36 ¹⁷ , 412 ³¹
+ -χαριс	266 ⁹
χαρтнс	118 ⁶ , 124 ^{6,7} , 165 ⁹
χαρтys	152 ^{10,11}
(хρετουλκeиoς) χαρ ^Δ	197 ¹⁵
(хeиpотoнeи) χираδони	33 ³¹
χηра	31 ^{45,58}
хламыс	43 ⁶
холн	49 ¹⁹
χορτος	40 ⁹⁸
χρημα	44 ²⁷ , 45 ^{75,83}
χρυμα (?)	290 ¹

Χρια (nn)	108 ³ , 188 ¹⁶ , 265 ¹¹ , 273 ^{2,3}
Χρ ^ε	293 ^{2,5,8,9,10,14}
ερΧρια (nn)	206 ⁷
Χρεос	406 ²
Χρια (vb.)	188 ^{16,17}
ερΧρια (vb.)	102 ⁷ , 108 ³ , 112 ² , 202 ³ , 246 ⁸ , 266 ⁸
Χριστοτης	29 ⁹
χρονос	55 ⁶
Χρυсoс	123 ³
Χρ ^υ	402 ³
Χρ ^ι	115 ^{4,12} , 123 ⁶
Хе ^θ	140 ⁸
χωρα	35 ⁷⁵
(χωριον) Χ ^ε	297 ^{3,4}
Χ ^ω	354 ¹
<hr/>	
ψαλμος	40 ⁶¹
ψυχн	30 ⁵⁵ , 46 ¹⁴⁷ , 49 ^{30,31} , 272 ^{2,18}
<hr/>	
ωδн	50 ^{3,5}
ωсс	50 ¹⁰ , 101 ¹ , 152 ² , 202 ¹⁹ , 235 ⁵ , 249 ¹⁶
ωсстє	50 ²²

General Index: (E) Arabic Words

αλκαυ	الجيش p.44, 338 ⁴ + n.	αλκαλνυ (name?) 187 ¹⁵	vasce	ناظر f. 286 ³ n. 286 ^{3,7,9,10}
αλμομενιν	المومنين 290 ³	αλχαλνυ 187 ⁸ + mn. 11, 17	παρδ	براءة f. 291 n. 7
αλμογ[μ]ανι (?)	187 ⁷	αμερδ 187 ⁹ , 242 ⁴	τ-παρδ	291 ⁵
αλμ ^o	287 ⁴ , 290 ^{8,11,17}	αμινδ 122 ⁵ + n. 2, 183 ³ , 184 ¹	π-παρδ	291 ⁹
αλμ ^u	290 ²⁰	φ. παγαρχος	σωμαρες	سارية 323 ³ + n.
αλμ ^λ	290 ¹⁴	ΔΥΝ 102 ¹⁴ + n. 8	σωμαρς	324 ³
		κολ 322 ⁷ + n.		
		μανηλε 326 ³ + n., 334 ⁵		

General Index: (F) Uncertain Words

This index does not include uncertain words which are obviously Greek or Coptic.

Γεωρ.	nn? 309 ⁴⁷	νιαγε	337 ⁴	γ (= εν ?)	248 ⁴
Δογρ[	214 ⁶	πεπερκου	331 ²	χλα	399 ¹
μ. ατ	322 ⁹	ταελβα	345 ¹	ψιμον	303B ⁴⁵
ναεie	214 ¹⁹	τα2τη.ε	339 ³	υερΔΥΗΤ	321 ²

General Index: (G) Months and Indictions

θωθ	135 ³	αθ ^u	290 ¹⁹	φάρμ [†]	170 ³ , 346 ^{6,7,11}
θ ^u	292 ²	χοιακ	115 ⁷ , 123 ⁷ , 135 ⁶	παχων	167 ⁶
(φρωφ1)		τωβε	114 ⁸ , 132 ⁶	(παωνε)	
παone	301 ³	τ ^u	306 ²	π ^u	122 ¹ , 217 ¹² , 290 ^{6,1}
φ	131 ² , 244 ¹³ , 290 ¹⁵	(ε)μυip	102 ¹³ , 133 ⁷ , 140 ⁵ , 303A ³	επιφ	142 ³ , 230 ⁸
φπ	313 ⁹	μ ^x	135 ⁹	επηη	149 ¹
2αθωρ	411 ^{2,4}	(φαρμουθ1)		(μεσωρε)	
2ατζωρ	118 ²	παρμουτε	165 ⁵	μεσωρ [†]	166 ⁶
αθ ^{!p}	152 ¹⁰	φαρμου [†]	103 ¹³	μεσ ^o	290 ¹²
αθ ^u	296 ³	φάρμου	136 ⁶		

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ENTIANOC	132 ⁵
NΔEKΔIANOC	102 ¹⁴ + n.
T[EKTIANOC (?)	138 ⁴⁻⁵
υδ ⁵	115 ⁷
υδ ⁶	123 ³
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ινΔ	240 ⁴
υδ ⁷	115 ⁸ , 123 ⁷
ινΔ ⁷	149 ¹ , 160 ⁹
ινΔ	165 ¹⁶
υδ ⁸	103 ¹³ , 111 ⁵ , 130 ³⁽⁶⁶⁾ , 135 ^{6,9} , 142 ^{2,3}
	157 ¹² , 165 ⁶ , 166 ⁶ , 170 ³ , 217 ¹² , 301 ^{3,4} ,
	303A ³ , 313 ⁹ , 314 ⁷ , 402 ¹
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υδ ¹⁰	152 ¹⁰
υδ ¹¹	168 ⁵ , 290 ^{pan} , 292 ²

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Indiction	14	116 ¹⁰
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An asterisk (*) indicates that the name occurs more than once.

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Addenda

pp. 41ff. Chapter VI. Attention may be drawn to the very important archive of Greek papyri from Edfu which are closely related to the Aphroditopapyri and are almost contemporary with them; these have recently been published by Roger Rémondon, Papyrus Grecs d'Apollônios Anô (Cairo 1953). Unfortunately this book came to my notice only after the present edition had already been completed.

pp. 193ff. Chapter IX. I have had detailed discussions with Professor H. J. Polotsky on the questions involved in this chapter, but unfortunately only after it had practically been completed. He, as also J. Drescher, pointed out that the words 'dialect' and 'influence' are used in this chapter in a somewhat loose and questionable sense. The precise classification into separate 'dialects' is not completely justified by the facts, and often it is almost impossible to state exactly where one dialect begins and what is to

be regarded as the distinctive mark of a dialect. An obvious example are the dialects here classified as 'Middle Egyptian proper', 'Middle Egyptian with Fayyumic influence' and 'Fayyumic'; on reflection it might have been better to class at least the last two under one heading of 'Fayyumic'. A similar difficulty is presented by the word 'influence'; while in some cases it can be proved that one dialect has directly influenced another dialect, as in the obvious case of the Bohairic ⲙⲟⲩ and ⲙⲟⲩ in Fayyumic, in others the possibility of a parallel development may seem more probable.

On the other hand it is difficult to suggest satisfactory alternatives to these words, in particular the former; if these difficulties are borne in mind, the general theme of the chapter will hardly be affected.

pp.220ff. Recently in the British Museum I found fragments of yet another manuscript in this dialect, again among the Wadi Sarga fragments. I have not yet been able to piece the fragments together, but extant portions show among others: ⲕⲉⲗⲉ, ⲧ-ⲡⲛ, ⲧⲛⲉ-, ⲧⲛⲣⲟⲩ, and in particular ⲛⲧⲉⲉⲓⲛⲛ may be noted. The date of the fragments is the 4th-5th century and I have included the text in the list of manuscripts in this dialect on pp.273f..

p.255 note 2. When writing this I overlooked the interesting early Fayyumic magical text published in Worrell, Coptic Manuscripts pp. 323ff. which ought to have been cited here. This text is undoubtedly very early, perhaps as early as the fourth century, as is shown by the peculiar form of the Demotic letters, ⲛⲧⲁⲣ for ⲣⲁⲣ, and in particular the abbreviation ⲛⲟⲩ which is very like the ⲛⲟⲩ of the Hamburg Old Fayyumic text; later Fayyumic manuscripts have ⲛⲟⲩ, ⲛⲟⲩ, ⲛⲟⲩ, ⲛⲟⲩ, etc.; on the other hand we already find ⲙⲟⲩ (Hamburg ⲙⲟⲩ).

p.257 and note 4. See now H.I.Bell, Cults and Creeds in Graeco-Roman Egypt (Liverpool 1953) which has just been published, especially Lecture IV. Bell would date the spread of Christianity among the Greeks and the native Egyptians a little earlier than has been assumed in this chapter, e.g. (p.83) 'By the end of the second century Christianity must have been fairly wide-spread, even in Upper Egypt', (p.88) 'It is impossible to say when Christianity first began to make an impression on the Egyptian-speaking populace, but this had certainly happened before the middle of the third century!'

pp.556f. Number 140. This document is hardly a tax-receipt, but its precise nature is obscure.

[illegible]

102

The image shows a manuscript page with two columns of handwritten text. The script is a cursive hand, likely from the 16th or 17th century. The paper is aged and has some staining. The text is written in a dark ink. The left column has approximately 10 lines of text, and the right column has approximately 10 lines of text. The handwriting is fluid and characteristic of the early modern period.

130 (A.D. 724?)

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